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ART. I.—1. *Observations of the Apparent Distances and Positions of Three Hundred and Eighty Double and Triple Stars, made in the years 1821, 1822, and 1823; and compared with those of other Astronomers: together with an account of such changes as appear to have taken place in them since their first Discovery. Also, a Description of a Five-feet Equatorial Instrument employed in the Observations.* By J. F. W. Heischel, Esq., F.R.S., and James South, Esq., F.R.S. London. 1825. pp. 424. And Phil. Trans. 1825. part iii.

2. *Observations of the Apparent Distance and Positions of Four Hundred and Fifty eight Double and Triple Stars, made in the Years 1823, 1824, and 1825; together with a Re-examination of Thirty-six Stars of the same description, the Distances and Positions of which were communicated in a former Memoir.* By James South, Esq., F.R.S. London. 1826. pp. 412. And Phil. Trans. 1826. part i.

AMONG those natural sciences which have called forth the highest powers of the mind, astronomy claims for herself the most exalted place. The bodies of which it treats are of themselves calculated to prepossess us in its favour. Their vast and inconceivable magnitude,—their distance almost infinite,—their uncountable number, and the rapidity and regularity of their movements, excite, even in ordinary men, the most intense curiosity, and to minds of higher birth hold out the noblest exercise for their powers. But while our judgment thus anticipates its pleasures and its triumphs, the imagination discovers among the starry spheres a boundless field for its creative energies. Drawing its materials from our own globe,—from its variety of life and beauty, and from the condition and destiny of our species,—it perceives in every planetary body a world like our own, teeming with new forms of life, and new orders of intelligence, and regards it as the theatre of events, whose origin, whose duration, and whose final cause, must for ever be involved in impenetrable darkness. Advancing beyond our own system, it recognises in every twinkling star the central flame of new groups of planets, and pursuing its track only in one out of an infinite number of directions; it descries system beyond system, following each other in endless succession, till it returns exhausted in its strength, and bewildered amid the number, the extent, and the magnificence of its creations.

But while astronomy thus affords to our intellectual nature a field commensurate with its highest efforts, it is fraught with no less advantage to our moral being. The other sciences may, indeed, lay claim to a similar influence, for nowhere is the hand of skill unseen, or the arrangement of benevolence unfelt; but the objects which they present to us are still those of our own sublunary world. They are often too familiar to excite admiration,—too much under our power to command respect,—too deeply impressed with our own mortality to enforce the lesson which they are so well fitted to suggest. The plains which we desolate, the institutions which we overturn, and the living beings which we trample upon or destroy, are not likely to be the instruments of our moral regeneration. Among scenes, indeed, where man is the tyrant, who can expect him to be the moralist or the philosopher?

How different is it with the bodies which the astronomer contemplates! For man they were not made, and to them his utmost power cannot reach. The world which he inhabits forms but the fraction of an unit in the vast scale upon which they are moulded. It disappears even in the range of distance at which they are placed; and when seen from some of the nearest planets, it is but a dull speck in the firmament. Under this conviction the astronomer must feel his own comparative insignificance; and amidst the sublimity and grandeur of the material universe, the proudest spirit must be abased, and fitted for the reception of those nobler truths which can be impressed only on a humble and a softened heart. He, indeed, who has rightly interpreted the hand-writing of God in the heavens must be well prepared to appreciate it in the record of his revealed will.

Though the study of astronomy thus possesses peculiar claims upon our attention, the history of the science,—of the steps by which it successively attained its present state of perfection, is, in another point of view, of nearly equal interest. Commencing in the earliest ages, and carried on with but little interruption to our own day, it forms the most continuous history of the progress of human reason; it exhibits to us the finest picture of the mind struggling against its own prejudices and errors, and finally surmounting the physical and moral barrier which appeared to have set a limit to its efforts; and it displays to us in the most instructive form the labours and the triumphs of men who, by the universal suffrage of ages, have been regarded as the ornaments of their species, and as the lights of the civilised world.

In order to introduce the reader to the interesting subject of the present Article, it is necessary to take a rapid survey of the different *periods* of astronomical discovery.

1. The *first* period includes the history of the science till the time of Copernicus, when the relative positions, and the general movements of the bodies which compose the planetary system, were clearly determined.

2. The *second* period embraces the labours of Kepler and Newton, by which the various motions of the planets and comets were reduced to one simple law, viz., the mutual tendency of all bodies to one another with a force directly proportional to their quantity of matter, and inversely proportional to the squares of their distances.

3. The *third* period comprehends the labours of Clairaut, Euler, d'Alembert, Lagrange, and Laplace, and terminates with the publication of the *Mécanique Céleste*, a work in which the philosophy of Newton is extended to all the nicer questions which relate to the mutual action of the planetary bodies.

1. The study of the heavens was undoubtedly coeval with the existence of man, urged by the double impulse of his necessities and fears. In the genial climate, and beneath the serene sky of the east, it seems to have made considerable progress. The great convulsion in the physical world, of which the sacred writings have traced the outline, swept away along with the races of men all the records of their intellectual attainments; but some wrecks of their astronomical knowledge seem to have been preserved either by the durability of the monuments on which it had been engraved, or by the memories of those whom the desolating waters had spared. These precious relics, which time still respects, inspired the Chaldean, Indian, and Egyptian philosophers with a reverence for astronomy, and formed the epochs of the science which they restored. From Egypt it speedily passed into Greece under the form of mysteries too sacred for the ear of the vulgar, and of allegorical emblems too profound for their understanding. Here it was soon stripped of the mystical drapery in which superstition had swathed it, and the genius of that refined people presented it purified and improved in all their schools of philosophy. In the tenets of Thales, Pythagoras, and their successors, we trace some of the soundest doctrines of modern astronomy, which form a singular contrast with the reveries of solid orbits and the harmony of the celestial spheres.

Astronomy was now destined to receive in the land of its birth all the advantages of royal patronage, and that science, which Rome despised and which Athens persecuted, found shelter among the sovereigns of Alexandria. The establishment of the Alexandrian school, and the protection and cultivation of the sciences by men who had lived in war, is the most glowing passage in the history of the human mind. It is the romance, indeed, of astro-

nomy which princes should peruse, and which statesmen should engrave upon their hearts. The formation of the library of Alexandria; the erection of its observatory; the invitation to his court of the philosophers of every clime; his participation in their conversation and in their labours, and the accessions which astronomy thence derived, have immortalised the name of Ptolemy Philadelphus, while they reflected over the darkness of future times a more intense light than was ever thrown by her blazing Pharos upon the shelves of her rugged shores.

Aristarchus, one of the earliest astronomers of this great school, determined that the distance of the sun was at least twenty times greater than that of the moon, and, convinced that the earth moved round the sun, he inferred from the position of the stars, when the earth was in the opposite points of its orbit, that their distance was immeasurably greater than that of the sun. These important steps in the science were pursued by Eratosthenes, whom Ptolemy Euergetes invited to his capital. With instruments erected by his patron, he found that the diameter of the sun was at least twenty-seven times greater than that of the earth; and by comparing the distance of Alexandria and Syene with the celestial arc between the zeniths of these two cities, he concluded that the circumference of the earth was twenty-five thousand stadia; a result not excessively different from the measurement of modern times. Important as these determinations were to astronomy, yet it was from his successor, Hipparchus, that the science derived the most valuable improvements. Collecting and comparing the observations of his predecessors, he resolved to repeat and to extend them. He ascertained the length of the tropical year; he discovered the equation of time; he fixed the lunar motions with great accuracy, and he determined the eccentricity and the inclination of the moon's orbit. His grand work, however, is his Catalogue of the Longitudes and Latitudes of One Thousand and Twenty-two Fixed Stars; by means of which he discovered the precession of the equinoctial points. In carrying on these inquiries, he was led to the principles and rules of spherical trigonometry, one of the most valuable branches of geometry. The leading works of this eminent astronomer perished in the flames which destroyed the Alexandrian library, but the most important of his observations have been fortunately preserved in the writings of his successors.

The great advances which were thus made in the science were succeeded by a long interval of darkness, across which a few gleams of light were occasionally thrown. The Alexandrian school, however, still existed; and the consecrated name of Ptolemy, so indelibly associated with its origin, was destined in
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Recent History of Astronomy.

its latter days to renew its glory. About one hundred and thirty years before the Christian era, Ptolemy devoted himself to the science of the heavens. He discovered the second inequality in the moon's motions; he determined with new accuracy the relative positions of the planets, and their distances from the earth; but rejecting, on the evidence of his senses, the system of Pythagoras, he made the earth the centre of the universe, round which the sun and the whole starry heavens performed their revolutions. This fundamental error led him to explain the stations and retrogradations of the planets, and the other celestial motions, by the cumbrous machinery of epicycles, which so long deformed the science, and retarded its advancement. The subject of astronomical refractions received also from Ptolemy a satisfactory explanation; but though he rendered such signal services to astronomy, as well as to the sciences of optics, dialling, and music, yet his name will for ever be connected with a false system of the universe; and his assiduity as an observer will always be placed in disagreeable contrast with that defect of sagacity which had thus marked his astronomical speculations.

With the life of Ptolemy terminated the labours of the Alexandrian school. Centuries rolled on amid intellectual darkness; ambition pursued her bloody course, and superstition continued to offer her unholy sacrifice; but no gifted spirit arose to vindicate the science of the heavens from its degraded state. Even the accumulated knowledge of former times perished in the conflagration of the Alexandrian library; and though the tears of the victorious caliph flowed in repentance, yet they were a poor compensation for the havoc of his arms.

But though the Arabs had thus wantonly violated the sanctuary of science, their own land was ordained to be the scene of its triumphs. Astronomy was again received into the palaces of kings, and Ahnansor, Al Raschid, and Ahnamon, were its cultivators as well as its ardent patrons. The rays of science gilded the minarets of Bagdad when they had ceased to shine on benighted Europe. The almagest of Ptolemy was recovered from the Greek emperor by force of arms; and several works were composed and observations made, which powerfully contributed to the progress of astronomy. Even in Persia and Tartary, associations of astronomers were formed by the command of their princes; magnificent instruments were erected at the royal expense; and catalogues of the fixed stars, and astronomical tables of singular accuracy, proceeded from the pen of the grandson of Tamerlane the Great. From the east, astronomy passed with the arms of the Arabs into Spain, where it received valuable additions from the genius of Allhazen and Alphonso X. The Alphon sine tables, indeed,

indeed, which appeared in 1252, are to this day a monument of the knowledge and the liberality of the Castilian king.

We now approach the era of reviving science. Many astronomers of inferior note paved the way, by valuable, though insulated observations, for the great restorer of astronomy. Copernicus, who was born in 1473, was not the author of any remarkable discovery; but by a diligent comparison of the discoveries of his predecessors, by sagacious views of the simplicity of nature, and by a just perception of the relations which ought to exist among the various bodies of the system, he was led to place the sun in the centre of the universe, and to account for the daily revolution of the celestial sphere by the motion of the earth upon its axis. This slight change upon the Ptolemaic system banished the epicycles and eccentrics of his predecessors, and every phenomenon in the general motions of the heavens received an immediate explanation. The publication, therefore, of the *Astronomia Instaurata* in 1530, forms a principal epoch in the history of astronomy. The true solar system was now established, and the various planets which the unassisted eye could discover in the heavens, were placed in their proper spheres, and nearly at their proper distances from the central luminary; while the fixed stars, separated from our planetary universe, were thrown back into the depths of space, to become in their turn the objects of a more refined philosophy.

2. Hitherto astronomy was merely a science of observation, and no stretch of mind was required to comprehend its principles or its details. It was now destined, however, to take a higher and a wider flight, and to call into its service the most profound and varied acquirements. The subject of the refraction of the atmosphere had formed a slight connexion between astronomy and optics; but the invention of the telescope now bound these sciences together by an indissoluble tie, and from the latter the former derived all its subsequent discoveries. In a few years the ring of Saturn and nine secondary planets rewarded the labours of Galileo, Huygens, and Cassini, and the application of the pendulum to clocks by Huygens furnished the astronomer with one of his most valuable instruments. The period, however, of which we now treat has derived its distinctive feature from the determination of the laws of the planetary motions by Kepler and Newton. Fond of analogies, Kepler directed his mind to the discovery of general laws: he found that all the planets revolved in elliptical orbits, in one of the foci of which the sun was placed. He discovered that the line which joined the sun and the planet described equal areas in equal times; and by comparing the powers of the numbers which represent the periods and the distances of the

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the planets, he determined that the squares of their periods round the sun, varied as the cubes of the greater axes of their elliptical orbits.

These great discoveries paved the way for views still more comprehensive. Kepler had been indulged with a faint glimpse of the mutual tendency of all bodies to one another, and Dr. Hook went so far as to show, that the motions of the planets were produced by the attractive agency of the sun, combined with the force which had originally projected them: but it was reserved for Newton to establish the law of universal gravitation in its entire generality, and to apply it with demonstrative evidence to all the movements within the solar system. In assimilating the power by which the apple falls from the tree, to that which retains the moon in her orbit, Newton made the first step in this great generalisation. He soon perceived that all the other satellites revolved round their primary planets in virtue of their attraction, and that the primary, along with the secondary planets, were carried round the sun by the agency of his predominating attraction. Hence, he was led to deduce the general principle, that all material bodies attract each other, with a force directly proportional to the number of their particles, and inversely proportional to the squares of their distances. The tides, the spheroidal form of the earth, the precession of the equinoxes, and the irregularities of the lunar motions received, from this comprehensive proposition, an immediate explanation; and the laws of the material universe, rescued from the schools of a false philosophy, were now fixed upon an imperishable base. The man to whom science owes this grand discovery has, by universal consent, been placed above the rest of his species; and the *Principia Philosophiæ Naturalis*, in which it is expounded, has acquired a distinction beyond all the productions of human genius.

‘Talia monstrantem justis celebrate canenis,
Vos qui cælesti gaudetis nectare vesci,
NEWTONUM clausi reserantem scrinia veri,
NEWTONUM Musis carum, cui pectore puro
Phœbus adest, totoque incessat numine mentem:
Nec fas est propius mortali attingere Divos.’—*Hulley*.

3. If England may be permitted to cast a proud eye upon the period we have been considering, she cannot but contemplate with the bitterest dejection that which succeeded it. As if Providence had decreed that there should be a balance in the glory, as well as in the power of nations, no British name has been allowed to share in the intellectual triumphs which illustrated the middle and the close of the eighteenth century. Truth and justice demand from us this afflicting acknowledgment, while they award
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to Clairaut, Euler, D'Alembert, Lagrange, and Laplace the high honour of having completed the theory of the system of the world.

The problem of two bodies, or the determination of the motions of one planet revolving round another, had received from Newton the most perfect solution. He had even shown that the problem of three bodies, in which the action of a disturbing planet is introduced, could be resolved by the principles which he had established; and in the case of the lunar irregularities, he had succeeded in explaining no fewer than *five* of the most important. At this point, however, the powers of analysis failed, and it was left to a succeeding age to complete the noble edifice which he had founded. The results of the labours to which we allude are developed in the *Mécanique Céleste* of Laplace, a work which ranks next to the *Principia*; but it would exceed our limits were we to assign to each of the astronomers we have named their respective claims to immortality. By the improvements they have made in the analytical art, they have solved the problem of three bodies, and have computed, with an accuracy almost miraculous, the various disturbances which affect the motions of the principal planets. But though all the bodies of the system thus exercise over each other a reciprocal influence, yet it has been proved by Lagrange, that the resulting irregularities are all periodical, and that, while the form and position of their orbits are ever changing, their mean motions and mean distances from the sun are subject to no variation. Amid the actions and re-actions of our system, therefore, the general harmony is never broken, and from the arrangements of this celestial mechanism, disorder and decay have been for ever excluded. What a sublime and instructive picture is thus presented to man!—While he and every thing around him bear the impress of his fleeting nature—while even the solid globe, on which he treads, is rent by convulsions, and agitated in the conflict of its elements, yet does the general system stand unshaken amid the oscillations of its parts, and thus testify to each generation, as it comes, the wisdom and the power with which its great Architect has provided for the stability of his material throne.

4. But though the spirit of English science had thus been slumbering amid the intrigues of faction, and the apathy of short-lived and unenlightened administrations, the exertions of individual genius were preparing in secret for new achievements. The invention of the achromatic telescope by Dollond, and the improvement of reflectors by Short and Mudge, had armed the observer for the great subject of sidereal astronomy—for examining the phenomena and condition of the stars, and the structure of the groups and systems, which the telescope descried in the immensity of space.

space. In this period, doubtless the most brilliant in the annals of discovery, the name of Herschel stands in proud pre-eminence, as the founder and the most successful cultivator of sidereal astronomy; and when we add the name of his accomplished son, of Dr. Brinkley, (Bishop of Cloyne,) of Mr. South, and of Mr. Struve, we complete the list of great men who have immortalized themselves in this difficult and boundless field of inquiry.

Before we proceed to give an account of their labours, it is necessary that the reader should have some idea of the distance and magnitudes of the bodies which are to come under his consideration. That the nearest of the fixed stars are not placed at immeasurable distances has been fully established by the numerous and ably-conducted observations of the Bishop of Cloyne. This distinguished astronomer has found that the star α *Lyrae* has a parallax of $1''.1$, or, what is the same thing, that the radius of the earth's annual orbit would, if seen from that star, subtend an angle of $1'.1$: hence it follows, that its distance is 20,159,665,000,000 miles, or twenty billions of miles. Sir William Herschel, from repeated measurements, considers the diameter of α *Lyrae* as three-tenths of a second, and, consequently, its diameter must be *three thousand times* greater than that of our sun, or 2,659,000,000 miles, or *three-fourths* of the size of the whole solar system, as circumscribed by the orbit of the Georgium Sidus. This extraordinary result does not entirely accord with a curious calculation of the Marquis Laplace, that a luminous star, of the same density as the earth, and whose diameter is two hundred and fifty times that of the sun, would exercise such an attraction over the rays which issued from it, that they could not arrive at the earth; the consequence of which would be, that the largest luminous bodies in the universe would, on this account, be invisible. But, however this may be, it cannot be doubted that the scale of distance and magnitude for the fixed stars cannot be greatly different from that which we have stated.

It was to regions so remote and to bodies so vast, that Sir William Herschel directed his powerful telescopes, after he had extended the limits of our own system, by the discovery of *one* primary and *eight* secondary planets. Professor Kant and the celebrated Lambert had suggested the hypothesis, that all the bodies in the universe were collected into nebulae, and that all the insulated and scattered stars formed part of the nebula to which our own system belonged. Pursuing this happy thought, Sir William Herschel examined no fewer than 2500 nebulae, and he was led to the opinion, that the galaxy or milky way was the projection of our own nebula in the sky, and by *gauging* the heavens, or counting the number of stars which occur in the same space in different directions, he was enabled to determine the probable form of the nebula.

nebula itself, and the probable-position of the solar system within it. But while this idea impresses us with its grandeur, it at the same time furnishes us with a scale for estimating the immensity of nature. If all the separate stars which the most powerful telescope can descry, are only part of our own nebula, what must we think of the millions of nebulae, some of which exhibit, by their proximity, the individual stars of which they are composed? while others, as they recede from our failing sight, display only in the best instruments a continuous and unbroken light, in which the spaces between the stars can no longer be seen. From the systems which roll within these groups of worlds, a new firmament of stars will be seen, and each system will have its milky way, exhibiting the projection of its nebula, varying in form and in lustre with its locality within the group. It is in vain to pursue ideas so vast and overwhelming: it is enough that the mind tries its strength, and stands self-convicted of its weakness.

Let us, therefore, turn our attention to nearer objects—to our own nebula, and the stars which compose it. Not content with determining the probable position of the solar system within the nebula of the milky way, Sir William Herschel conceived the idea of ascertaining whether that system was stationary or moveable. By a comparison of the proper motions of the fixed stars, he determined that the solar system was advancing towards the constellation Hercules, and that, if it were viewed from one of the nearest of the fixed stars, the sun would appear to describe an arch of about *one second*. In reasoning respecting the insulated stars, which belong to what we may now call the *solar nebula*, he justly conceived that those which were double must form *binary systems*, or systems in which the two stars revolve round their common centre of gravity. We have said in many cases, because there can be no doubt that two stars may often form a double star, when they have no connexion with each other but that of similarity of direction. The same conception is applicable to more complicated systems, and he has shown how three or more stars may be permanently connected, by revolving in proper orbits round a common centre.

These views, at first entirely speculative, received from subsequent and long-continued observation a very remarkable confirmation. If we suppose a line to join the centres of the two stars which compose a double star, then if the two stars have no relative motion, this line must form an invariable angle with the line or direction of their daily motion. By means of an ingenious position-micrometer, Sir William Herschel determined this angle (called the *angle of position*) for seven hundred and two stars, between 1778 and 1784. After a lapse of twenty years, he repeated his observations on the same stars, between 1800 and 1805, and

and he had the satisfaction of finding that, in more than fifty double stars, there had been a decided change, either in their distance or in their angle of position. In this way he discovered that one of the stars of *Castor* revolved round the other in three hundred and forty-two years; that the small star of γ *Leonis* performed its circuit in 1200 years, that of ϵ *Bootis* in 1681 years, that of δ *Serpentis* in 375, and that of γ *Virginis* in 708 years.

By this great discovery, the greatest, unquestionably, in the history of astronomy, the existence of systems among the fixed stars was completely established; but so far did Sir William Herschel's labours transcend those of the age in which he lived, that no attempt was made to repeat and to extend them. They were scarcely admitted into any astronomical work; they were ridiculed by men whose reputation had been eclipsed by his own; and they were received with a sort of incredulous wonder, even by the most ardent lovers of astronomy. The progress of knowledge and of discovery had paved the way not only for the highest achievements of Newton and Laplace, but also for their immediate reception among philosophers; and had these great men never lived, science would, in a few years, have received from other minds the same splendid accessions. The discoveries of Herschel, on the contrary, exhibited no continuity with those of his predecessors. Before his day sidereal astronomy had no existence; nor had the wildness of speculation ventured even to foreshadow its wonders. Entrenched in the remoteness of space, and among spheres which no telescope but his could descry, her walls were unscaled, and her outworks even unapproached. His genius, however, enabled him to surmount barriers hitherto impregnable, and conducted him in triumph into the very stronghold of her mysteries. The cessation of such gigantic labours would have been afflicting to science, had not that same wisdom which provided for the continuity of his name, provided also for the continuity of his labours.

In the year 1816, four years before the death of his venerable father, Mr. J. Herschel had begun a re-examination of the double stars, and had made some progress in it. The same idea had occurred to Mr. South, one of the most able and enterprising astronomers of the present day, and it was agreed that they should undertake the work in concert. They accordingly began in March, 1821, and continuing their observations in 1822 and 1823, they were able to communicate to the Royal Society in January, 1824, the position and apparent distances of 380 double and triple stars, the result of above 10,000 individual measurements.* The instru-

* This Memoir was honoured with the astronomical prize of the French Academy of Sciences,

ments which they employed were two achromatic telescopes mounted equatorially: the object-glass of the smallest had an aperture of three inches and three quarters, and a focal length of five feet, and was made by the late P. and J. Dollond.⁴ The power usually employed was 133, but powers of 68, 116, 240, 303, and 381 were sometimes used. The largest telescope was *seven* feet in focal length, with an aperture of *five* inches, and is supposed to be the best that Mr. Tulley ever executed. The power commonly employed was 179, though 105, 273, and sometimes 600 were used.

No sooner had Mr. South completed his share in this great work, than he began another series of observations of equal difficulty and importance. They were made principally at Passy, near Paris, with the instruments abovementioned; and in November, 1825, he communicated to the Royal Society the apparent distances and positions of four hundred and fifty-eight double stars, of which one hundred and sixty had never before been observed.

While these observations were going on in England, an able continental astronomer, M. Struve, director of the Imperial Observatory of Dorpat, in Livonia, had occupied himself with the same subject; and such was his assiduity and zeal, that in four years he completed his *Catalogus Novus Stellarum Duplicium et Multiplicium*, containing no fewer than three thousand and sixty-three stars.* These observations were chiefly made with a telescope by Fraunhofer, which the Emperor of Russia had presented to the observatory of Dorpat. This magnificent instrument has a focal length of thirteen feet, and an aperture of nine inches, and cost thirteen hundred pounds. The King of Bavaria followed this noble example by ordering a still finer instrument for the same purpose; and the King of France, with a liberality still more patriotic, has had executed in his own capital an achromatic telescope, surpassing them all in magnitude and power. What a misfortune is it to English science, that the name of the most accomplished prince who has as yet occupied the throne of Charles I. does not appear in the list of sovereigns who have been thus rivalling each other in the patronage of astronomy! What a mortification to English feeling, that the subject of sidereal astronomy created by the munificence of George III. should thus be transferred to the patronage of foreign monarchs!

In taking a general view of the labours of Mr. Herschel and Mr. South, it appears that there are *sixteen* binary systems of stars perfectly established, and at least *fourteen*, of which the annual motion is not exactly determined.

* The labours of this indefatigable astronomer have been rewarded by the Royal Society of London with one of their gold medals.

The established binary systems, with their periods and annual motions, are given in the following table. The signs + and - indicate the different directions of the motion.

Names of Stars.	Periods, Years.	Annual Motion.
ξ Ursæ Majoris	51	- 7.02
70 p Ophiuchi	53	- 6.81
σ Coronæ Borealis	169	+ 2.13
Castor	370	- 0.971
61 Cygni	493	+ 0.73
δ Serpentis	496	- 0.726
γ Virginis	510	- 0.667
s f μ Bootis	623	- 0.58
μ Draconis	623	- 0.58
12 Lyncis	646	- 0.56
η Cassiopeiæ	700	+ 0.513
49 Serpentis	706	+ 0.51
ζ Aquarii	804	- 0.448
ε Bootis	822	+ 0.438
5 Lyræ	1108	- 0.325
γ Leonis	1200	+ 0.30

Of these stars, ξ Ursæ Majoris possesses a very peculiar character, as the two stars revolve round their common centre of gravity with a motion so rapid as to admit of being traced and measured from month to month. After comparing all the observations with the latest by Mr. South, Mr. Herschel observes,

‘ Nothing can be more satisfactory than the confirmation these observations afford of the rapid motion ascribed to this remarkable star. In the interval of 1.97 years, since the epoch 1823.29, the motion has amounted to no less than $13^{\circ} 55'$, in the direction *n p, s f*, or $-7^{\circ}.025$ per annum. The sudden diminution of velocity is, however, not confirmed. Indeed it rested on too short an interval, and on too few observations, to deserve great confidence. We cannot do better than recommend this star for the next ten or twenty years to the constant and careful measurement of astronomers; nor can we too strongly inculcate here the indispensable necessity of multiplying extremely their measures of position, to eliminate those errors of judgment to which the most experienced observers are liable in measures of this sort. This done, there is no doubt of our arriving at a precise knowledge of the elements and position of the orbit described by each about their common centre of gravity; and the question of the extension or non-extension of the Newtonian law of gravity to the sidereal heavens, the next great step which physical astronomy has yet to make, will be effectually decided.’

Another object of very peculiar interest to astronomers is ζ *Herculis*, which both Mr. Herschel and Mr. South have found to be *single*, with the best telescopes. In July, 1782, however, it was a distinct double star, the greater being of a beautiful bluish white,

white, and the lesser of a fine ash colour. In 1782, Sir William Herschel found the interval between the two stars to be one-half the diameter of the smaller one. In 1795, he could with difficulty perceive the small star. In 1802, he could no longer perceive it; but, in a very clear night, the apparent disc of ζ *Herculis* seemed to be lengthened in one direction. In 1803, with a power of 2140, he found the disc a little distorted, but he was convinced that about three-eighths of the apparent diameter of the small star was wanting to make the occultation of it complete. If these two stars have not yet begun to separate, which we think the French achromatic telescope will determine, the separation will certainly take place in a few years, and astronomers will, no doubt, devote to it much of their attention.*

It is scarcely possible, we think, to peruse the preceding details concerning the history and present advanced state of astronomy, brief and imperfect as they are, without looking forward with the most intense interest to the future progress of the science. Even within our own system much remains to be investigated. The nature of the sun, and the constitution of its surface in relation to the more or less copious discharge of light and heat; the physical condition of the moon, which may yet exhibit among her mountains the works of living agents; the theory of the four new planetary fragments, which hold out to physical astronomy some of its most perplexing problems; the forms, the rotations, and the densities of most of the secondary planets,—are all subjects fraught with the deepest interest to astronomers. The comets, too, those illusory bodies of which we scarcely know whence they come, or whither they go, have now been brought within the grasp of regular observation. The discovery of two comets with short periods, one of three and one-third years, revolving within the orbit of Jupiter, and the other with a period of five years, revolving within the orbit of Saturn, enables us to observe them period after period, and to study their motions as well as their physical constitution. But how shall we describe the future prospects of sidereal astronomy! In our own nebula we may trace the motion of the solar system round some distant centre; we may discover the causes which produce the phenomena of variable stars; and we may witness the extension of the law of gravity to the movements of binary, and even of more complicated, systems. Among the nebulae beyond our own, discoveries still more extraordinary await us. May we not see even the operations of those powerful agents by which whole systems are formed; and of those still more tremendous forces by which other systems are destroyed? In the changes of particular nebulae, and in the condensation of

* Since the above was written, we find that the Dorpat telescope has separated the two stars of ζ *Herculis*.

nebulous matter into lucid centres, and even into central stars, we recognise the first of these agents; and in the sudden disappearance of the most brilliant stars, we have some indication of the second. Thus may we study, in these distant regions, the active operations of creative power; and thus, in relation to the past and the future in our own globe, may we be permitted to witness the types of those great events which are necessarily excluded from the short span of our existence.

If such, then, be the prospects which the cultivation of astronomy holds out to the human mind, can we, as a nation, be indifferent to the part we are to take in these intellectual achievements! When we look at the state of science on the continent, pursued by academicians freed from the embarrassments of professional labour, and when we look at their numerous and well-appointed observatories, we shrink from the comparison which is thus forced upon our attention. We feel as if it were a species of treason to record the fact that, within the wide range of the British islands, *there is only one observatory, and scarcely one supported by the government!* We say scarcely one, because we believe that some of the instruments in the observatory of Greenwich were purchased out of the private funds of the Royal Society of London. The observatories of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, Edinburgh,† Armagh,‡ and Glasgow, are all private establishments, to the support of which government contributes nothing. The consequence of this is, that many of them are in a state of comparative inactivity; and none of them, but that of Dublin, have acquired any celebrity in the astronomical world. Such, indeed, was the state of practical astronomy in Scotland, that within these few years, a Danish vessel, which arrived at Lerth, could not obtain, even in Edinburgh, the time of the day for the purpose of setting its chronometers.

Under such circumstances, it would be a painful task to enumerate the thriving institutions in which astronomy is cultivated in all the other kingdoms of civilised Europe.‡ It is sufficient to state, that in such a list Great Britain would be placed beside Spain or Turkey!

* We must make a slight exception in the case of Edinburgh. During the king's visit, the observatory had permission to take the name of the *Royal Observatory of George II*; and yet it has received from government only the sum of 2000*l.* to purchase instruments. The sum of 5000*l.* subscribed by public spirited individuals, was expended in a fine Greek building, which browns in empty grandeur over the metropolis of the north. This observatory is still without any provision for an astronomer.

† It gives us great pleasure to state, that Lord J. G. Berosford, Archbishop of Armagh, has given a very handsome sum in order to supply this observatory with new instruments.

‡ Within the last twenty years, *four* observatories, completely furnished with instruments, have been formed, by the Emperor of Russia, at Dorpat, Abo, Warsaw, and Nicolajef.

ART. II.—1. *Hymns, written and adapted to the Weekly Church Service of the Year.* By the late Reginald Heber, DD., Lord Bishop of Calcutta. London. 1828.

2. *The Christian Psalmist.* By James Montgomery. London. 1827.

A GENERAL impression seems to prevail, that the Psalmody of our church requires amendment and regulation. In no one point are all parties within the established church—we might add among the dissenters—so far agreed, as in admitting the importance of this part of public worship; and, perhaps, there is scarcely less unanimity of dissatisfaction as to its present unsettled and variable state. In these days, if every individual, as St. Paul complained concerning the church of Corinth, has not a psalm, yet almost every congregation has a book of psalms and hymns, selected with greater or less judgment, according to the taste, opinions, and feelings of the compiler. We have before us collections used in different churches of the establishment, varying from the zero of the most icy Socinianism up to the boiling-water heat of the most feverish enthusiasm. This is a serious evil; first, as a direct infringement on the principle of uniformity which regulates our liturgical services. If a prescribed form of prayer be found convenient, and appear essentially interwoven with the constitution of our church, surely some limit should be assigned to the disagreement and discord in this part of our service, which render it impossible for a stranger, on entering a place of worship, to feel secure in what spirit that praise or adoration of God, in which it is his duty, as well as his desire, to join, is about to be offered. Secondly, it appears highly inexpedient to leave this part of the service in the power of the parochial clergy. For, not to inquire whether each individual pastor is likely to possess the taste, discretion, and piety, which will warrant his demanding deference to his opinion on a subject of acknowledged difficulty, the psalms and hymns may vary according to the judgment of each successive incumbent. The rector, on his appointment, finds a selection established, which, right or wrong, he considers highly objectionable; he discards it, and substitutes another, to the great mortification of some part of his flock, who are attached, either from principle or habit, to the old service. Some are offended by the slight put upon the memory of their former pastor; others (we studiously avoid the more dangerous cause of disunion, the diversity of doctrine) are dissatisfied because the time and pains which they have employed in enabling themselves to join in the service have been thrown away; at all events, the poorer inhabitants find their old books useless, and are put to an expense, at which they reasonably complain, if they would still unite their voices with the general song of praise or thanksgiving.

thanksgiving. Hence disunion, dissension, perhaps secession; and this is a mischief, of which we do not as yet entirely see the fatal operation; but, as the present generation of clergy, by whom the innovation has generally been introduced, shall, in the course of nature, be withdrawn from their places, we cannot but anticipate its more extensive and increasing influence. If, in the present state of ecclesiastical affairs, it should appear inexpedient to regulate this part of our service by law or by episcopal authority, yet, if a selection could be made, which should meet the approbation of the rulers of the church, and emanate from the great organ of the establishment, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, we are persuaded it would gradually work its way into most congregations; and we trust that the candour and moderation of those, whose views it might not entirely meet, would admit the expediency of some sacrifice of their personal feelings or opinions, for the great and sacred end of promoting unity within the church.

We are desirous, therefore, of throwing out some suggestions on the subject, which may be useful, if the ecclesiastical authorities of the Church of England and Ireland should seriously apply themselves to the question. The Church of Scotland is actually employed on the revision of her psalmody; and as we are sure that our end would be the same—a selection, full of fervour, without fanaticism; tempered, but not chilled, by sobriety—our inquiries may not be without advantage in that quarter also.* Our object is, to develop certain principles, which we conceive ought to be constantly kept in mind by the compilers of a congregational service; but we shall enter into a preliminary historical sketch of the psalmody, and what we shall take the liberty of calling the hymnology, of the Christian church. Even if we should not succeed in establishing our own principles, the discussion cannot fail to be of the highest importance, and, we conceive, public interest. For if we consider the millions who are employed on every Sabbath in offering up public praise and adoration to God; if we estimate the extent of those countries, of those worlds, we might have said, over which the English language is, and will be, that of public worship; if, as we dare hope, the church of England is to be almost co-extensive with the limits of our native tongue; we may enter into the enthusiasm which dictated the following sentence of Mr. Montgomery, the sincerity of which his character

* Since the above was written, we find that the American Episcopal Church* put forth, in the course of last year, a selection for the use of their congregations—we have not yet seen it. Nor are we aware whether Dr. Baird, the Principal of Edinburgh College, has as yet printed any specimens of the new collection which he is about to submit to the consideration of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

forbids us to question :—‘ If he who pens these sentiments knows his own heart—though it has deceived him too often to be trusted without jealousy—he would rather be the anonymous author of a few hymns, which should thus become an imperishable inheritance to the people of God, than bequeath another epic poem to the world, which should rank his name with Homer, Virgil, and “our greater Milton.” ’

The earliest poetry of all nations, if it has not directly grown out of their religion, has always been inseparably connected with it. The first fruits of song have invariably been offered on the altar of the Deity, the residue only devoted to the praise of the wise or heroic ancestry of the race or tribe. That which is universal must be grounded on some eternal principle of our nature ; and, at the risk of being considered too fanciful, we are inclined to think the connexion between music and devotion philosophically true. Religious adoration is an intercourse with something beyond the region of sense,—the indefinite, the immaterial, the impalpable. Even in the grossest idolatry, it is the unseen and mysterious power which is represented by the statue or the painting. The imagination, therefore, must be strongly excited, and the feelings violently awakened, before the Invisible will become present to the eye of faith, and the spirit withdraw itself from the immediate dominion of the senses, to a communion with that of which at last it can form no clear or distinct notion. The power of sound appears to produce exactly that state of mind most favourable for this sort of illusion. It seems to stimulate the imagination, yet to leave it free to follow its own course ; to agitate the feelings, without attaching them to any definite object. But we break away from an inquiry, which we have intentionally touched in a superficial manner ; for, be this as it may, the simple fact, that poetry and music have almost invariably been admitted as an essential part of the public service of the Deity, is sufficient to vindicate the importance of our subject. That which has been often said, has never been better said, than by one of the most agreeable, though not the purest or most philosophical, of the Greek authors ;—*ὑμνεῖν γὰρ εὐσεβὲς καὶ προσηγορῶμενον ἀνθρώποις τοὺς χαριζαμένους αὐτοῖς μόνοις τὴν ἑναρθερον φωνήν, θεοῦς*—it is a sacred and leading duty of mankind, to hymn the gods, who have endowed them only with an articulate voice.* It is well known how much the poetry of Greece owed to its religious ceremonies. We are inclined, however, to doubt whether we possess any Greek hymn, which actually constituted a part of the religious worship of that poetic people. Those of Callimachus are the artificial productions of a later age, written not so much to excite devotion towards the gods, as admiration towards

* Plutarch de Musica.

the poet. Even those which pass under the name of Homer (though the fragments of which some of them were composed may have been generally used on public occasions) are evidently poems rather than hymns. They may have been recited by the individual poet during the religious festival, but clearly were not the choral song, in which the multitude of worshippers celebrated the praises of their god.* The old vintage and harvest hymns, common to the Greeks with many of the oriental nations, if ever written, were, of course, lost in the splendid scenic exhibitions which grew out of them. Some fragments of the coarser may, perhaps, be traced in Aristophanes; and in some of the choric songs of the Bacchanals of Euripides, the old dithyrambic hymns may appear in a more regular and polished character.

But the Christian church succeeded to an inheritance of devotional poetry, as unrivalled in the history of verse as in that of religion. Doubtless the hymns of the Jewish people did not fall below the general splendour of that most sublime scene described in the Book of Chronicles:—

‘It came even to pass, as the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord; and when they lifted up their voice with the trumpets and cymbals and instruments of music, and praised the Lord, saying, For he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever; that then the house was filled with a cloud, even the house of the Lord. So that the priests could not stand to minister, by reason of the cloud; for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of God.’—*2 Chron.* v, 13, 14.

There appears little doubt, that those noble psalms, the 135th, and, as the burthen seems to show, the 136th, were used upon this solemn occasion. The fifth verse of the 47th, ‘God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet,’ points, in the opinion of learned men, to the august ceremony of the removal of the ark to the Temple; and the 97th, 98th, 99th, and 100th psalms bear, likewise, internal evidence to their having been used on this or some other great national thanksgiving. The temple of Solomon was utterly destroyed, and succeeded by that building, which afflicted its worshippers with a melancholy sense of its inferiority. According to the pathetic words of Ezra, ‘many of the priests and Levites and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, that had seen the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice.’ The building of Ezra was succeeded by the noble edifice of Herod, and that, in its turn,

* Were they not evidently of very modern date, the hymns of a certain Dionysius, of which Dr. Burney published the music, would appear to have the best pretensions to having formed part of a public liturgy.

gave place to the 'abomination of desolation.' No wreck, no fragment of those superb edifices has escaped the total ruin; but the more lasting, the imperishable hymns, have survived, and will survive, till the end of time, to animate and exalt the devotion of all successive ages.

'For deeds do die, however nobly done,
And thoughts of men do in themselves decay,
But wise words, taught in numbers for to run,
Recorded by the Muses, live for aye,
Nor may with stormy showers be washt away.
Ne bitter breathing winds, with harmful blast,
Nor age, nor envy, shall them ever waste.'

Yet it does not appear that the Psalms, indiscriminately taken, formed a part of the temple service. The Psalter was the great general collection of Hebrew devotional poetry, not the hymn-book of the temple or the synagogue. This distinction appears to us of great importance; nor will it be uninteresting or unprofitable to inquire which of these hymns were considered by the Jews as most appropriate for their congregational worship. The ordinary psalms, which were constantly sung, were these—on the first day of the week, the 24th psalm, 'The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof;' on the second, the 48th, 'Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the city of God;' on the third, the 82nd, 'God standeth in the congregation of the mighty;' on the fourth, the 94th, 'O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth;' on the fifth, the 81st, 'Sing aloud unto God, our strength;' on the sixth, the 93rd, 'the Lord reigneth, he is clothed with majesty;' on the Sabbath, the 92nd, which is entitled a psalm for the Sabbath day, 'It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord.' At the additional sacrifice on the Sabbath, they sang one-sixth portion of the Song of Moses, Deut. xxxii.; and at the evening sacrifice, the Song of Moses, Exod. xv. Besides these regular psalms, the Jews had their proper psalms for their different festivals. On the 1st day of the year, the Feast of Trumpets, the 81st; at the evening sacrifice, the 29th. At the Feast of Tabernacles, the first day, the 105th, 'O give thanks unto the Lord;' the second, the 29th, 'Give unto the Lord, O ye mighty;' the third, 50th, at, or more probably to, v. 16, 'The mighty God, even the Lord, hath spoken;' the fourth, 94th, v. 16; the fifth, 95th, v. 8; the sixth, 80th, v. 6; the seventh, 82nd, v. 5.*

Besides

* Lightfoot, to whom we are indebted for much of our information, has quoted from the Gemara some curious and fanciful reasons for this selection. 'On the first day of the week, they sang "The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof," because on the first day of the week of creation, God possessed the world, and gave it in possession, and ruled in it. On the second day of the week, they sang, "Great is the Lord, and greatly

Besides all these, they had their greater and lesser Hallel. The common or lesser Hallel, called, likewise, the Egyptian, was sung on all great occasions, especially at the Passover, and is supposed to have been that used by our Lord and his apostles, Matt. xxvi., 30. It consisted of the six short psalms from the 113th to the 118th. It is uncertain what psalms composed the greater Hallel. The temple choir contained never less than twelve singers, and each psalm was divided into three parts, and at every pause of the voices and musical instruments, the trumpets sounded, and the people worshipped. We have thought it worth while to notice this last circumstance, though not strictly relevant; but if our readers, who may be interested in the question, will take the trouble of consulting the above-mentioned psalms, they will find that they are all general and congregational, not personal and individual. They speak the gratitude or the adoration of an assembled nation, not the private and peculiar feelings of some single devout worshipper, whose expressions naturally abound in temporary allusions to his own present peculiar circumstances. Their reverence for the name and prophetic character of David did not lead them to introduce into their public worship those exquisite elegiac poems, which he composed when under persecution by his rebellious son, or when deserted by his own familiar friend, or stricken by remorse at the enormity of those crimes for which he entreated the forgiveness of his God. Many, doubtless, in their private devotions, during seasons of sorrow and humiliation, recurred to the inspired writings, and addressed their Maker in the burning and thrilling language of their great national poets. But the public service of the temple was, as it were, the voice of the whole people, and nothing was appropriate there but what all could share in common, the general goodness and mercy of the Almighty to the race of Israel; the glorious promises of favour and protection to all the seed of Abraham.

It is by no means certain at what period the Christian church introduced the whole Psalter into her services. The expression of St. Paul, to which we have before alluded, 'each one hath a psalm,' 1 Cor. xiv. 26, seems to imply selection. The laborious

greatly to be praised," for on that day the Lord divided his works, the waters, and reigned over them. On the third day, they sang the psalm "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty," because on that day the earth appeared, on which is judging and judges; and by his wisdom he discovered the earth, and established the world by his understanding. On the fourth, they sang the psalm, "O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth," because on the fourth day he made the sun, moon, and stars; and will be avenged on them that worship them. On the fifth, "Sing aloud unto God, our strength," because of the variety of creatures that were made that day, to praise his name. On the sixth, the psalm, "The Lord reigneth, he is clothed with majesty," because on the sixth day, God finished his works, made man, who understands the glory of his Creator; and the Lord ruled over all his works.—*Lightfoot, Temple Service.*

Bingham,

Bingham, after having enumerated certain psalms, which were appropriated to particular services, as the 73d, called the morning, and the 141st, the evening psalm, proceeds thus: 'The other psalms were sung, in the ordinary course of reading, from end to end, in the same order as they lay in the book, without being appropriated to any times, or lessons, or days, except more particular psalms, which were appointed as proper for each canonical hour.' *Antiquities*, Book xiv. c. 1. s. 5. The reason, however, is obvious; the inspired and prophetic, as well as the devotional character of this part of the holy writings. The public services, when books were scarce and dear, and those who could read probably far from numerous, were the only means by which the Christian doctrines could be made known. The Psalter, therefore, like the rest of the scripture which was distributed into lessons, was recited from beginning to end. The manner of recitation only was different. The practice of the churches varied exceedingly as to the degree of musical intonation which was admitted. Sometimes the psalms, in the words of our Rubric, were 'said,' sometimes 'sung.' According to the Institutes of Cassian, in some places one person arose in the midst, and repeated the psalm, the others listening in silence. 'Absque eo, qui dicturus in medium psalmos surrexerit, cuncti sedilibus humillimis insidentes, ad vocem psallentis omni cordis intentione dependent.'—*Cass. Instit.* ii. 12. In Alexandria, by order of Athanasius, as St. Augustine informs us, the psalms were repeated with the slightest possible inflection of voice, scarcely so musical as our cathedral chanting, 'tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi, ut pronuncianti vicinior esset quam canenti.'—*August. Conf.* x. 33.* Gradually, however, the body of worshippers were excluded from joining in the service, and the psalmody was assigned to a particular order in the church. The voice of the multitude, as they took up their responses, which St. Ambrose† compares to that of

* The worthy father was in great perplexity between his fear of indulging too much in the carnal delight of music, and his recollection, that his devotional feelings had been most powerfully excited by the influence of religious song. 'Cum reminiscor lachrymas meas, quas fudi ad cantus ecclesiarum tuarum, in primordiis recuperatæ fidei meæ: et nunc ipsum, cum moveor non cantu sed rebus quæ cantantur, cum liquida voce et convenientissimâ modulatione cantantur: magnam instituti hujus utilitatem rursus agnosco. Ita fluctuo inter periculum voluptatis et experimentum salubritatis: magisque adducor, non quidem irretractabilem sententiam proferens, cantandi consuetudinem approbare in ecclesiâ: ut per oblectamenta aurium, infirmior animus in affectum pietatis assurgat.' Perhaps his pious horror of more ornamented psalmody might be in some degree heightened from its being the practice of his adversaries, the heretical Donatists, who seem to have been possessed with something of the spirit of the early Methodists or Moravians. 'Donatistæ nos reprehendant, quod sobrie psallimus in ecclesiâ diurna cantica Prophetarum, cum ipsi ebrietates suas ad canticum psalmodiarum humano ingenio compositorum, quasi tubas exhortationis inflamment.'

† Responsorii psalmodiarum, cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum, consonans undarum fragor resultat.'—*Hieron.* l. iii., c. 5.

many waters, gave place universally to the antiphonal manner of singing, in which one half of the choir repeated verse for verse after the other. Bingham is of opinion, and is probably right, (for many of the practices of the church which ended in the greatest abuses, were begun with the most pious and praiseworthy motives,) that the order of singers was first introduced 'with a design to retrieve and improve the ancient (the general) psalmody, and not to abolish or destroy it.' Their title of ὑποβολεῖς would nearly answer to that of leaders, who are sometimes employed to great advantage in the simplest congregational psalmody. However that may be, the antiphonal service soon became the exclusive property of the regular singers: it began in the East, prevailed in all the Greek churches, (it may be worth observing, that it bears a remarkable likeness to the strophe and anti-strophe of the Greek lyric and dramatic chorus,) was received at Milan in the days of Ambrose, and finally spread throughout the west. How, indeed, could it be rejected, when it had received the authority of a reported vision of the blessed Ignatius, who was said to have heard the angels singing in the antiphonal manner the praises of the Holy Trinity? *Socr. Hist. Eccl.* vi. c. 8. As the music gradually became more scientific and artificial, and the language of all the public services ceased to be that of the people, the congregation were effectually excluded from any participation in this, as in every other part of the liturgy. If, indeed, the devotion of a whole people could be delegated to a few, the activity and zeal of the monastic clergy might have made up for the silence of the laity. The monasteries were schools of devotional music, and many times during the day the voices of the choir were heard swelling from the neighbouring abbey, 'over some wide-watered shore.' The labourer as he woke with the sun to his accustomed toil; or as, in southern climates, he reposed from the heat of the burning noon; or as he lingered weary on his return at evening to his dwelling; the traveller at midnight—all were reminded of the Heavenly Father and Redeemer, by the solemn strain of the organ from the commanding minster, or the sweeter and gentler voices which pealed from the chapel of the convent. Doubtless, the exquisite beauty of these services must have won many to worship, in ignorance perhaps, but still in humble sincerity. Though their understandings did not comprehend the words, yet their hearts felt the purport of those exalting or pathetic harmonies. We, who are, perhaps, the most unmusical nation in the world, and too many of us not disposed to judge candidly of the religion of the dark ages, cannot estimate fairly the real devotional effects of the old church music: it did not, it is true, impart religious knowledge, but did it not awaken and exalt religious affections! and it

it not excite multitudes to join in its hallelujahs, who would otherwise have been almost without God in the world?

The great principle of the Reformation was to make religious worship as well as religious responsibility strictly personal. The people, therefore, were to sing, as well as to believe and pray, 'not with the heart only, but with the understanding also.' But the old church music was far too difficult and complicated to become popular, and had this been otherwise, it could not readily be divorced from the Latin service, and adapted to the vernacular translations of the psalms. In order to accord with one simple tune, the psalm or the hymn must conform to one regular rhythm, and hence the imperious necessity of metrical versions. Luther himself felt, and could supply the want in his own country; and wherever the reformation spread, the psalms were translated, with better or worse success, into regular rhyme. Every thing conspired to endear the Book of Psalms to the early reformers: not merely as it formed a part, and a most important part, of the long-sealed word of God; not merely as its deep and thrilling expressions of repentance, its splendid amplifications of the power and glory of God, its energy, its sublimity, its heartfelt tenderness, captivated their excited feelings; not merely for one or all these reasons did it cleave to their memory, and when associated to their national airs, take root, as it were, in the depth of their hearts; but it was still further endeared by temporary circumstances. Much which would have been inapplicable to the church in a state of peace, became or appeared to be strictly appropriate in the hour of persecution and distress. All those poems which represented the chosen people, or the individual in the lowest state of oppression and misery, faithfully and as it were prophetically described their own condition. The hunted Hugonot, or he that was condemned under the bloody statute of the Six Articles, beheld himself in David fleeing as a bird to the hills, or betrayed by his own familiar friend. This indiscriminate appropriation of the sacred language had its good—and its evil. It supported the holiest and the humblest in his hour of trial; the martyr sang the psalm as he went to the stake; and the prison, like that of Paul and Silas, echoed with the earnest glorification of God, till, perhaps, its tenants almost expected to find their bonds loosed and the prison-doors opened, by the immediate intervention of the Almighty. But it likewise too frequently authorised the violent fanatic to denounce his enemies with all the awful imprecations which are employed against the enemies of God; and by the self-appropriation of all that related to the chosen people, encouraged the presumptuous in the confidence of their personal election. If the psalms were often sung in the spirit

spirit of evangetic meekness, it cannot be denied that sometimes they were uttered with the unapostolic and less charitable vehemence of the Old Testament. This was an error, but a natural one. It could not be expected—when the Scriptures suddenly broke again upon the world with a dazzling splendour, and when the feelings in all quarters were in the highest state of excitement—that a sober and scholar-like discrimination between those parts of the Bible, which are superseded by the gospel, and those which are perpetual, should immediately be made. We wish that, in times where the error is far less excusable, the scriptures were studied more as a whole, not as a collection of detached sentences, to be applied singly, as authoritative axioms, to the whole course of moral and religious conduct. But, however occasionally abused, the importance of thus wresting the influence of sacred music out of the power of the adversary was incalculable. Among the Germans, then, as now, the power of music was signally effective; and Luther, as we have before observed, was well able to direct its influence. In France, even the court was surprised at hearing the gay and dissolute chansons forcibly ejected from their favourite tunes; and voices, not accustomed to such service, dwelling with the utmost fervour on the rude psalms of Clement Marot.

In England, the church, with its accustomed moderation, was content at first with remedying the more immediate evil, only commanding that the psalms, with the rest of the liturgy, should be ‘said or sung’ in the vernacular tongue. The intention, we conceive, was, that in the cathedrals, or wherever there might be a choir, the old music should be retained; but the parish churches were to return, as near as possible, to the practice of the primitive church, in which, as we showed above, one verse was read without, or with scarcely any, inflexion of voice, and the second repeated in the same manner, by the whole congregation. They judged wisely; for to have proscribed the cathedral music would, in the first instance, have alienated many minds which were inclined to acquiesce in the change; and that man must take a very narrow and bigoted view of the various means by which the minds of men, as they are differently constituted, may be incited to religious devotion, who should reject the influence of our cathedral service when chaunted with fervour and solemnity. Let us bring the sternest of our northern brethren, who ever denounced the papistical ‘kist fu’ o’ whistles,’ and place him within the choir of York, or in King’s College Chapel, and if he be not entirely of Cassius’s vein, we do not doubt that we should find him surprised into involuntary devotion; and even, perhaps, bowing the knee to Baal. There is something in that wonderful instrument itself which

which the puritan spirit would rashly have assigned over to the enemy, the fulness of sound, without the visible appearance of human agency, which appears singularly adapted to devotional purposes ;

‘ When beneath the nave,
High arching, the cathedral organ ‘gins
Its prelude, lingeringly exquisite
Within retired the bashful sweetness dwells ;
Anon like sunlight, or the floodgate rush
Of waters, bursts it forth, clear, solemn, full ;
It breaks upon the mazy fretted roof ;
It coils up round the clustering pillars tall ;
It leaps into the cell-like chapels ; strikes
Beneath the pavement sepulchres ; at once
The living temple is instinct, ablaze,
With the uncontroll’d exuberance of sound.’

We know little of the human heart, we know little of our own, if multitudes have not felt the purest devotion heightened by those sounds accompanying one of our simple scriptural anthems ; if many, who never were disposed to devotion before, have not derived incalculable advantage from feelings thus kindled for the first time.*

Let us not, however, be mistaken. For general parochial purposes the psalmody must be so regulated that the whole body of the people may join, if they will, in the song of thanksgiving. In many places, of course, an organ is unattainable, and where there is one it ought to be so played as to permit the most uninstructed in music to accompany it. Unhappily, however, (we write after a painful comparison of our metrical versions,) the free, eloquent, and poetical language of our authorised version of the psalms must submit to the uncongenial fetters of rhyme and metre. But

* Milton's lines are well known, too well, to quote—but there is something in the following stanzas of Herbert, notwithstanding their quaintness and want of ease, sweetly expressive of his own feelings and those of many others, not merely in his humble and holy generation, but in later and more unpoetical days. It was the great worldly enjoyment of this good man to walk over to Salisbury to hear the cathedral service :—

CHURCH MUSIC.

Sweetest of sweets, I thank you, when displeasure
Did through my body wound my mind,
You took me thence, and in your house of pleasure
A dainty lodging me assign'd.
Now I in you without a body move,
Rising and falling with your wings ;
We both together sweetly live and love,
Yet say sometimes ‘ God help poor Kings.’
Comfort, I'll die ; for if you part from me
Sure I shall do so and much more ;
But if I travel in your company
You know your way to heaven's door.

Hebrew poetry, seems as impatient of bondage as the Jews themselves, and every successive attempt has ended in almost universal failure. And who are those who have laboured in this good cause? No less names than Sir Philip Sydney, Bacon, Milton, Addison, and we may add, perhaps, Mason and Cowper. But the history of our versions of the psalms deserves a more detailed examination.

It is well known that as soon as a metrical version existed, it was admitted, either by legal authority or by tacit consent, into the Church of England; that version was the well-known composition of Sternhold and Hopkins.* It is astonishing how pertinaciously many excellent men adhere to these venerable worthies because they are considered to have the sanction of authority. We hear perpetually of their occasional beauties, but we never yet could get one of their advocates beyond the memorable stanzas:—

The Lord descended from above
And bowed the heavens high!
And underneath his feet he cast
The darkness of the sky.
On cherubs and on cherubims
Full royally he rode;
And on the wings of mighty winds
Came flying all abroad.

Even here the fastidious critic may complain of the lameness in the second line, and inquire why the version, which claims, exclusively, the merit of faithfulness, has drawn that singular distinction between cherubs and cherubims. We are persuaded that if a selection be made which shall meet with general acceptance in the present day, very few stanzas of this old version will retain their place.

The next version of the Book of Psalms was by Archbishop Parker; a rare book, which we have never seen; had it been a good one, it would hardly have been rare. The specimens which we have seen, and the fact that, though composed by a man of the archbishop's rank and character, it did not enter into competition with Sternhold and Hopkins, appear conclusive as to its want of merit.

An extremely elegant volume, containing a version of the

* We decline the question, which was agitated a few years ago, as to the comparative legal authority for using the different versions. To enforce the monopoly of Sternhold and Hopkins appears to us a measure far too unwise and impracticable to be attempted by many of the enlightened prelates on the bench; we might as well insist that all our Bibles should be printed in black letter. We may observe, moreover, that if we are to adhere to Sternhold and Hopkins, it will be expedient to decide to which edition, for two agree.

Psalms by Sir Philip Sidney, and his accomplished sister the Countess of Pembroke, issued a short time since from the Chiswick press. The life of Sir Philip Sidney is finer poetry than his writings; and we do not think that he was ever so highly inspired in verse as in his Defence of Poesy. As lovers of our early poetry we are thankful for the publication, though for our present purpose it is almost entirely useless. It has some of the beauties, but more than its share of the faults, of its age and writer. The rhythm of some lines, even of some stanzas, flows with that sort of intuitive music, which the thoughts of lofty and accomplished minds seem to command; but in general the metres are far too irregular and capricious to accord with the simple airs of our church service; and though the golden grains of rich and imaginative expression will amply repay the admirer of this school of English poetry, he will have to collect them from the dross of innumerable quaintnesses, false conceits and antitheses, and meanesses of language. As the volume is little known, we subjoin the 93d psalm, which appears to us, craving indulgence for two low rather than antiquated words, rendered with great life and energy:—

Psalm xciii. — *Dominus regnarit.*

Cloth'd with state, and girt with might
 Monarch-like Jehovah reigns,
 He who carthes foundation pight,
 Pight at first, and yet sustaines.
 He whose stable throne disdaines
 Motions shock, and ages flight:
 He who endless one remains,
 One, the same, in changeless plight.

Rivers, yea, though rivers rore,
 Roring though sea-billows rise,
 Vex the deepe and breake the shore,
 Stronger art thou, Lord of skies.
 Firme and true thy promise lies,
 Now and still as heretofore,
 Holy worshipp never dies
 In thy house where we adore.

Lord Bacon's attempts at versifying a few of the psalms make us rejoice rather than regret that he proceeded no further. English poetry would have gained little, but what might not English philosophy have lost, if he had consumed much of his life on this uncongenial occupation! It is curious to see how the philosopher intrudes into the department of the poet in these lines, which, perhaps, are worth quoting for no other reason:—

But

But who can blaze thy beauties, Lord, aright,
They turn the brittle beams of mortal sight.
Upon thy head thou wear'st a glorious crown
All set with virtues, polished with renown.
Thence round about a silver veil doth fall
Of chrystal light, mother of colours all.

Had Bacon succeeded, where so many practised versifiers have failed, we might indeed have wondered; but that Milton should fall so far, not merely below himself, but below many of the humblest names in our poetic ranks, excites not more regret than astonishment. Milton, whose devotional feelings were so deep and fervent; whose intimacy with the original Hebrew is unquestionable; whose lyric poems, the songs in *Comus*, the *Allegro* and *Penseroso*, flow with such easy and exquisite harmony, that Handel himself could scarcely add music to those passages to which he adapted his accompaniments; Milton might seem to have united every qualification for a translator of the *Psalms*. His most ardent admirers have not appealed against the general verdict which has been recorded against him in this character; and, however we might select here and there a stanza of a higher order, and a few of his own inimitable beauties of language, we are not in the least inclined to disturb the judgment.

George Sandys is usually considered the most poetic translator of the *psalms*, and to this opinion we subscribe—with some limitation. He excels in one kind of measure alone, and that the most simple; his animation and lyric fire forsake him entirely when he attempts a more intricate stanza. In the formation of the stanza itself, he is rarely fortunate; short lines halt after long ones, and Alexandrines trail after lines of four syllables, according to the capricious fashion of his day, without any apparent principle of rhythm or harmony. But in his eight syllable, or rather his seven syllable couplet, he surpasses all his rivals in life, energy, and richness. We subjoin the 148th psalm.

You who dwell above the skies,
Free from humane miseries;
You whom highest heaven impowres
Praise the Lord with all your powres.
Angels your cleare voices raise;
Him your heav'nly armies praise;
Sunne and moone with borrow'd light,
All you sparkling eyes of night;
Waters hanging in the aire,
Heaven of heavens his praise declare.
His deserved praise record,
His, who made you by his Word,

Made you evermore to last,
 Set you bounds not to be past.
 Let the earth his praise resound ;
 Monstrous whales, and seas profound,
 Vapours, lightning, hail and snow,
 Storms which when he bids them, blow ;
 Flowery hills and mountains high,
 Cedars, neighbours to the skie ;
 Trees that fruit in season yield,
 All the cattell of the field,
 Salvage beasts, all creeping things,
 All that cut the air with wings.
 You who awfull scepters sway,
 You inured to obey.
 Princes, judges of the earth,
 All of high and humble birth,
 Youths and virgins flourishing
 In the beauty of your spring ;
 You who bow with age's weight,
 You who were but borne of late ;
 Praise his name with one consent.
 O how great ! how excellent !
 Than the earth profounder far,
 Higher than the highest starre,
 He will us to honour raise,
 You his saints resound his praise ;
 You who are of Jacob's race,
 And united to his grace.

Yet spirited and manly as the lyrics of Sandys frequently are, they have scarcely ever found their way into our selections. We suspect for this reason, that in his most flowing pieces, the time is not kept with that regularity, or marked with that precision, which is requisite for verses intended to be sung by untaught voices to a simple air. In homely phrase, they would hardly go to any tune.

Translations now multiply upon us. All ranks and orders appear smitten with the love of sacred song—learned prelates and dignitaries of the established church—Bishop Hall, who only translated ten psalms, Bishop King who gave a version of the whole ; and Patrick, the brother of the commentator ; fiery Puritans, as Francis Rouse, whose version was recommended by the Assembly of Divines, but of whom Butler sarcastically remarks, that ‘ when Rouse stood forth for his trial, Robin Wisdom (the coadjutor of Sternhold and Hopkins) was found the better poet,’ and George Wither, whose politics and polemics turned to vinegar the sweet vein of poetry of which his youth gave promise ; courtiers, as Sir John Denham ; and retired country clergymen, as George Herbert,

Herbert, among whose works versions of some few of the psalms may be found ; and Simon Ford, a name ‘ unknown to fame ;’—heroes of the *Dunciad*, Luke Milbourn, and Sir Richard Blackmore, among whose poetical deeds it is recorded, that

He took his muse at once, and dipp’d her
Full in the middle of the scripture ;
What wonders there the man grown old did !
Sternhold himself he out-Sternhold-ed !

—and others, who have not even attained that melancholy celebrity, Miles Smyth, Richard Goodridge, William Barton, Samuel Woodford. But what is called the New Version, requires further notice, if not for its merits, yet as having been received into the church by royal authority. Nahum Tate is described in the preface to a volume of select psalms in verse, (London, 1810,) from which we have derived some useful information, as ‘ so extremely modest, that he was never able to make his fortune, or to raise himself above necessity.’ For a modest man, Tate seems to have taken rather a singular measure of his own abilities, in those of his literary undertakings with which we are acquainted—an improvement of *King Lear*, a continuation of *Absalom and Achitophel*, and a translation of the psalms. Nicholas Brady, his coadjutor, does not appear to have entertained a much more humble estimate of his own abilities, for he, undaunted by Dryden’s success, published a translation of the *Æneid*, which, (says Johnson,) when dragged into the world, did not live long enough to cry. Yet the candid critic who shall have taken the pains to compare the different versions, will entertain no contemptible opinion of Tate and Brady. This version will furnish more stanzas, adapted to the purpose of parochial psalmody, if not excellent, yet unobjectionable, than any with which we are acquainted. The 19th and 139th are extremely well done, at least would require but trifling alterations. But as those stanzas which we should quote, would probably be most familiar to our readers, we abstain from any further illustration. Passing by the elegant paraphrases of Addison, we arrive at the name of Dr. Watts. It is the most ungracious and unwelcome part of our present task to speak unfavourably of the well-meant contributions of good men to the cause of Christian piety, especially where they are still popular with a large class of the community. We do not object to Watts, that his psalms are not literal versions, which he did not intend them to be, but we cannot help suspecting, that the attachment of the better educated among the dissenters to this, which is, we believe, generally their hymn book, partakes of that feeling from which many pious members of the Church adhere to old Sternhold and Hopkins. Watts

was an excellent man, a strong reasoner, of undoubted piety, and, perhaps a rarer virtue, of true Christian charity, but in our opinion, he laboured under an irreparable deficiency for the task he undertook—he was no poet. He had a great command of scriptural language, and an extraordinary facility of versification, but his piety may induce us to make excuses for his poetry, his poetry will do little to excite dormant piety. Yet if we are dissatisfied with the rude, homely, and unequal strains of Watts, we have still less taste for the trim and smooth-dressed stanzas into which Merrick has softened down all the daring, the grandeur, the lyric luxuriance of the Hebrew poets. The best writers of the last age were sometimes perhaps too liberal of words in proportion to their thoughts, but then their words were rich and musical; Merrick is as tame as he is diffuse. If it be the first merit of a translator to give the spirit and character of his original, it would be difficult to find a stronger contrast than the languid, equable, and monotonous elegance of Merrick presents to the startling images and glowing words of the Hebrew lyrists.

Are we then to acquiesce in the discouraging sentence pronounced by a competent authority, the poet Mason: ‘a literal version of the psalms may boldly be asserted impracticable’? We confess we have no great expectation, that these ‘chartered libertines’ will ever submit to the shackles of English metre; and fear, therefore, that no poetical translation is likely to compete with that, which, in some passages, is almost rhythmical, the version in our prayer books. Our only hope, and that vague and remote, is, in greater attention to the genius of Hebrew poetry, which, since the days of our earlier translators, has been so beautifully developed by Lowth and Michaelis. Will not English poetry endure something like the parallelism of the Hebrews? or will that antithetical balance of line against line, or stanza against stanza, and the constant recurrence of the same or equivalent terms, in the same part of the sentence, offend hopelessly our fastidious ears? If the construction of our ‘native English’ would reject the Hebrew collocation of its words, would not the occasional harshness or intricacy be compensated by the more faithful representation of the spirit and character of the original? We think, that if the two qualifications, a decided poetical talent and Hebrew scholarship were to meet in some gifted individual, it might be worth while to venture the experiment.

At present, however, the only alternative seems to be, either leaving the subject in its very unsatisfactory actual state, or putting forth a selection under ecclesiastical authority, or at least recommendation. Should this second course be adopted, we presume

sume to submit the following principles on which such a selection should be formed—principles which, in most respects, would be equally applicable to a collection of hymns. 1st. The pieces included in the selection should be odes addressed to the Supreme Being, or commemorative of his mercies and attributes. They should not be taken from the didactic, rarely perhaps, if ever, from the elegiac poems, contained in the book of psalms. The first psalm, for example, which is supposed to have been prefixed to the collection by Ezra, is an extremely elegant didactic poem, but its tone and spirit are much better adapted to the pulpit than to the singing gallery. The greater part of the 119th psalm, not to instance others, comes under this description. We sing, as that sonorous gentleman who announces what we are to sing, duly informs us, to the praise and glory of God; but ethic rules, however beautiful, and religious admonitions, however forcible and true, appear misplaced in this part of our service. 2dly. They should be general or congregational; they should consist of expressions fairly and reasonably applicable to every individual in the assembly. We address the Universal Father, the Universal Redeemer, the Universal Spirit. We address in public and in common with a multitude of our fellow-creatures. Our language, therefore, can only comprehend our common benefits and blessings. Our private and peculiar feelings of gratitude or consolation must be reserved for our private devotions. Even in the rapid course of the public service, the pious mind may individualise and appropriate the general mercies of God, but this must take place within; he must not expect the common thanksgiving to adapt itself to his peculiar circumstances or state; to abound in allusions which are appropriate to him, but foreign to a great part of the congregation. On this point, the practice of the Jewish church may assist the Christian. Those unrivalled poems, in which David expresses his awful contrition for his particular crime; or where he gives thanks for some particular instance of God's goodness in rescuing him from his rebellious son, or his traitorous subjects, did not, it should seem, enter into the public service. Select, for example, the 42d psalm, which is admitted into most collections, and certainly is inferior to few in poetic and devotional excellence. But by losing its connexion with the circumstances under which it was composed; by being transferred from David lamenting his exile from the Holy City, and the local presence of his God, how much of its beauty is likewise lost! The following stanza is rarely omitted.

God of my strength, how long shall I

Like one forgotten mourn,

Forlorn, forsaken and expos'd

To my oppressor's scorn? •

How exquisitely appropriate to the king, hunted on the mountains by his rebellious son!—how soothing, perhaps, without doing much violence to its expressions, to some unhappy Christian in the hour of distress and solitude; how utterly inappropriate, on common occasions, to a whole Christian assembly! We should not be so rigid as to proscribe the first person singular, more especially as the self-identification of every individual worshipper with the general address is in every way desirable; but it would be a fair test of the fitness of any hymn or psalm, to examine whether it would not be incongruous and improper if expressed in the first person plural. 3dly. The selections should be Christian both in spirit and in tenor. It cannot be denied, that in every one of our common versions, passages perpetually occur, which appeal to angry, hostile, and uncharitable passions. It is unreasonable to suppose, that, in the fervour and animation with which the hymn ought to be taken up, the general mass of worshippers will pause in order to exalt and spiritualize their devotions to a purer and more evangelic sense. The obvious meaning is that which will lay hold of the affections, or the affections will suffer in the cold and dispiriting process of correction. ‘If we change,’ says Bishop Horne, ‘the imperative for the future, and read not “let them be confounded,” &c., but, they shall be confounded, &c., of which the Hebrew is equally capable’—if we consider that our spiritual enemies, the world, the devil, and the flesh, ought only to be intended; if we call to mind, that only the foes of God and his church are thus denounced, all these expressions are warrantable. This may or may not be good theology; but the practical question is, whether any, except the most pious and enlightened, will have these considerations perpetually present to their thoughts; and whether there is not great danger in laying such a temptation in the way of those passions which are apt enough to allege scriptural authority, and pervert the word of God for their justification. They should be Christian likewise in their tenor. It is in vain to assert that, the law having a shadow of good things to come, a spiritual and evangelic sense lurks within all the language of the inspired psalmists. Theologically considered, this is highly questionable; practically the acknowledgment that the sense is latent, appears decisive. The frequent use of some of the typical expressions in the New Testament; their perpetual application in the general system of Christian teaching will doubtless authorise the more obvious terms, as in fact they naturally suggest the secondary rather than the primary meaning, as, for instance, Sion that of the church, God’s people, the Christian world.* But the moment we enter more into detail—
admit

* The perpetual adoption of the metaphor of the shepherd and his sheep, in the language

admit allusions which clearly lead us to the services and sacrifices of the Temple—dwell on circumstances in the life of David, in which it is difficult to trace any resemblance whatever to the Messiah, of whom he is, in other places, the type—we make an unreasonable demand upon the piety and intelligence of the general congregation, if we expect them immediately to translate all this into a Christian and evangetic meaning. ‘Is it not a melancholy reflection,’ observes Bishop Horne, ‘at the close of a long life, that, after reciting them (the psalms) at proper seasons, through the greatest part of it, no more should be known of their true meaning and application, than when the psalter was first taken in hand in school!’ This most amiable prelate, in his Commentary on the Psalms, attempted to make the spiritual sense easy and comprehensible to the simplest understanding; but, granting that his principle of interpretation were universally admitted, the fact that such a commentary was necessary, would show that the spiritual sense is perpetually so remote, that, excepting in particular passages, it would not occur to the less-instructed Christian, especially, as we said before, in the hurry and excitement of vocal exertion. ‘Sing ye praises not merely with the heart, but with the understanding also,’ is a golden rule, and we would have our psalmody distinctly and universally intelligible.

Each selected passage, likewise, which should consist of the number of verses usually sung, should be a whole within itself, and the capricious mutilation of the organist or parish clerk forbidden or discouraged. In many of the selected psalms, the verses are strung together, without the slightest connexion. Mr. Montgomery has some very sensible remarks on the construction of a hymn, which will equally apply, if practicable, to the subject before us:—

‘A hymn must have a beginning, middle, and end. There should be a manifest gradation in the thoughts; and their mutual dependence should be so perceptible, that they could not be transposed without injuring the unity of the piece; every line carrying forward the connection, and every verse adding a well proportioned limb to a symmetrical body. The reader should know when the strain is complete, and be satisfied, as at the close of the air in music; while defects and superfluities should be felt by him as annoyances, in whatever part they might occur.’

language of the New Testament, may plead in favour of Addison’s celebrated paraphrase on the 23d psalm; nor should we be so hypercritical as to except against the detail into which the metaphor is carried. Those verses of the 24th psalm, ‘Lift up your heads, oh ye gates!’ which proclaimed the entrance of the ark into the Temple, suggest naturally and immediately the ascension of the Redeemer to the right hand of the Father; and the ‘gates of Heaven’ have become a conventional expression of Christianity; this passage, therefore, is unobjectionable, and indeed peculiarly appropriate to that great festival of the Church, or the following Sunday.

All those psalms, therefore, must be avoided, where there are any of those rapid and daring transitions, in which Hebrew poetry so much delights, where an apostrophe is suddenly made, of which the design is not immediately apparent, or where the person of the speaker is suddenly changed. The 2nd, though a prophetic psalm, on this account strikes us as remarkably inappropriate; for the poet suddenly pauses, and the Almighty himself is supposed to speak, and address the future Messiah; and in the next verse, the Messiah himself is introduced upon the scene, to bear his part in the sublime colloquy. In short, the compiler, we are persuaded, ought to have studied the principles of Hebrew poetry, and the genius and object of each particular poem, far more carefully than has been the case with most of those who have formed our selections.

There is a more important question, on which opinions are much divided; the propriety of introducing prayer and supplication into that part of our service which is peculiarly set apart for the praise and glory of God; and with this question we shall pass at once to the second part of our subject, the hymnology of the Christian church. As far as we can ascertain, the hymns of the primitive assemblies were confined to the glorification of their God and Saviour. Gregory of Nyssa defines a hymn a thanksgiving offered to God for the blessings we enjoy. ὕμνος ἐστὶν ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἡμῖν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνατιθεμένη τῷ Θεῷ εὐφημία. *In psalm 11.* Nothing, indeed, could be more simple than the earliest hymns, which consisted of the doxology, ‘Glory be to the Father,’ &c.; the Angelic Hymn, ‘Glory be to God on high,’ &c.; the Cherubic Hymn, from Rev. iv., 12, ‘Holy, Holy, Holy, &c. ;* and the Hymn of Victory, ‘ὕμνος ἐπὶ νικίῳ,’ Rev. xv., 3. The cherubic hymn was, probably, that to which Pliny

* Bishop Heber’s amplification of this Doxology is very spirited, nor would it be difficult, we conceive, to arrange it for public service.

‘Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty!
 Early in the morning our song shall rise to thee.
 Holy, holy, holy! merciful and mighty!
 God in three persons, blessed Trinity!
 Holy, holy, holy! all the saints adore thee,
 Casting down their golden crowns around the glassy sea;
 Cherubim and Seraphim, falling down before thee,
 Which wert, and art, and ever more shalt be.
 Holy, holy, holy! though the darkness hide thee,
 Though the eye of sinful man thy glory may not see,
 Only thou art holy; there is none beside thee,
 Perfect in power, in love, and purity.
 Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty!
 All thy works shall praise thy name, in earth, and sky, and sea.
 Holy, holy, holy! merciful and mighty!
 God in three persons, blessed Trinity.’

alludes,

alludes, where he says that the Christians were accustomed to sing a hymn to Christ, as God. The alleluia was the constant prelude or burthen to their singing. One Christian poet declares this in a line which is a singular example of overdrawing a metaphor:—

‘Alleluia novis balat ovile choris.’—*Paulin., Ep. ad Sev.* 12.

Another, with better taste, though not very classical Latin, asserts that it was the boat-song of the Christian sailors on the Saone:—

‘Curvorum hinc chorus helciariorum,

Responsantibus Alleluia ripis,

Ad Christum levat amnicum celeusma.’—*Sid. Apoll.* 2, cp. 10.

The Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis were likewise sung in the earliest ages; nor does there appear to have been any scruple as to the reception of human compositions into the service of the church; of this, Bingham produces abundant evidence. Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, mentions more than once hymns composed by private individuals; (see lib. ii. 17, and v. 28, and vii. 24.) and many of the Fathers, especially Ambrose and Hilary, in the western church, composed hymns for the edification of their flocks, which were received into the public liturgies.

As then, our liturgy is chiefly formed of prayers, selected with consummate judgment, from those in use in the earliest periods—transmitted through the church of Rome, but almost all the common property of the church for centuries before the peculiar dogmas of the Vatican were heard of—can we hope to derive equal assistance from the poetical treasures of early Christianity? We fear not; for, were they of the highest order, the difficulty of translation would be as great as in the case of the psalms. The spirit of poetry always evaporates in the transfusion from one vessel to another; and in devotional poetry, at least that adapted to public worship, much of the beauty must depend on the grace and felicity with which the common thoughts and feelings of the community are expressed. Yet the ancient hymns of the church are not merely venerable on account of their age; their poetic merit is by no means of an humble order. We doubt not that we shall offend those purists in Latinity who admit no prose which is not Ciceronian, no verse later than Virgil, if we profess to discover an indescribable charm in the Hebraized Latin of the Vulgate, and great lyric force and animation in some of the early Christian poetry. Of the early Greek hymns we know little; there are some anapæstic verses, in no very good taste, appended to the works of Clement of Alexandria; and one or two hymns, apparently not metrical, nor of great value, at the end of Smith’s Account of the Greek church.

It

It appears, too, that the gall of controversy infused itself early into the poetic department of the Greek church; the Arians used to perambulate Constantinople, singing hymns expressive of their peculiar doctrines. The zeal of St. Chrysostom took fire; he organized a band of orthodox choristers, for whom he composed verses calculated to counteract the progress of heresy, which had thus formed a dangerous alliance with sacred song. Had these poems been less polemical, we should have regretted them the more; we fear, indeed, that on either side the stanzas would have harmonized ill with the burthen of the angelic hymn, 'Peace on earth, and good-will towards men.' St. Ambrose and Hilary, as we before observed, were among the earliest writers of Latin hymns. That most noble composition, the *Te Deum*, by the general consent of the learned, is no longer ascribed to the former, and appears to have been written by some unknown member of the church of Gaul; but the simplicity of the following lines, from the Evening Hymn of St. Ambrose, appears to us singularly pleasing.

Deus Creator omnium
Polique rector, vestiens
Diem decore lumine,
Noctem soporis gratiâ :

Artus solutos ut quies
Reddat laboris usui,
Mentesque fessas allevet
Luctusque solvat anxios.

Part of the Morning Hymn of Hilary may be quoted, as a companion to the above :—

Lucis largitor splendide,
Cujus sereno lumine,
Post lapsa noctis tempora
Dies refusus panditur.
Tu verus mundi lucifer,
Non is qui parvi sideris,
Venturæ lucis nuntius,

Angusto fulget lumine.
Sed toto sole clarior,
Lux ipse totus et dies,
Interna nostri pectoris,
Illuminans præcordia.
Adesto rerum conditor,
Paternæ lucis gloria, &c. &c.

In the hymns which are appropriated to the different periods of the day, the song is often, in Spenser's phrase, moralized with peculiar effect, as in that for noon.

Jam solis excelsum jubar,
Toto coruscat lumine,
Sinusque pandens aureos,
Ignita vibrat spicula;

Tu Christe qui mundum novâ,
Sol verus, accendis face,
Fac nostra plenum charitas
Crescendo surgat ad diem.

And 'Ad honum nonam,'

Labente jam solis rotâ,
Inclinat in noctem dies;

Sic vita supremam cito
Festinat ad metam gradu.

The poetical opportunities afforded by the days consecrated to the saints and martyrs were not neglected. We do not know the author of the following, on the day of All Saints.

Cælo

Cœlo quos eadem gloria consecrat,
Terris vos eadem concelebrat dies,
Læti vestra simul præmia pangimus
‘ Duris parta laboribus :

Jam vos pascit amor nudaque veritas,
De pleno bibitis gaudia flumine,
Illic perpetuam mens satiat sitim,
Sacris ebria fontibus.

Altis secum habitans in penetralibus,
Se Rex ipse suo contuitu beat ;
Illabensque, sui prodigus, intimis
Sese mentibus inserit.

Pronis turba senum cernua frontibus,
Inter tot rutili fulgura luminis ;
Regnanti Domino devovet aurea
Quæ ponit, diademata.

Gentes innumerae, conspicua stolas
Agni purpureo sanguine candidas,
Palmis larta cohors, cantibus æmulis
Ter sanctum celebrat Deum.

But if we have already almost lost caste among classical critics of the old school, we fear that we shall excite their horror still more, by proclaiming how highly we admire the sublimity, we use no humbler term, of a hymn, composed in uncouth Latin and barbarous Leonine rhyme. Spirit of Dr. Parr, repose in peace ! We, however, shelter ourselves behind the authority of a writer, whom, in point of taste, we are inclined to consider the representative of the old school of classical English poetry, that of Gray and Mason—Mr. Matthias. This distinguished scholar, who, in the decline of a life devoted to the most elegant literary pursuits, is basking in the delicious climate, and inhaling the airs and poetry of his beloved Italy, has put forth an unpretending tract, entitled ‘ *Excerpta ex Hymnis Antiquis,*’ in which he has anticipated some of our selections. The effect of the hymn to which we allude we must give in his own rich and nervous Latin :

‘ Loci profecto religione commotus, quotiescunque principem illam (Apostolorum principem, et pleno Apostolorum consessu omni ex parte dignissimam) intravi Ecclesiam, vespera ingravescente, cereis aurata per laquearia noctem vincentibus, dum per ampliora spatia vocem totus volutabat chorus, quanto tremore percussus, quantâ potius voluptate per-fusus, obstupui ! Cum autem chordis gravioribus et cantu pleniore sanc-issimum intonuit melos, cum diem iræ, et sæculum in favillâ solutum, et tubam mirum per sepulchra spargentem sonum, (morte et naturâ stupentibus.) et mundum judicanti Deo responsurum, totus ille confluxit et concelebravit chorus, gaudia quædam, terras nec spectantia nec redolentia,

redolentia, pectus tacitum pertentare, dum vel ipsæ cœlorum penetralia paululum quasi patere visa sunt.

‘Veggendo in quel albor balenar Christo.’ *Dant. Par. c. 14.*

We are sincerely of opinion that the hymn will justify this lofty panegyric:—

Dies iræ, dies illa	Cum vix justus sit securus ?
Solvat sæclum in favilla. . . .	Rex tremendæ majestatis,
Quantus tremor est futurus	Salva nos, fons pietatis
Quando Jûdex est venturus,	Juste judex ultionis
Cuncta stricte discussurus !	Donum fac remissionis
<i>Tuba mirum spargens sonum</i>	Ante diem rationis :
<i>Per sepulchra regionum</i>	Oro supplex et acclinis
<i>Cogit omnes ante thronum.</i>	Cor contritum quasi cinis
<i>Mors stupebit et natura</i>	Gere curam mei finis !
<i>Cum resurget creatura</i>	Lachrymosa dies illa
<i>Judicanti responsura.</i>	Cum resurget ex favilla
Quid sum miser tum dicturus	Judicandus homo reus—
Quem patronum rogaturus	Supplici parce Deus.

Most of our readers are familiar with Luther's ‘Oh God! what do I see and hear, the end of things created;’ and Heber's Advent Hymn is admirable; but to our taste the simplicity and homely strength of the old monkish verse surpasses every hymn on a similar subject. It has the merit common to some* others of these compositions—it seems to suggest its own music.—But although the subjects and the character of the ancient hymns of the church may enter into consideration, if a collection of hymns shall be formed for the national church, unless as models, they can be of little use. We return, therefore, to the materials which we possess, out of which such a selection may be made.

It is well known that the admirable Bishop Heber entertained a strong opinion on the expediency of such a collection, and devoted much time and labour in order that he might render this valuable service to the national church; and since piety and poetry have rarely been so intimately associated as in the mind of that gifted individual, if his collection has not been thought worthy of immediate adoption in any of our churches—if the general impression appears to be, that though his volume may furnish the richest and amplest contributions to such a purpose, it has not entirely supplied the deficiency—we are naturally led to inquire into the causes of this, which the popularity of the volume forbids us to consider a failure, and would candidly examine for what reasons the collection has not commanded instant admission into our public services.

* We allude particularly to the magnificent

Stabat Mater dolorosa,
Juxta crucem lachrymosa,
Dum pendebat Filius.

We acknowledge the deepest attachment to Bishop Heber, and the warmest interest in his fame. We adopt the words of Cicero to his brother,—‘*Nos quædam tenet, propter amorem singularem, infinita in te aviditas gloriæ.**’ For this and other reasons we do not affect entire impartiality in our estimate of this volume; and we must confess, that whatever objections we raise are extorted from us with extreme reluctance. If ever the design be accomplished, the Church of England will owe its advancement more to Bishop Heber than to any other individual; and he, whose candour and modesty were equal to his talents and virtues, would have hailed with gladness any suggestions which might have contributed to perfect that object which he had so much at heart.

Besides those principles, then, which we have laid down for the selection from the psalter, we conceive the following regulations, in the selection and composition of hymns for public worship, important. In the first place, it is obvious that hymns intended for general use must easily adapt themselves to common tunes, such as may be sung by un instructed persons, and by the children in our parochial schools. The metres, therefore, must be simple and regular; above all, the pauses and the measure strongly and emphatically marked. There are several in the bishop’s volume, selected from earlier writers, which it would be impossible to arrange, unless as anthems:—we allude particularly to the two irregular lyrics from Bishop Taylor; nor do we think that the somewhat harsh and involved verses of Drummond, on St. John the Baptist, and Michaelmas days, would, without difficulty, conform themselves to an easy and fluent air. The bishop’s own noble Ode on Michaelmas day, the hymn for the Ascension, and perhaps that beginning ‘There was joy in Heaven,’ though we apprehend, that the two latter must have been composed, either directly for, or on the recollection of, some appropriate tune, would, nevertheless, we conceive, hardly be brought down to common use.

We highly approve of Bishop Heber’s plan of connecting the psalm or hymn with the liturgy of the day. There can be no question of its propriety on the great fasts and festivals of the church, where one tone and character pervade the whole service, and some one great event of Christianity is perpetually impressed

* Cic. ad Quint. Frat. There is another passage in the same Epistle singularly applicable to the progress of our Christian Bishop. We fear the early annals of our Indian Empire might furnish the contrast. ‘*Quid autem reperiri tam eximium aut expetendum potest, quam istam virtutem, moderationem animi, temperantiam, non latere in tenebris, neque esse abditam, sed in luce Asia, in oculis clarissimæ provinciæ, atque in auribus omnium gentium ac nationum esse positam? Non itineribus tuis perterreris homines? non sumtu exhaustiri? non adventu commoveri? esse, quocunque veneris, et publicè et privatam maximam lætitiâ, cum urbs custodem, non tyrannum domus hospitem non expilatorem recepisse videatur.*’

upon the congregation. It is well known, that in the church of Rome the services for passion week form a grand scenic representation of the last days of our Lord; every incident and circumstance is brought directly before the imagination and feelings of the devout worshipper. The church of England retained as much of this impressive form, as was consistent with her usual sobriety and good sense. But the propriety of hymns for this period will depend upon the degree in which they are intelligible to the mass of the auditory. If the allusion be to some incident which is not distinctly enforced on the attention, the hymn, instead of being in unison with the service, will appear incongruous; and the compiler of hymns must allow for the general tardiness, rather than calculate on a quick and ready comprehension in those for whom his service is intended. Take, for example, Mr. Milman's hymn for Palm Sunday.

‘ Ride on ! ride on in majesty !
 Hark all the tribes Hosanna cry !
 Thy humble beast pursues his road,
 With palms and scatter'd garments strew'd.
 Ride on ! ride on in majesty !
 In lowly pomp ride on to die !
 Oh Christ ! thy triumphs now begin
 O'er captive death and conquer'd sin.
 Ride on ! ride on in majesty !
 The winged squadrons of the sky
 Look down with sad and wondering eyes,
 To see the approaching sacrifice !
 Ride on ! ride on in majesty !
 Thy last and fiercest strife is nigh.
 The Father, on his sapphire throne,
 Expects his own anointed Son.
 Ride on ! ride on in majesty !
 In lowly pomp ride on to die !
 Bow thy meek head to mortal pain,
 Then take, oh God ! thy power, and reign !’

It is obvious that the congregation here *ought* to remember the verse in the psalms on which this hymn is founded, and to have the scene of Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem immediately before their eyes, otherwise the meaning of the address is obscure, and the ardent and triumphant expressions ill-timed and misplaced. Perhaps in the following the author has reckoned upon a congregation whose imagination is more highly excited than is generally the case in this country, where we suspect that far the larger proportion may say with Audrey, ‘ the gods have not made them poetical.’ It pre-supposes the most perfect intimacy

macy with every circumstance of the crucifixion ; it calculates on that scene being as really pictured forth by the mind of the Protestant worshipper, as it might be in that of the imaginative Italian, under all the exalting influence of the previous ceremonies of the holy week, and the perpetual presentation of the crucifix.

' Bound upon the accursed tree,
Faint and bleeding, Who is he ?
By the eyes so pale and dim,
Streaming blood, and withering limb ;
By the flesh with scourges torn,
By the crown of twisted thorn,
By the side so deeply pierc'd,
By the baffled burning thirst,
By the drooping death-dew'd brow—
Son of Man, 'tis thou, 'tis thou.

' Bound upon the accursed tree,
Dread and awful, Who is he ?
By the sun, at noonday pale ;
Shivering rocks and rending vail ;
By earth, that trembles at his doom,
By yon saints, that burst the tomb ;
By Eden, promis'd, ere he died,
To the felon at his side—
Lord, our suppliant knees we bow ;
Son of God, 'tis thou, 'tis thou.

' Bound upon the accursed tree,
Sad and dying, Who is he ?
By the last and bitter cry,
The ghost given up in agony.
By the lifeless body, laid
In the chambers of the dead ;
By the mourners, come to weep
Where the bones of Jesus sleep ;
Crucified—We know thee now,
Son of Man, 'tis thou, 'tis thou.

' Bound upon the accursed tree,
Dread and awful, Who is he ?
By the prayer for them that slew,
" Lord, they know not what they do ;"
By the spoil'd and empty grave,
By the souls he died to save,
By the conquest he hath won,
By the saints before his throne,
By the rainbow round his brow—
Son of God, 'tis thou, 'tis thou.

Where the service is without any particular character, and points at no particular incident in the Christian history, the bishop has usually framed his hymn upon some allusion to the gospel of the day. His hymns, therefore, are clearly more appropriate to the pause between the communion service, in which the gospel is read, and the sermon. Perhaps if psalms and hymns were compiled in something like an equal number, the interval between the prayers and communion service might be always supplied by a psalm. But in some cases we must acknowledge that the bishop has been tempted, by his own limitation, into writing a short poem on the subject of the gospel, rather than merely taken a hint for an address to the Almighty, which we conceive to be the great characteristic of an hymn. Take, for instance, the following stanzas, in our opinion extremely beautiful in thought, expression, and rhythm, on the raising of the widow's son.

' Wake not, oh mother ! sounds of lamentation ;
Weep not, oh widow ! weep not hopelessly !
Strong is his arm, the bringer of salvation !
Strong is the word of God to succour thee.

Bear forth the cold corpse, slowly, slowly bear him ;
Hide his pale features with the sable pall ;
Chide not the sad one wildly weeping o'er him,
Widow'd and childless, she has lost her all.

Why

Why pause the mourner, who forbids our weeping ?
 Who the dark pomp of sorrow has delay'd ?
 ' Set down the bier—he is not dead, but sleeping !
 ' Young man, arise ! ' He spake, and was obey'd.

Change then, oh sad one, grief to exultation !
 Worship and fall before Messiah's knee,
 Strong was his arm, the bringer of salvation !
 Strong was the word of God to succour thee.

The most important principle in the composition of hymns, however, as well as in the selection of psalms, is that which we have already partially developed, but which we would illustrate still further, namely, that they should be so general that any individual in a Christian assembly may join in them without impropriety, and at the same time possess a sort of personal applicability to each separate worshipper. Hymns for public service should be suited to all times and seasons, to every rank and condition of men, to every state of religious feeling. They are the common property of the religious assembly ; each individual may appropriate their general language, as far as possible, to his peculiar case ; but he must not expect them to accommodate themselves to what we will call the accidents of his spiritual state. Their prayers must be for the blessings which all alike stand in need of : their thanksgivings for mercies in which all partake. Hence the essential distinction between hymns and devotional poetry. What is permitted to, and often constitutes the beauty of the latter, is precisely that which renders it unfit for the former. Let us first take an extreme case : we find in more than one collection of hymns for public devotion, Pope's well-known address of the dying Christian to his soul. Could absurdity be more glaring than to hear two thousand hale and lusty Christians shouting out to their departing spirits, as if in *articulo mortis* ? To the department of devotional poetry we assign over very far the largest portion of Mr. Montgomery's copious collection. We apprehend it was meant by that gentleman rather for the closet than the public assembly of Christians. He himself would be the first to perceive the unfitness of some of his own compositions for congregational worship. We may quote, for example, his very pleasing stanzas upon prayer.

' Prayer is the soul's sincere desire,
 Utter'd or unexpress'd ;
 The motion of a hidden fire,
 That trembles in the breast.

Prayer is the burthen of a sigh,
 The falling of a tear,
 The upward glancing of an eye,
 When none but God is near.

Prayer is the simplest form of speech
 That infant lips can try,
 Prayer the sublimest strains that reach
 The Majesty on high.

Prayer is the Christian's vital breath,
 The Christian's native air,
 His watchword at the gates of death—
 He enters heaven with prayer.

Prayer

Prayer is the contrite sinner's voice
Returning from his ways ;
While angels in their songs rejoice,
And cry, " Behold he prays."

The saints in prayer appear as one •
In word, and deed, and mind ;
While with the Father and the Son,
Sweet fellowship they find.

Nor prayer is made on earth alone,
The Holy Spirit pleads,
And Jesus on the eternal throne,
For mourners intercedes.

O thou by whom we come to God,
The life, the truth, the way,
The path of prayer thyself hast trod,
Lord, teach us how to pray.*

This is a beautiful poem, but surely not a hymn. Indeed we are not unwilling to excuse ourselves, on account of the narrow limits of our subject, from a more detailed examination of Mr. Montgomery's volume, as, having been bred in a different school, we fear we should differ most decidedly in our estimate both of poets and particular compositions.

Devotional poetry is often more touching—it acquires an air of truth and reality—if it abound in personal allusion, if it appear to have been drawn from the heart of the poet, by actual circumstances ; but as we should deeply regret, if, from the pulpits of the established church, we were to be perpetually edified by the personal experiences, the ' confessions' of the preacher,* so devotional poetry should seek an echo to its expressions of deep depression, of passionate emotion, and of spiritual dismay or distress, in the heart of the retired and solitary reader, not in the public and mingled assembly of all ranks and orders. We shall select two poems, among the best which modern religious poetry has produced, to make our meaning still more evident. The following is, we believe, by a gentleman who holds a distinguished rank in his Majesty's councils.

When gathering cloud, around I view,
And days are dark, and friends are few ;
On Him I lean, who, not in vain,
Experienced every human pain ;
He sees my wants, allays my fears,
And counts and treasures up my tears.

If ought should tempt my soul to stray
From heavenly wisdom's narrow way ;
To flee the good I would pursue,
Or do the sin I would not do,
Still He, who felt temptation's power,
Shall guard me in that dangerous hour.

If wounded love my bosom swell,
Deceived by those I prized so well ;
He shall his pitying aid bestow,
Who felt on earth severer woe—
At once betrayed, denied, or fled
By those that shared his daily bread.

When vexing thoughts within me rise,
And sore dismay'd my spirit dies ;
Yet He, who once vouchsafed to bear
The sickening anguish of despair,
Shall sweetly sooth, shall gently dry
The throbbing heart, the streaming eye.

When sorrowing o'er some stone I bend,
Which covers all that was a friend,
And from his hand, and voice, his smile,
Divides me for a little while ;
My Saviour marks the tears I shed,
For ' Jesus wept o'er Lazarus dead.'

And O, when I have safely pass'd
Through every conflict but the last,
Still, Lord, unchanging watch beside
My dying bed, for thou hast died.
Then point to realms of cloudless day,
And wipe the latest tears away.

* Those of our readers who are acquainted with the Olney Hymns will better comprehend our views. Most of these, however, rank so low in the scale of poetry, that we cannot persuade ourselves to quote from them. The few of a higher order are precisely those best adapted, if any are so, for general use.

We might, perhaps, have selected a poem more to our purpose, as there is nothing in the preceding strictly inapplicable to any believer at any period, but its beauty tempted us, and to our feelings it is characterised by a personality and particularity which set it apart for private repetition, rather than public worship. Upon similar principles several of the best compositions in the volume before us must pass over into the ranks, the highest ranks indeed, of devotional or religious poetry. In the following nervous and animated stanza, the allusion to the rich man in the parable is too remote for immediate comprehension, the supposition, that his living and his funeral pomp are alternately passing along, draws far too largely on the imagination, and it is obvious that the apostrophe, which is licensed boldness in the poet, would come with utter impropriety from the lips of a religious assembly.

'Room for the proud! ye sons of clay,
From his weeping pomp away,
No trisling can us clog the way
His chariot wheels before

Let with what scorn he fly
Glance o'er the pearly
And lids intruding conscience fly
"Fut from his palace door

Room for the proud! but slow the feet
That bear his coffin down the street
And dismal seems his winding sheet
Who purple lately wore

Ah where must now his spirit fly
In naked trembling agony?
Or how shall he for mercy cry
Who showed it not before?

Room for the proud! in grisly state
The hell of hell his coming wait,
And flinging wide the dreadful gate
Let it shut to open no more

"I am here with you the seat they cry,
"For him who mocked at poverty
And bade intruding conscience fly
Let it from his palace door"

That which we shall next quote is perfect in tone and feeling, but, we think, must retire among those which we consecrate to the private intercourse of man with his Maker.

'Oh God my sins are manifold, against my life they cry,
And all my guilty debt is forgone, up to thy temple fly,
With thee rest my trembling soul, that to despair is driven;
'Forgive — a blessed voice replied — and thou shalt be forgiven

My foemen, Lord! are fierce and fell, they spurn me in their pride,
They render evil for my good my patience they deride—
Arose, oh King! and he the proud to righteous ruin driven,
"Forgive"—an awful answer came as thou wouldst be forgiven

Seven times, oh Lord! I pardon'd them seven times they sinned again,
They persist still to work me woe, they triumph in my pain,
But let them dread my vengeance now, to just resentment driven,
"Forgive"—the voice of thunder spoke, or never be forgiven"

We must not, however, confine ourselves to those compositions which we think unfit for the purpose to which they were designed. Unless too poetical, (a strange objection,) the following appears to demand our attention as more nearly in accordance with the true character of an hymn for public service.

'I praised

'I praised the earth, in beauty seen,
With garlands gay of various green;
I praised the sea, whose ample held
Shone glorious as a silver shield;
And earth and ocean seemed to say,
"Our beauties are but for a day."

I praised the sun, whose chariot roll'd
On wheels of amber and of gold;
I praised the moon whose softer eye
Gleamed sweetly through the summer sky;
And moon and sun in answer said,
"Our days of light are numbered."

Oh God, oh good beyond compare!
If thus thy meaner works are fair!
If thus thy bounties gild the span
Of ruined earth, and sinful man;
How glorious must the mansion be
Where thy redeem'd shall dwell with thee!

Should, however, the fastidious critic require greater simplicity than in the preceding, we think the first hymn in the volume will unite all suffrages, as it seems to us to accord with all the principles on which a hymn should be constructed. We should be inclined, likewise, to add that for the Sunday after Christmas, and the popular missionary hymn.

'Hosanna to the living Lord!
Hosanna to the Incarnate Word,
To Christ, Creator, Saviour, King,
Let earth, let heaven, Hosanna sing,
Hosanna! Lord! Hosanna in the highest.

Hosanna! Lord! thine angels cry;
Hosanna Lord! thy saints reply;
Above, beneath us, and around,
The dead and living swell the sound,
Hosanna! &c.

Oh Saviour! with protecting care
Return to this thy house of prayer!
Assembled in thy sacred name,
Where we thy parting promise claim.
Hosanna! &c

But chiefest, in our cleansed breast,
Eternal! bid thy spirit rest,
And make our secret soul to be
A temple pure and worthy thee,
Hosanna! &c.

So in the last and dreadful day,
When earth and heaven shall melt away,
My flesh, redeem'd from sinful stain,
Shall swell the sound of praise again,
Hosanna! Lord! Hosanna in the highest!

In the rigid principles which we have laid down we may appear to have placed great and almost insuperable difficulties in the way of those who would compose hymns for the public service. We confess, the more deeply we have considered the subject, the higher is our admiration of the manner in which the liturgy of the church of England has been selected and compiled. Divesting ourselves, as far as possible, of the influence of old associations, and by no means denying that particular alterations might be made with advantage, we are more and more inclined to consider it as decidedly the most admirable of human compositions: and, we are persuaded, that it is only by a profound study of its tone and manner, that a collection of psalms and hymns, worthy to be incorporated with it, can possibly be made: for its characteristic excellence is that which writers of hymns have most rarely attained. It is at once so general, that it may be considered as the common voice of the whole congregation; so particular, that each may appropriate to himself its petitions and praises: its generality

never

never becomes vague ; its particularity does not confine its application to any individual or class of worshippers : it has all the fulness of a chorus, with the distinctness of a single song ; it is, moreover, perfectly simple without being either bald or mean ; doctrinal, but not didactic ; devout without exaggeration or extravagance ; affectionate, and even impassioned, but never going beyond that gentle, and unassuming, and temperate tone, which we presume to say is that of the *Évangelic* writings.* Such being our liturgy, such ought to be,—would that we might dare to add !—such will be our psalmody.

We

* A volume of devotional poetry has recently appeared, entitled 'the Christian Year,' the popularity of which (it is now in a third edition) is among the most healthful symptoms of the state of religious feeling in this country. While it pursues the spirit, it is, to our taste, too disdainful of the forms of poetry ; it is contented to lead us through a succession of soft and agreeable images, obscurely, if at all, connected, while we are sometimes at a loss for the general scope and object of the poem. But the tone of the volume is delightful ; it is the pure and untrilled mirror of a most gentle and truly Christian mind ; one whose religion is not, as has been too often the case in this, as in former days, human passion in disguise. In this volume old Herbert would have recognized a kindred spirit, and Walton would have gone on a pilgrimage to make acquaintance with the author. The poems on the occasional services of the church appear to us the sweetest in the whole volume : and it is no inconsiderable proof of a poetic, as well as of a deeply religious mind, to have been inspired by such subjects to strains so soothing and delightful. We crave permission to subjoin the two following. Monsieur Chateaubriand, if we recollect, by a kind of theology which would not pass current here, *promotes* the divine institution of baptism from the picturesque gracefulness of the ceremony—He would thank us for our illustration.

HOLY BAPTISM.

'Where is it mothers learn their love ?

In every church a fountain springs,
O'er which the eternal dove
Hovers on softest wings.

What sparkles in that lucid flood
Is water, by gross mortals eyed,

• But seen by faith, is blood,
Out of a dear friend's side.

A few calm words of faith and prayer,
A few bright drops of holy dew,
Shall work a wonder there
Earth's charmers never know.

O happy arms, where cradled lies,
And ready for the Lord's embrace,
That precious sacrifice,
The darling of his grace.

Blest eyes, that see the smiling gleam
Upon the slumbering features glow,
When the life-giving stream
Touches the tender brow.

Or when the Holy Cross is signed,
And the young soldier duly sworn,
• With true and fearless mind
To serve the Virgin-born.

But happiest ye, who, seal'd and blest,
Back to your arms your treasures take,
With Jesus' mark impress'd,
To nurse for Jesus' sake.

To whom, as if in hallow'd air,
Ye knelt before some awful shrine,
His innocent gestures wear
A meaning half divine.

By whom love's daily touch is seen,
Instrengthening form and freshening hue,
In the fix'd brow serene,
The deep yet eager view.

Who taught thy pure and even breath
To come and go with such sweet grace,
Whence thy reposing faith,
Though in our frail embrace.

O tender gem, and full of heaven,
Not in the twilight stars on high,
Not in moist flowers at eve,
See we our God so high.

Sweet one, make haste and know him too,
Thine own adopting Father love,
That like thine earliest dew,
Thy dying sweets may prove.'

COM-

We have reserved to the last one most important question. It is supposed by some, whose authority on such subjects stands high, that supplication is entirely misplaced in this part of our service, and that it should be rigidly confined to the praise and glory of God. The practice of the Jewish church, we have already observed, favours this opinion; and as far as we can

COMMINATION.

'The prayers are o'er; why slumberest thou so long,
Thou voice of sacred song?
Why swell'st thou not, like breeze from mountain cave,
High o'er the echoing nave,
The white-rob'd priest, as other while, to guide
Up to the altar's northern side?
A mourner's tale of shame and sad decay
Keeps back our glorious sacrifice to day.
The widow'd spouse of Christ, with ashes crown'd,
Her Christmas robes unboud,
She lingers in the porch, for doubt and fear,
Keeping her penance dear.
O is it nought to you, that, idly gay
Or coldly proud, ye turn away?
But if her warning tears in vain be spent,
So to her altered eye the law's stern fires are lent.
Each awful curse that on Mount Ebal rang
Peal, with a direr clang
Out of that silver trumpet, whose tones of old
Forgiveness only told.
And who can blame the mother's fond afflict,
Who, sporting on some giddy height,
Her infant sees, and springs with hurried hand
To snatch the rover from the dangerous strand?
But surer than all words, the silent spell,
So Grecian legends tell,
When to her bird, too early 'scap'd the nest,
She bares her tender breast,
Smiling he turns, and spreads his little wing,
There to glide home, there safely cling;
So yearns our mother o'er her truant son,
So softly falls the lay in fear and wrath begun.
Wayward and spoil'd, she knows ye; the keen blast
That brac'd her youth is past:
The rod of discipline, the robe of shame—
She bears them in your name.
Only return and love: but ye, perchance,
Are deeper plung'd in sorrow's trance;
Your God forgives, but ye no comfort take,
Till ye have scourg'd the sins that in your conscience ache.
O heavy-laden soul! kneel down and hear
Thy penance in calm fear;
With thine own lips to sentence all thy sin;
Then by the judge within
Absolv'd, in thankful sacrifice to part
For ever with thy sullen heart;
Nor on remorseful thoughts to brood, and stain
The glory of the Cross, forgiven and cheer'd in vain.'

ascertain, that of the primitive Christians. It is even more important, that in three passages of the apostolic writings, in which psalmody is mentioned, Ephes. v. 19, 20. Colos. iii. 16, 17. James v. 13. it is invariably connected with thanksgiving. Our reformers appear to have entertained similar sentiments. The attitude prescribed for supplication is on our knees; we stand up to praise and glorify. It is a fair inference, that our singing was not intended to be supplicatory, since the attitude of prayer is not enjoined, and, indeed, would be awkward and inconvenient. All that can be said, on the other hand, is to appeal to practical effect. The influence of music is equally powerful over the soft and tender emotions, as over those which raise and exhilarate the soul. If psalmody can melt as well as elevate, subdue, as well as excite the heart, why confine and limit the force of so useful an auxiliary to devotion? Why in one case gladly admit, in the other proscribe and reject its aid? We might as well at once build our organs without the softer stops, and we ought clearly on days or periods of general humiliation, during the whole of Lent for instance, entirely to omit this part of our service, if it may not assume a tone in unison with the rest of our liturgy. We have heard strong objections made to a practice, adopted in many churches, of singing the responses after the commandments. If we may speak of the effect, we should acknowledge that the too frequent repetition of the same words in the same key is much against it; were this not the case, it would be extremely affecting and impressive. Where the commandments have been read from the altar with a clear and solemn voice, and from the farthest end of the church, the 'Lord have mercy upon us,' has come back in a subdued and supplicatory tone, particularly when led by a well-trained female school, we have listened with delight, and, we hope, not without advantage. Nothing again can be more touching than the litany in our cathedral service, when it is chaunted with feeling and propriety. The early admission of the penitential psalms may, in some slight degree, invalidate the general consent of antiquity; and although our first reformers gave no opinion on the subject, yet those rulers of the church who admitted Sternhold and Hopkins, seem likewise to have authorized the pathetic 'Complaint of a Sinner,' which is subjoined to all the early collections of the psalms, and appears, though considerably modernized, in the collection of Bishop Heber, for the eleventh Sunday after Trinity. Having thus stated the case on each side, we are not without embarrassment as to the course which it would be expedient to pursue in an authorized collection. In deference to antiquity, we should be inclined to assign the predominance to the more exalting strains of praise and thanksgiving;

giving; yet we should be unwilling, especially where the services of the church are of a more mournful and humiliating cast, to exclude the more tender and pathetic language of petition and supplication. We would not allow the psalmody to encroach on the peculiar province of the prayers, but, where it is expedient, we would harmonize them as far as possible, and enable them to conduce to one general impression.

We make no apology for the length of this article: the minutest part of the service in the national church is a subject of national interest. Our suggestions have been advanced solely with a view to general utility; we have refrained from all strictures on existing collections, but we cannot disguise our opinion, that not one approximates to that perfection which would command its general adoption. We are not bigoted to our own principles; we throw them out for general consideration.

In conclusion, we must warn all those who take an interest in the subject, against indulging too lofty expectations of any collection which may be made. On no point are men in general so completely the slaves of old associations and habitual feelings, as in whatever relates to their public devotions. Hence, the compiler must lay his account for a certain degree of disappointment and dissatisfaction in almost all. Many will imperiously demand novelty and originality; but novelty and originality, if attainable on such subjects, would be dangerous, and, unless regulated by the severest judgment, decidedly objectionable. Not to mention those whom nothing less warm than the theopathic strains of early Moravianism, or Methodism, will excite, whose Bible is contained in the Song of Solomon, more sober-minded Christians have not unfrequently contracted an unaccountable affection for certain words, or lines, or tunes, which appear almost necessary to their devotion. They will require a new collection, not merely to accord with their judgment, but to harmonize with their feelings; every one will impatiently demand the admission of his favourites, like other favourites, not so much on account of their real merit, which he would find it difficult to point out, as from personal attachment or habitual regard. Hence, our disinclination to commit episcopal authority, further than by recommendation, even if a more perfect collection than we dare anticipate should ever be made. We doubt whether its unexceptionable character would not at first impede its general and immediate adoption—but it would work its way, if slowly, yet surely. Good sense and judgment may suffer partial and local deliquium in the established church; but when the paroxysm is passed, they will silently resume their authority. But we repeat, that too much must not be expected: however inaccurate many of the positions may

appear in a celebrated passage of Johnson's Life of Waller, which has been recently much canvassed, we suspect, that much that is inapplicable to religious and even devotional poetry will be found strictly true, as regards the public praise and adoration of God. '*The topics of devotion (in which a whole congregation can reasonably join) are few; but few as they are, they can be made no more; they can receive no grace from novelty of sentiment, and very little from novelty of expression.*' We are inclined to admit the former of these limitations; and even if we were to deny the latter, the poet is confined to a very inferior branch of his art, who can only invest common thoughts with appropriate or graceful language. Yet, will the writer of hymns, which are to convey the feelings of praise or supplication common to a multitude of believers, dare to advance farther, particularly in a religion so spiritual as Protestant Christianity, and so entirely divested of that pomp and circumstance, which in the Jewish, and even in the Roman Catholic church, furnished the poet with his most splendid illustrations and magnificent images? Those who appeal to the poetical sublimity of the public hymns of the Hebrews, should call to mind, not merely their inspiration, but likewise their abundant treasures of description, allusion, and amplification, the perpetual miracles and wonders of their history, the supposed actual and visible presence of the divinity in the Shekinah within the temple; the *sensible* interference of the God of Israel in all their national, almost in all their individual transactions. When Christianity transfers these to its own use, that in which their poetical merit mainly consists, their propriety, truth, and distinctness, must materially suffer. They have lost their reality, and are become metaphors and figures; not that the facts of Christianity are wanting in sublimity, but they are few, and in our public worship we dare not go beyond what is written; and what is written is so expressed, as not merely by its sanctity to prohibit, but by its simple beauty to defy competition. The Christian poet abroad may draw as largely as he pleases on the boundless poetical faith of his reader, as largely as Dante, Milton, and Tasso have done; the writer of hymns must not venture beyond the religious faith of those whose thoughts and feelings he is to express, and that faith is strictly limited to the ideas, if not the words of revelation. We are convinced that this distinction between the province of religious and devotional poetry, and that of hymn-writing, must be distinctly kept in view, both to moderate the ambition of the writer, and the expectations of the Christian public. Unborn poets may yet appear,—*exoriatur aliquis!* is our devout ejaculation,—who may surpass all that has yet been composed for this purpose; but they will scarcely succeed by outstepping

stepping those limits, which the nature of their design, and the purpose for which their poems are intended, have unalterably fixed. Would that he, whose mind was so deeply interested in this subject, had survived to pass his judgment on the considerations which we have presumed to offer; he, from whose perfect candour, if just, they would have met immediate approbation, and by whose exquisite taste, if erroneous, their fallacy would immediately have been detected! But it was otherwise decreed; the name of Heber could scarcely be further endeared to the heart of every pious and enlightened Christian; and if the completion of this important national work should be reserved for other hands, few would be able, out of the abundance of their claims upon the gratitude and admiration of all Christians, to spare so well this further title to the thankful remembrance and affectionate veneration of the Church.

- ART. III.—1. *Ireland? its Evils and their Remedies.* By Michael Thomas Sadler. London. 1828.
 2. *The Real State of Ireland in 1827.* London. 1827.
 3. *Letters from the Irish Highlands.* London. 1825.
 4. *Observations on the Necessity of a Legal Provision for the Irish Poor.* By John Douglas, Esq. London. 1828.

THE work which we have placed first at the head of this article deserves to be generally and attentively read. The author has brought together a body of facts, and discourses, with great clearness and ability, principles of extreme importance with reference to the various remedies which have, from time to time, been suggested for the evils and miseries under which Ireland is acknowledged to labour. Mr. Malthus has contrived, as our readers are well aware, to revive and elevate into popularity a theory originally broached by a philosophical infidel of the seventeenth century. He maintains that, by a law of nature as general and irresistible in its operation as the force of gravity, mankind increases faster than the means of subsistence; that this increase can only be kept in check by moral restraint, by vice or by misery. Hence it is inferred, that the misery and privation of the human race *must* increase in every country in the exact ratio of the multiplication of the species. In a work which he is now preparing for the press, and of which the present publication was originally designed to form a supplement, Mr. Sadler proposes to demonstrate that this theory is as unphilosophical and false as it must be allowed to be melancholy; that the fecundity of human beings is, *cæteris paribus*, in the inverse ratio of the condensation of their numbers; and that the variation in that fecundity

fecundity is effectuated not by the wretchedness, but by the happiness and prosperity of the species.' Upon the consideration of this subject, we shall not enter at present: a more convenient opportunity will probably occur, when Mr. Sadler's forthcoming work shall have made its appearance. Until we have seen the whole of the case which he proposes to establish, it would be obviously premature to express an opinion on the point in issue between him and Mr. Malthus. In the mean time, we may venture to state our conviction that no member of the community will rejoice more heartily than Mr. Malthus himself, if it can be satisfactorily shown that the power which establishes the relation subsisting between the number of the human race, and the supply of food provided for their subsistence, is to be looked for, not in the misery and privation, but in the happiness and affluence of mankind.

In the teeth, to all appearance, of the Malthusian theory, Mr. Sadler has already proved, by indisputable evidence, that the present condition of the peasantry of Ireland, however destitute and miserable, is still much superior to that of the population of the same island some centuries ago, when the number of the people did not exceed one million. Spenser describes them as inhabiting 'sties rather than houses, which are the chiefest cause of the farmer's so beastly manner of life and savage condition, lying and living together with his beast, in one house, in one room, in one bed, that is, clean straw, or rather a foul dunghill.' In 1672, Sir William Petty computed that the inhabitants of Ireland amounted to about one million three hundred thousand. Their habitations, he says, 'are lamentable wretched cabins, such as themselves could make in three or four days, not worth five shillings the building,'—and filthy and disgusting to a degree which renders it necessary for us to refrain from quoting his description. 'Out of the two hundred thousand houses of Ireland,' says this eminent writer on political arithmetic, 'one hundred and sixty thousand are wretched cabins, without chimney, window or door shut, even worse than those of the savages of America.' Their food, at the same period, fully corresponded with the wretchedness of their dwellings. 'It consisteth,' states Sir William Petty, 'of cakes, whereof a penny serves for each a week; potatoes from August till May; mussels, cockles, and oysters near the sea; eggs and butter made very rancid by keeping in bogs: as for flesh, they seldom eat it; they can content themselves with potatoes.' About half a century afterwards (1712), Hobbs, a man particularly conversant with the general condition of Ireland, estimated that its population had increased to two millions. He states that 'the common people are very poorly clothed, go barelegged
half

half the year, and very rarely taste of that flesh meat with which we so much abound, but are pinched in every article of life.'

Not long afterwards, Swift, in his short view of Ireland, says, " " Whatever stranger took a journey amongst us would be apt to think himself travelling in Lapland or Iceland, rather than in a country so favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil and temperature of climate. The miserable dress and diet, and dwelling of the people; the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom; the old seats of the nobility and gentry in ruins, and no new ones in their stead; the families of the farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness, upon butter-milk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an English hog-stie to receive them. These," says Swift, " are the comfortable sights which await an absentee when he may be induced to travel for once amongst them to learn their language;" or, 'as at present,' adds Mr. Sadler, 'to make a book, and talk patriotically on his return.'

The disciples of Mr. Malthus use the number of idle and unoccupied labourers as an argument to prove that the present population of Ireland is redundant. This fact will not sustain the inference which is drawn from it. Sir William Petty assures us that, in his time, when the population of Ireland did not exceed one million three hundred thousand, *one-fifth* of the whole were not employed. However wretched may be the present condition of the people of Ireland, it is not quite so bad as this.

The scarcities which occasionally prevail in Ireland have been put forward as furnishing another proof of a superabundant population. This argument, also, Mr. Sadler has most completely refuted. It is a fact capable of being substantiated by indisputable evidence, that,

'in former times, when the population of Ireland was extremely scanty, these scarcities not only occurred much more frequently, but continued much longer than they have done at any recent period. "If our crop fails," says Archbishop Boulter, "or yields indifferently, our poor have not money to buy bread. This was the case in 1725, and last year; and without a prodigious crop, will be more so this year. When I went my visitation last year, barley, in some inland places, sold at six shillings the bushel to make bread of; and oatmeal, the bread of the north, sold for twice or thrice its usual price. We met all the roads full of whole families that had left their homes to beg abroad, since their neighbours had nothing to relieve them with. And as the winter subsistence of the poor is chiefly potatoes, this scarcity drove the poor to begin with their potatoes before they were full grown, so that they have lost half the benefit of them, and have spent their stock two months sooner than usual; and oatmeal is, at this distance from harvest, in many parts of the kingdom, three times the customary price; so that this summer will

will be more fatal to us than the last, when, I fear, *many hundreds perished of famine.*”

In subsequent letters addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, he gives a most melancholy picture of the misery and privation of the Irish population, and represents them as ‘suffering little less than a famine every other year.’ On most of these occasions, public subscriptions were raised, and grants of money made from the Exchequer for their relief. About 1740, when the population of Ireland did not exceed one-third of its present amount, these scenes of misery and horror returned: between 1741 and 1752 the price of flour had risen above four hundred per cent., and thousands of poor people are said to have perished through absolute starvation. In the years 1757, 1765, 1770 and 1771 dearths occurred: private subscriptions were raised, and grants of public money made for the relief of the Irish population, although Ireland contained at that time at least forty acres of land for the support of each family. Hence, it appears, that in a period of less than half a century, that is, from 1724 to 1772, there occurred in Ireland what may be termed eleven years of famine; the highest number of the people being about two millions and a half. Since that period, the population of Ireland has almost trebled its then amount. What has been the result? Have the scarcities and dearths of Ireland come to be, as population increased, of more frequent occurrence, of longer duration, or of greater intensity?

‘Can those who now hear me deny,’ said the celebrated Mr. Foster, (addressing, in 1800, the representatives of Ireland, who, it is presumed, will be acknowledged to have been pretty competent to form an opinion on this matter,) ‘that since the period of 1782, Ireland has risen in civilization, in wealth, in manufactures, in a greater proportion, and with a more rapid progress than any other country in Europe.’ The late Lord Sheffield, than whom no man had paid more attention to, or was more intimately conversant with, the affairs and condition of that island, asserts, that ‘the improvement of Ireland is as rapid as any country ever experienced.’ In 1805 Major Newenham, presented the public with a series of tables, which throw great light on all questions connected with the population and condition of his native land. He assures his readers, that these ‘tables evince, beyond the possibility of a doubt, a most rapid increase of the people in Ireland: and, at the same time, exhibit in a clear light, this interesting fact that, within the last five-and-twenty years, or, thereabout, the food in that country has not been merely commensurate with, but has *greatly surpassed* the rapid and well-authenticated increase of its population.’ To the same effect

effect we shall give an extract from the anonymous pamphlet, which professes to give a correct representation of 'The Real State of Ireland in 1827.' The author is evidently a man of talents, of sound sense and of correct feeling: he has resided for years among the peasantry whose condition he describes; he speaks to facts of which he has been an eye-witness.

'Notwithstanding the wilderness of words, oral and written, which has of late years been wasted on the affairs of Ireland, and the paroxysm of legislation under which we have laboured, arising out of the perpetual discussion of her misfortunes and her faults, I am grieved to acknowledge that the proceedings even of the present session of parliament compel me to think that the people of England are greatly uninformed, or, what is worse, greatly misinformed as to our real condition. A plain Englishman despairs of eliciting truth from the mass of conflicting testimonies that exist on the subject; and I am persuaded, that the impression on the minds of the mass of the English nation is much less favourable, with respect to Ireland and her population, than it would be, but for the violence of certain political agitators, who put forward, in the most conspicuous light, the worst aspect of our country, and the worst portion of our population, (namely, themselves,) so as to prevent the whole truth from being accurately known. I myself, whilst I lived only in the capital, was satisfied with such vague notions of our peasantry, as, that they were very dirty and cheerful whilst they could get enough of potatoes, and very wretched and turbulent when they could not; that popery and potatoes were, in themselves, baneful evils, greatly incompatible with peace and order; and, finally, that of all the king's subjects the men of the south of Ireland were the most ignorant and miserable: but of late years I have resided much amongst those very men of the south, and my views on these subjects have undergone considerable modification in consequence.'—*Real State of Ireland*, pp. 2, 3.

'That a tolerably large sum of privation and distress does exist in Ireland is indeed undeniable; but since I have resided in the country, and have become minutely acquainted with the facts, I have satisfied myself that the suffering, taken absolutely, is considerably less than has been generally supposed; that, compared with the hardships endured by the population of England, its excess is not so very great, and that this excess, such as it is, will gradually diminish till it vanish altogether, even without the aid of any new express enactments on the subject.

'I have heard men, who could talk on most subjects with an ordinary degree of sanity, assert, that the majority of the working classes in Ireland live, or, rather, starve, upon potatoes and water as their only means of sustenance; and that their only clothing consists of the coarsest rags, so torn that they are never taken off at night, because the owner must despair of again finding his way into them, should he at any time incautiously doff them from his person. These and many
such

such things I heard, and partly I believed them, but now I know that these things are not true. The race of very small farmers (I do not mean in person, for they are commonly tall varlets) is, indeed, much more numerous here than in England, or than it is at all desirable it should be anywhere; but it very rarely happens that these men, holding, as they do, from six up to sixty-acres of land, Irish measurement, fail to procure moderately good food and raiment, wherewith they can be content. It is true that very little money circulates amongst them; I myself have known repeated instances of twelve such farmers being unable to club together five pounds at a time when they earnestly desired to do so, nor is this so much to be wondered at amongst an agricultural population unaided by manufactures; but the poorest of them has, at least, one cow, and several pigs and poultry, and most of them have more cows than one, and a horse. The produce of the farm (including butter, which those who are poorest sell, and do not eat) pays the rent and other land charges, supplies the family with potatoes, feeds the live stock abovementioned. The man and sons not yet married, besides tilling the land and cutting turf for fuel, which is commonly a privilege of their holding, are able to devote some time to the labour of others, either in ornamental improvement for their landlord or upon the public roads. The usual rate of wages for country labour is eight-pence a day, and though they cannot always procure employment when they wish for it, even at this small remuneration, yet they can and do procure enough to enable them to provide themselves and their families with clothes and other indispensable necessities, and remember, I am now speaking of the very poorest class of farmers.'

'I had occasion lately to inquire after the welfare of the family of one of our tenants who had died some time before. "How are Peggy Doolan and her children coming on since she lost her husband?" said I to the under-steward. "Is it the widow Doolan, that lives yander below on the hill, your honour?" "The same." "Troth, thin, plase your honor, I seen them have plenty of elegant pratees, wid eggs galore, an lashins of milk, an its hard if that doesn't sarve them, wid your honour's good word." Such, I can assure you to be much more nearly a true description of the fare of the Irish peasantry in general, than the potatoes and water above recited. We have all been so much in the habit of talking about the moral degradation of the Irish, their filth and their misery, as things of course and undeniably true, that, I fear, it may not be easy to undeceive the public mind on the subject, and to convince men—especially those whom it is most important to convince, the manufacturers, namely, and capitalists of England—that Ireland is really a place where a great deal of industry, comfort, and happiness already exist amongst the common people; where justice is truly and indifferently administered by general laws, much in the manner it is on their own side of the Channel, and where all the same provisions for the security of rights and property exist, and are carried into effect with nearly the same certainty and speed as amongst themselves.

selves. In truth, like Ajax in the fight, we ask but for light and fair play ; give us these and a clear stage, and in all brotherly affection will we try a fall with merry England ; nor let it be forgotten, whilst we improve each other's strength and skill in the friendly contest, that should we at any time avail ourselves of the Rosicrucian privilege, so longed for by Celia, to take the strong fellow by the leg, we mean no harm by it, but only follow our national method of displaying love and regard.—*Ibid.* p. 14—19.

We are thus enabled to pronounce, upon evidence which cannot be disputed, that, whatever increase may have taken place in the population of Ireland within the last two hundred years, the produce raised in that country for subsisting them has increased in a much greater ratio. The produce of Ireland bears a much greater proportion to the ' seven millions ' of the nineteenth century than the food raised in that island did to the ' one million ' of the seventeenth century. Although still far behind the same class in England, it must yet be acknowledged, that, for the last fifty years, a rapid and progressive improvement has been taking place in the condition of the Irish peasantry. Notwithstanding the groans which have been sent forth on the subject, each constituent member of the existing ' seven millions ' is better lodged, better clothed, and better fed, than he would have been had he been a contemporary of the one million that fed on shamrocks and lived in sties in the time of Sir William Petty. While the population of Ireland was thin, and scattered over a partially occupied and imperfectly cultivated surface, it was exposed to constantly recurring famines, and to epidemics and pestilential fevers, arising from a deficiency of food, which swept away the people by thousands and tens of thousands. Now that the greater proportion of the land of that island has been reclaimed and brought under tillage, and that the density of the population has increased four or five-fold, these periodical visitations of famine and fever return with less frequency and diminished violence ; for it would be easy to show that the distress in 1822, was entirely independent of a deficiency in the usual produce of Ireland.

The slightest investigation of the progress of society in this country will furnish ample evidence of a similar tendency. If we go back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when our population was, in comparison with its present amount, thin and scanty, we shall find that evils and sufferings, which afflicted Ireland at a late period, then prevailed in England : scarcity, dearths, famines, were calamities of constant recurrence ; and these were followed by their inevitable consequences—epidemics and pestilential diseases, which swept away thousands of the people. It may be most safely asserted, that, of the twelve
million

millions of people which England now contains, each individual is more commodiously lodged, more comfortably clothed, and more plentifully fed, than an individual of the same class and station, while the population of the country did not exceed one-half or one-third its present number. This improvement in the comforts and accommodation of the community has produced a very salutary and perceptible effect upon the health of the public: it has put an end to the ravages of the pestilential and epidemic diseases which were formerly so fatal among us, and made a considerable addition to the average duration of human life. These are facts; and, knowing them, our minds are free from certain melancholy forebodings, which haunt the imaginations and almost disorder the intellects of certain economists. In a word, we can look to the population of Ireland, large as it is, and larger as it must become, without fear—provided only that the Irish proprietors will seriously bestir themselves about the improvement and extension of Irish agriculture.

We are far from doubting that emigration is a subject which ought, at all times, to engage the serious attention of the rulers and legislators of this great colonizing empire; but we have many doubts indeed whether it be one that has any claims to fix the studies and researches at this moment of the proprietors of the Irish soil, with the view of either bettering the condition of their peasantry or the amount of their rentals. Assuming, however, for a moment, that the removal of a part of the Irish population should be productive of the consequences which many able and amiable persons expect from the measure, at whose expense is it proposed to carry it into effect? Principally, it would seem, at the expense of the people of England. It is recommended, that the land-owners of this country should raise loans—that is, should mortgage their manors *pro tanto*—in order to transport into the colonies the redundant population which incumbers an Irish estate, and, by that means, enable its owner to draw from it a larger rent, which he may expend in Paris, at Rome, or Naples. We are convinced that such a scheme never can be carried into effect: at least, to such an extent as to render it worthy of any very serious consideration. The landlords of England will assuredly pause before they consent to add to the incumbrances, already pressing pretty heavily upon their estates, by raising funds to be expended upon any such project.

This being the state of the question, we would recommend those who have evinced so much laudable interest in the improvement of the condition of the Irish poor, to turn their attention to the internal resources of that island. As they cannot find the means of transporting the unoccupied labourers of Ireland to the

the colonies, we should advise them to try what can be done towards furnishing them with employment at home. Without referring to manufacturing or mechanical employments, it would really seem that, at present at least, there is room enough for the profitable employment of every arm in Ireland, on the better cultivation of the land which has been already reclaimed there; and, supposing that this should not be the case, it offers, for the employment of the peasantry, an extent of waste which cannot be very speedily exhausted.

But the constant cry with respect to Ireland is the want of capital. It is not, we believe, seriously denied by any one who has at all studied the subject, that Ireland contains a large extent of highly productive waste land, which would produce abundant subsistence for a more numerous population than she at present possesses, if the capital existed which is required for cultivating it. We would take the liberty of asking those who make this admission, whether an emigrant can be settled either in Canada or New South Wales, without a considerable outlay? Must not a provision be made for supporting him and his family until the time arrives when he may expect to reap the fruit of his own exertions? We have never heard that the most favoured soil of the American continent produces spontaneously the food required for the subsistence of a newly arrived colonist; before the field can become fruitful, before wheat, barley, and oats, can be reaped, the forest must be felled, the land must be cleared and tilled. So evident, indeed, is the necessity of an advance of capital in settling an emigrant in our transatlantic colonies, that voluminous and minute calculations have been made of the expence which must be incurred on account of each family, and this cost has been estimated at sixty pounds. If it be necessary to call upon the public to raise any capital for the employment of the unoccupied Irish peasant, would it not be at least as advisable to expend it in settling him on some portion of those five millions of fertile land which his own country now contains in a state of waste? Sixty pounds would be a little fortune to an Irish labourer. It would build a far more comfortable residence than he has been accustomed to occupy, and would supply him and his family with every article of subsistence which he considers necessary, until the bounty of nature pours into his lap the fruit of his own industry. If in any district of that island the population ~~has~~, from any causes, become redundant, let the excess be employed in reclaiming and cultivating the bogs and wastes of their native country—while any such bogs and wastes remain. The benefit which the labourer himself would derive from such a measure would be at least as great as any that could be expected from his deportation

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to the colonies; and the advantages which would accrue from it to the proprietor of the Irish soil would be incalculably greater. The unoccupied labourers, who now impoverish and weaken the community, would thus be rendered the source of wealth and strength; idleness would give place to industry; poverty and insubordination to abundance and tranquil contentment; and the productive powers of that highly fertile island would be gradually and fully developed. So ample are the resources which Ireland presents for the profitable employment of a rapidly-increasing population, that ages must elapse before they are entirely exhausted. To do full justice to the natural resources of her soil merely (to say nothing at present of her fisheries, manufactures, &c. &c.), would require a vast addition to her present population. The supposition that, while one-third of the whole surface of that island, although capable of cultivation, is in a state of nature; and while, moreover, the land already occupied might, by the application of additional labour, be rendered incalculably more productive than it is at present;—the removal of any portion of the existing labourers could benefit the Irish *land-holders* is surely a wild delusion. That the owners and occupiers of this imperfectly cultivated soil—that the proprietors of these reclaimable but uncultivated wastes, should conceive that any serious and permanent benefit could accrue to *them*, from the removal of the only instruments by which their tillage might be improved and their wastes rendered productive, appears to us all but incredible.

To those who allege that no profitable demand can be created for the labour of the neglected and unemployed population of Ireland, we recommend the perusal of the evidence taken before the select committee on the employment of the poor in 1823. Every page of that evidence shows that, with proper management, and very little exertion on the part of the land-owners, there is ample scope for an indefinite extension of the linen manufacture. In various parts of the south of Ireland, the fabrication of a coarse article, nearly resembling what the diapers call *platilla*, has been already introduced by the exertions of benevolent individuals; and wherever this has obtained a footing, we hear no more of a deficiency of labour, or of a superabundant population: every hand is employed; and contentment and tranquillity in Ireland, as they do elsewhere, follow in the train of industry.

To those who are anxious to ascertain to what extent, and in what manner the bogs and wastes of Ireland can be rendered available for the support and profitable employment of her increasing population, we recommend the perusal of the evidence which Mr. Ninmo gave before the emigration committee.* Like

* Third Report, p. 328.

his former evidence before the committees for inquiring into the state of Ireland, it abounds with information respecting the great natural resources of that island, and the obstacles and impediments which have hitherto rendered them unavailable. We heartily wish our limits would permit us to transcribe the whole of this admirable evidence, which is worth ten folios of theories and speculations ; as this, however, is impracticable, we must reluctantly content ourselves with a brief abstract. Mr. Nimmo states that Ireland contains about five millions of English acres of waste land ; that nearly the whole of it is reclaimable ; that the expense of reclaiming it would in no case exceed, and, in general, would be considerably under, ten pounds per acre ; and that every acre, when so reclaimed, would produce to the owner a rent of twenty shillings per acre, or ten per cent. upon the capital expended in improvements. This is not a theory or speculation of Mr. Nimmo ; it is a deduction from ascertained facts, the actual result of experiments made under his own superintendence. In the summer of 1826, a trial of what might be effected, in reclaiming bog, was made upon Lord Palmerston's estate. Fifty acres of bog, which contained nothing beneficial in the way of manure, were drained, and brought into a state fit for producing a crop, at an expense not exceeding seven pounds per acre ; and, 'in four months after the spade was first put into it,' says Mr. Nimmo, 'we had very fine potatoes, and turnips, and rape, and so on, growing there as good as on any land in the world.' Lord Palmerston intends keeping these fifty acres in his own hands for three years, and expects that the produce will reimburse the capital expended in effecting the improvement ; and Mr. Nimmo expresses his confidence that, at the end of that term, he will be able to let this land for thirty shillings per acre. This nobleman will thus have added fifty acres to his estate, without the cost of one single farthing. It should also be stated, that the whole of the seven pounds expended on each acre, was laid out in the actual payment of the labourers employed in draining the land : they earned at the rate of tenpence, and one shilling per day. All that is required to render these bogs fit for tillage, is to cut open drains about four feet deep ; these drains requiring merely to be now and then scoured, at an expense which is represented as very small indeed. The manure best adapted for the improvement of the Irish bogs is calcareous sand ; and so bountiful has nature shown herself in Ireland, that few instances occur where this species of manure does not most abound in the vicinity of the spot where its application may be most useful. The munificent Author of nature has scattered over Ireland the elements of productiveness with a lavish hand. On one spot is deposited the manure ; and in the next the species

species of soil, to the improvement of which it is exactly adapted: while man overlooks or turns aside from these gifts, and groans over the multiplication of his race. We think the public in general, and the landed proprietors of Ireland in particular, are deeply indebted to Lord Palmerston for the experiment which he has made: it is not any longer a mere theory; it is a fact proved beyond the possibility of being disputed or cavilled at, that a considerable proportion of the bogs of Ireland are capable of yielding a large remuneration for any conceivable capital which may be expended in reclaiming them. Are the landlords of Ireland all asleep? Or are they all expatriated? Can example make no impression upon them? Is it conceivable that they should continue to overlook so wide a field for the employment of their unoccupied countrymen, and so obvious and inexhaustible a source of wealth to themselves?*

The extension and improvement of agriculture are the great objects which ought to fix the attention of the friends of Ireland; but, before these can be grappled with to any adequate extent, the legislature of the empire at large has, in our humble opinion, a most grave and weighty duty to perform to the population of Ireland. In a word, we are of opinion,—and the opinion seems to be gradually gaining ground in this country,—that some organised system for the suppression of vagrancy, and the employment and subsistence of the unoccupied and impotent poor, would tend more than any other single measure to augment the resources and promote the tranquillity of Ireland. During the present session of parliament, our readers are aware, that Mr. Grattan endeavoured to prevail upon the legislature to sanction the introduction of a law for the maintenance and employment of the Irish poor, similar in its principle, although not so in some of its minor details, to the system, which, for upwards of two centuries, has prevailed in this country. The supporters of this measure have been baffled for the present: we would not, however, have them relinquish their object in despair; if they persevere, we feel persuaded that they will in the end make converts of their opponents.

* Mr. Strickland, another witness extremely well conversant with the condition of Ireland, confirms in every particular the testimony of Mr. Nimmo. 'He thinks the expense of reclaiming the bogs and wastes of Ireland would be even somewhat lower than the estimate of Mr. Nimmo. He has no doubt that thirty shillings an acre would be not only promised, but paid, as rent for land thus reclaimed, as he sees instances of it every day. The immediate benefit that the redundant poor would obtain would be the employment of their labour; their labour would immediately become valuable, as it would be in demand for the improvement of the bogs.' He further states his conviction that there is ample employment for the whole of the population, through a long course of years, in reclaiming the bogs of Ireland; and that the cultivation of the same land, after it was improved, would furnish ample employment for the people, if no other profitable source of employment should in the mean-time arise.

For we are not among those who mainly ascribe the opposition offered to the introduction of a legal system for relieving the Irish poor to the selfish cupidity of the landlords of Ireland. That the absentee owners of Irish estates are responsible for much of the misery and degradation visible among their tenants, is a fact which no person, Mr. Macculloch alone excepted, will undertake to deny. But we cannot doubt that their resistance to the introduction of poor laws into that ill-fated portion of the British dominions arises from delusion and prejudice, which calm reasoning may gradually extirpate—by no means from any real defect of charitable and benevolent feelings. Posterity will scarcely credit the extent to which the popular feeling of this country has been worked upon, and warped, by the incessant ravings of some of our modern economists. They, truly, have done all that in them lay to extinguish in the bosoms of the more opulent classes every spark of generous and benevolent compassion towards the destitute and needy pauper; in their eyes, pauperism is a crime for which nothing short of absolute starvation can form an adequate punishment. Hence, the poor laws of this country have been held up to the world as deserving of every reproach; as an infringement upon the laws of nature and of God!—which, according to their version of them, doom the destitute pauper to perish for want of food. They allege, that these laws injure the feelings and pervert the principles of the rich, whilst they degrade and demoralise the poor, for whose benefit they have been ostensibly established. This being the light in which the English poor laws are so constantly represented, it is not to be wondered at, nor, indeed, ought it to be made a ground of peculiar reproach, that the Irish landlords should dread the approach of what our Gallic neighbours, forming their opinion upon this subject from the lectures and lucubrations of our own long-winded, if not long-headed philosophers, have been pleased to denominate ‘*la plaie politique de l’Angleterre la plus dévorante* ;’ and ‘*a greater evil than the national debt*.’

We are persuaded, that, in the whole history of human opinions, nothing will appear more unaccountable than the clamour which has been raised against the English poor laws; which is repeated, as a thing of course, by the pamphleteers, and the ‘*journalistique*,’ as they call it, of all Europe; and which seems, from this endless repetition, to have scared from their propriety the wits and intellects of the occupiers and owners of land and houses in this country. Constantly dinning with the cry that the poor increase so rapidly in number as to threaten, at no very distant period, to swallow up the whole surplus produce of the land—is it surprising that the hapless *terrarum domini*

domini should retire from these scientific lectures to moan over the melancholy prospect which opens upon them, and stand appalled at the gradually, but steadily increasing wave of population, which, as they are assured, must, in its progress, inevitably overwhelm them?

These alarms are, we conceive, excited by representations grossly exaggerated, if not utterly unfounded. That the parochial expenditure, denominated poor-rates, is greater than it was fifty years ago, we readily admit; it is, however, notorious that the whole of what is thus levied upon parishes is not expended on the maintenance of the poor. A large proportion of the increase which scares our economists will be found to arrange itself under the various other items of parochial expenditure, which are now jumbled together under the term poor-rates, but which have no more connexion with the fund really set aside for the relief of indigence than they have with the building of London Bridge. The increase of what is called the county-stock, arising from the increasing number of prisoners committed for trial, and the better accommodation provided for them; the expenses incurred in suppressing vagrancy, and in conveying to their different places of destination the hordes of Irish emigrants who infest every district of this country, and the costs incurred in settling the various legal questions unavoidably springing out of the administration of a large parochial expenditure, constitute, together, no insignificant proportion of the gross sum which it has become the custom to term *poor-rates*. And, in addition to these heads of expenditure, another item of considerable magnitude must not be overlooked. All our readers are, we apprehend, but too well aware, that in various and extensive districts of this country, an illegal and pernicious practice prevails of paying out of the parish funds a regular allowance to able-bodied labourers in constant employment. Such a payment ought to be regarded, and, indeed, by the parties who sanction the abuse, it is generally considered as forming, to all intents and purposes, a part of the just wages of the working-labourer. The iniquity of this practice towards the little tradesman and mechanic who employ no labourers, and the little farmer who performs his own work, and who are thus made to pay a portion of the wages of the labourers employed by their more opulent neighbours, and the impolicy of degrading the industrious labourer, who, on every principle of equity, is entitled to obtain from his employer the full market value of the work performed by him, into an eleemosynary pensioner, can never be reprobated either too frequently or too strongly. This is a crying and gross abuse of the poor laws, for which the system itself is not in the slightest degree responsible. When

When all these items, the county-stock, the costs of legal proceedings, and the allowances made to able-bodied labourers are fairly deducted from the sums now raised by parochial assessments, the amount of what now *appears* to be expended on the indigent poor will become greatly reduced.*

We will venture to assert, not only that the number and expense of the English poor, when contrasted with the population and resources of the country, are greatly below what they were in the reign of Elizabeth, but that pauperism has actually declined, almost in the exact ratio that the funds regularly assessed for the relief of indigence have increased. As we may appear somewhat paradoxical, we must crave the indulgence of our readers while we state the grounds on which we venture to advance this proposition. Suppose we admit that the whole of the seven millions sterling now levied upon parishes under the term 'poor-rates,' is actually expended in the maintenance of paupers, and that the amount so levied and expended in 1750 did not exceed two millions. Does not this prove that pauperism has increased in this country since the middle of the last century in the proportion of two to five? We think not, and for the following reason. The framers of the English poor laws had two leading objects in view, the relief of impotent poverty, and the suppression of sturdiness and idle vagrancy. The former was easily attained, but the latter was a great national evil, with which the legislature long grappled in vain. The number of paupers regularly relieved by parish allowances was, no doubt, smaller in the last than in the present century, and these consisted almost exclusively of the aged and infant poor, who were incapacitated from obtaining a subsistence by begging, but it should be recollected that, in addition to the aged and infant poor thus regularly relieved, every district of England then swarmed with a wandering horde of able-

* 'The poor-rates are not nearly so high as one would be led to suppose from the Parliamentary returns. First, because much of the expense returns to the farmers in the titen which is paid into the poor-rates. Secondly, because much is expended upon roads, and therefore does not properly come under the head of poor-rates. I have never known any instance where gravel digging or stone picking was paid for by gentlemen, but it is always paid for by the overseers. Again, a great part of the allowance which the labourer receives returns to the farmer and landowners, in the shape of exorbitant rent for cottages. I have known many instances where the amount paid by the labourer for a cottage was greater than the amount of relief which he received from the overseer. The rent for cottages is so high, that it is one of the chief causes of the agricultural labourer being in a worse state now than they ever were before the war. The average rent of cottages with garden, was thirty shillings a year. It is now in our own neighbourhood commonly as high as five, seven, or even ten pounds per annum. And where cottages are in the hands of farmers, they always prohibit the labourers from keeping a pig, and claim the produce of the apple trees and of the yew which usually covers the house. Evidence of Henry Drummond, 1842. Report of Committee on Labour & Wages, p. 17.

bodied mendicants, who extorted from the charity, or, as it sometimes happened, from the fears of the peasantry, a more ample subsistence than they could have earned by industry, or obtained from the parishes to which they belonged. These vagrants did not willingly fall upon the poor-rates; they did not resort to this fund until the police of the country, after a long struggle of more than a century, got the mastery over them, and succeeded in suppressing the trade of begging. To the restraints necessarily imposed upon the stationary pauper, this class of mendicants submitted with great reluctance; their former mode of life was more agreeable to their habits than the steady labour which they are now compelled to perform; and there is no reason to doubt the produce of a day's begging was at least equal to the wages of a day's labour, or the allowance daily doled out to the pauper out of the parish funds.

The misery and mendicancy which prevailed in this country before the provisions of the 13d of Elizabeth became duly enforced, might be proved by a host of witnesses: we shall, however, content ourselves with one extract from a curious old pamphlet, which describes, in very forcible language, the poverty and idleness which prevailed in one of the fairest and most fertile districts of the kingdom; viz.—

'The Golden Vale in Herefordshire, (being ye pride of al that country,) being the richest yet (for want of imployment) the plentifullest place of poore in the kingdom—yielding two or three hundred folde: the number so increasing (idleness having gotten the upper hand;) if trades bee not raised—beggery will carry such reputation in my quarter of the country, as if it had the whole to halves.*

'There bee,' says this author, 'within a mile and a halfe from my house every waye, five hundred poore habitations; whose greatest meanes consist in spinning flaxe, hemp, and hurdes. They dispose the seasons of the yeaere in this manner: I will begin with May, June, and July, (three of the merriest months for beggers,) which yield the best increase for their purpose, to raise multitudes: whey, curdes, butter-milk, and such belly provision, abounding in the neighbourhood, serves their turne. As wountes or moles hunt after wormes, the ground being dewable, so these idelers live intolerablie by other meanes, and neglect their painfull labours by oppressing the neighbourhood. August, September and October, with that permission which the Lord hath allowed the poorer sorte to gather the eares of corne, they do much harme. I have seen three hundred leazers or gleaners in one gentleman's corn-field at once; his servants gathering and stouking the bound sheaves, the sheaves lying on the ground like dead carcasses in an overthrown battell, they following the spoyle, not

* Most approved and long experienced Water-workes: containing the manner of Winter and Summer Drowning of Meadow and Pasture. As also a demonstration of a project for the great benefit of the commonwealth generally, but of Herefordshire especially. By Rowland Vaughan, Esquire. Imprinted at London. 1610.

like souldiers (which scorne to rifle) but like theeves desirous to steale ; so this army holdes pillaging, wheate, rye, barly, pease, and oates : oates, a graine which never grew in Canaan, nor Ægypt, and altogether out of the allowance of leazing.

‘ Under colour of the last graine, oates, it being the latest harvest, they doe (without mercy in hotte blood) steale, robbe orchards, gardens, hop-yards, and crab trees : so what with leazing and stealing, they doe poorly maintaine themselves November, December, and almost all January, with some healpes from the neighbourhood.

‘ Thus your lordship sees (before God and the world) the principall meanes of their maintenance. The last three moneths, February, March, and Aprill, little labour serves their turne, they hope by the heat of the sunne, (seasoning themselves, like snakes, under headges,) to recover the month of May with much poverty, long fasting, and little praying ; and so make an end of their yeares travel in the Easter holy days.’

The vagrant hordes who infested this country down to the middle of the last century, were unquestionably much more numerous than the paupers now subsisting on regular allowances from their parishes ; and the expense of maintaining a vagrant must necessarily be greater than the cost of supporting a stationary pauper. We ourselves are old enough to remember when, in some districts, a set of beggars went their regular rounds, and obtained relief at the farm houses : this practice is now generally, if not entirely, suppressed. It is no doubt true that the farmers of those districts now pay heavier rates than they did at that time, but it should not be forgotten that, if they pay more to the rates, *they give nothing to the vagrant beggar* ; and if the increase of what they pay be contrasted with the diminution of what they then gave in charity, we have no doubt that, in a calculation of the expense, the balance would incline in favour of the modern system ; for viewing the subject merely as a question of comparative expense, it can make no difference to the community at large whether seven millions per annum be levied upon parishes to support the poor, under an organised system, or food to the same value be given as alms to the vagrant ; but, looking upon the matter as a great question of national policy, no rational man can hesitate in his choice between the old and barbarous plan of vagrant relief, and the modern, and infinitely less burdensome, system of parochial charity. The vagrant poor of former times were mere drones upon the industry of the country ; they added nothing to the common stock ; and the whole of what they consumed was a dead loss to the community. And when we recollect that these vagrants formed, probably, one-eighth of the whole population, it is not difficult to perceive the amount of the loss thus occasioned, and the effect which it must have produced

duced in retarding the wealth and prosperity of the nation. Let us but imagine a million and a half of the present population of this country subsisting in a state of totally unproductive idleness, and we shall form to ourselves some faint notion of the influence of that vagrant system on which some persons would fain see our poor now thrown for support.

According to the returns of 1815, the number of paupers receiving parochial relief in England amounts to eight hundred and ninety-five thousand three hundred and thirty-six, in a population of eleven million three hundred and sixty thousand five hundred and five, or about one-twelfth of the whole community. This, unquestionably, appears a large proportion, and we could heartily wish to see it diminished; we are inclined, however, to agree with Mr. Sadler, that this statement gives an exaggerated view of the evil, from the mode in which the returns are drawn up:—

‘Not only,’ says this writer, ‘are those regularly relieved returned, but all those who have occasional assistance during the year are entered; and if they apply more than once, probably they are not unfrequently entered as often as they apply. Whatever may be the general practice as to the latter fact, certainly very many of the casually relieved poor, who amount, it will be seen on reference to the reports, to nearly half the entire number, if they receive ever so few donations, or not more than one, and do not remain on the books for any considerable length of time, still, at the end of the year, though long off the list, they are returned. Perhaps I shall be better understood by adducing an example. If we take up an infirmary report, and should judge of the actual inmates by the number of annual admissions, an exceedingly erroneous idea would be entertained. The same mistake applies, though not to an equal extent, in judging of the numbers of the poor from annual reports.’—p. 216.

But, by way of avoiding all cavil and petty discussion, we will, for the sake of argument, admit that the poor of this country now amount to one million, or about one twelfth of the whole population; and that the sum expended on their maintenance amounts to seven millions. Compare this with the voluntary, or, what is the same thing, the vagrant system of supporting the poor, to which Mr. Malthus and Dr. Chalmers would have us return. By the present system we maintain a million of paupers at an expense of about seven pounds each; now we should be glad to know whether each individual of this million would not cost the public more than seven pounds as a vagrant beggar? We are certain he would. We would also ask—*are the paupers of England, who receive parochial allowances, absolutely idle? Are they not, on the contrary, with the exception of the aged and infant poor, actively, and, to a certain extent at least, profitably employed? Their maintenance takes, no doubt, something from the common*

mon stock; but by their labour they replace, at least, a part of what they abstract: their maintenance is not, like that of vagrant beggars, an absolute loss to the community.

Nothing can place the advantages of an organized system of maintaining the poor in a stronger light than the present state of the British metropolis, when contrasted with its condition at previous periods of our history. Estimating the population of London and its environs, at one million two hundred thousand, its proportion of paupers would amount to one hundred thousand. Let us but reflect for one moment on the intolerable nuisance which would be created by this horde of idle and profligate vagrants roving through the public streets.

‘It is really astonishing to think,’ says a writer of the last century, ‘to what a prodigious height these evils are arrived, as well here, as in many other parts of the kingdom; and it is equally amazing that they are not redressed, especially considering the little difficulty that would be met with in obtaining the desired end. It is but to put the laws already made vigorously in execution, and the thing is done: but, according to the old proverb, what is everybody’s business is nobody’s, and thus we not only continue to harbour, but to propagate the race of vagabonds, thieves, and pickpockets, to the eternal shame and disgrace of this (otherwise) well governed city and realm. If these wanderers and beggars were taken up, people might walk the streets unmolested, and attend the business of their shops and warehouses without being continually teased and haunted by beggars and vagrants.’*

From this enormous evil the inhabitants are now entirely freed, by a well-regulated system which, confining this multitude of paupers to their respective parishes, provides food for those who, from age or infirmity, are incapable of ministering to their own wants, and employment for those who are able to earn subsistence by their labour. The poor-rates now levied within the Bills of Mortality amount to about 500,000*l.* per annum; but, large as this expenditure, at the first view, appears, it falls into insignificance when contrasted with the cost of maintaining an equal number of paupers in a state of vagrancy. The inquiries of the committee appointed to devise means for the suppression of mendicancy, leave us no reason to doubt that in an average of cases a London beggar made by ‘his trade’ eighteen-pence per day, or twenty-seven pounds per annum. At this rate, the maintenance of a vagrant beggar would cost the community nearly treble the expense now incurred in maintaining him as a stationary pauper: even if we suppose that he is utterly unproductive, and contributes nothing by his labour towards the funds expended upon him. Nor is there any real ground for concluding that throwing the

* A Plea for the Poor. By a London Merchant. London. 1759. pp. 18, 19.

poor upon vagrancy for support would lessen their number. On the contrary, we are inclined to think that the 'principle of population' will be found fully as active in the vagrant beggar who sleeps on straw, as in the most puissant peer who reposes on down. An Englishman has but to step over the confines of his own country in order to appreciate all the advantages of the absence of any legal maintenance for the impotent or unemployed poor. The host of wretched and disgusting objects by which he is assailed in every step of his progress throughout countries in which no settled provision exists for the indigent, will speedily induce him to forget the tirades to which he has listened.

In the kingdom of the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland, the poor are provided for on a plan which does not essentially differ from our own, at a cost to the community which, when compared with the wealth of each country, equals, at least, the highest expense which has been found to attend the English system. Over all the remainder of the continent the mendicant system—the delight of the Malthusians—prevails in all its vigour; but the intolerable burden of this system can only be conceived by those who have witnessed its pressure.

'Let the traveller,' says Mr. Milford, 'start from the rock of Lisbon, and proceed through every part of Spain, Italy, and France, and the wretchedness and beggary which prevail in every town, village, house, and even apartment, through all these Christian Catholic countries, can only be appreciated by those who have witnessed such scenes. In Spain and Portugal human misery and mendicancy are certainly on a more extended scale than in France and Italy, but with this difference, that in the latter countries, the profession is more matured and refined than in the former, where they content themselves with quietly exhibiting disease of the most horrible description on the road-side, in the corners of streets, and at the gates of towns, begging the Almighty or some favoured saint to inspire you with charity. Vagabonds, and those born and educated in beggary, make no scruple to enter your apartments, whilst at your dinner or supper, shut the door, and with apparent humility persevere in their petition till it is granted. In France and Italy the beggars possess a superior polish and perseverance; and it may be deemed an established maxim among them that a refusal is not an answer. At post-houses and towns where you pass through, they are as regular in their attendance at the door as the landlord or the waiter, and place themselves in positions to catch the eye, turn which way you will, making a monotonous buzz, like a distant swarm of bees. If you shut your eyes, or the window-blinds of your carriage, you voluntarily become a sort of state prisoner, and, of course, are deprived of seeing the place and its inhabitants: but this will not always secure you from their importunities; for I have found it occur, that they will open the door of the carriage, and present such a countenance of real or fictitious misery, that, I believe, few travellers persevere

persevere in the resolutions they have formed under such unequal contests. At least I know that whosoever wishes to consult his ease or his health had better not enter the lists with such opponents. In large cities, in coming out of one house you are fairly hunted till you get into another: the fraternity, however, appear to have this point of etiquette, that only one hunts you at a time; but before you are out of the sight of the former beggar, whom you have relieved, you are considered fair game for the rest of the pack. These scenes of misery, every day presenting themselves, have been the object of my reflections during many solitary rambles throughout Europe.'—*Observations during a Tour through France*, vol. ii., pp. 76, 80, 81.

'Naples,' says Kotzebue, 'is crowded with beggars, whose number defies all calculation. I feel it, indeed, a fruitless task for my pen to attempt a description of the scenes I have witnessed, and I lay it down in despair. But no! what I can tell is much as need be known of human misery. As we step out of our house, twenty hats and open hands are stretched out towards us. We cannot take ten steps in the street without meeting a beggar, who crosses our path, and with groans and piteous exclamations solicits our mite. Women, often dressed in black silk and veiled, intrude themselves impudently upon us. Cripples of all sorts hold up their stump of a leg or an arm close to our eyes: noseless faces, devoured by disease, grin at us: children, quite naked, nay, even men, are to be seen lying and moaning in the dirt: a dropsical man sits by the wall and shows us his monstrous belly: consumptive mothers lie by the road-side, with naked children in their laps, who are compelled to be continually crying aloud. If we go to church, we must pass through a dozen such deplorable objects at the door; and when we enter, as many fall down on their knees before us. Even in our dwellings, we are not free from the painful spectacle.'—*Travels through Italy*, vol. i., pp. 251, 252.

The French are pleased to talk of the English poor-laws as 'la plaie politique de l'Angleterre la plus dévorante:' let us advert to the state of their own capital. By the report of the Bureaux de Charité, published in 1823, we learn, that the whole population of Paris amounted to seven hundred and thirteen thousand nine hundred and sixty-six souls: this report states, that sixty-one thousand five hundred paupers were entirely supported in hospitals and other charitable institutions, and sixty-four thousand at their own homes: it adds, that it is impossible to ascertain the amount of private charities distributed during the year; and the authors close the report by stating, that they are under the painful necessity of terminating 'their account of the relief given to the indigent of the capital by the observation, that *her streets, her quays, and all her public places, are filled with mendicants.*' Here is a striking illustration of the efficiency and operation of the vagrant system. *One-ninth* of the whole population of Paris are wholly maintained by funds which the different bureaux

bureaux of charity distribute for their relief; and still a *countless horde of mendicants* infest 'her streets, her quays, and all her public places.' We have no very recent account of the state of the poor in the French provinces; but towards the latter end of the last century, a publication appeared under the title of '*Les moyens de détruire la Mendicité en France.*' It was a compilation formed from about one hundred memoirs sent in for a prize which the Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres of Chalons sur Marne had offered for the best performance on this subject. Though the numbers of the poor and the sums raised for their support in France are not mentioned, yet, from different parts of this work, they appear to have been much greater than in England, even in proportion to the number of people, while begging was attended with consequences more dangerous to the public peace. In one passage, it is said that the patrimony of the poor in France was sufficient, at that time, to support one-fourth of the inhabitants, and yet the poor were in want. This would make the number of poor amount to four millions of persons. In another passage it is reckoned that there were not fewer than 300,000 able and strong beggars dispersed throughout that kingdom, which they compute to be a loss to the state of 125,500,000 livres; and which class of people they considered as the great nursery of the robbers and assassins who infested the country.

Notwithstanding all the eulogiums which have been passed on the manner in which the poor of Scotland are maintained, we find that even at this moment 'vagrant mendicity is nearly universal' in that country. Scotland possesses a series of very severe laws for the suppression of vagrancy;* and resolutions have been recently entered into by more counties than one to carry their provisions into effect; but these resolutions have hitherto proved unavailing, in consequence, we are told, (and that by the high authority of the General Assembly of the National Church,) of the 'extreme humanity of parishioners, who cannot resist listening

* In 1455 an act was passed which ordains, that 'quanever sornares be overtane in time to come, that they be delivered to the kingis schiffes, and that forthwith the kingis justices do law as upon a thiefe and a reiver.'

In the earlier periods of their history, both in England and Scotland, beggars were generally of such a description as to entitle them to the epithet of *sturdy*: accordingly they appear to have been regarded often as impostors and always as nuisances and pests. 'Sornares,' so violently denounced in those acts, were what are here called 'masterful beggars,' who, when they could not obtain what they asked for by fair means, seldom hesitated to take it by violence. The term is said to be Gaelic, and to import a soldier. The life of such a beggar is well described in the *Belman of London*, printed in 1608.—'The life of a beggar is the life of a souldier. He suffers hunger and cold in winter, and heate and thirste in summer: he goes lowsie, he goes lame; he is not regarded; he is not rewarded; here only shines his glorie. The whole kingdome is but his walk; a whole cittie is but his parish. In every man's kitchen is his meate dressed; in every man's sellar lyes his beere; and the best men's purses keepe a penny for him to spend.'

to the plea of apparent distress and bestowing alms. It is, indeed, computed that the stranger poor carry away, in the shape of alms from the parish, more in value each year than would support comfortably the whole poor in the parish-roll and a general belief prevails that the practice is attended with many most hurtful effects, both in the best interests of the public and of the morals of the mendicant. They (i.e. the Committee of the Assembly) consider begging as a violation of the whole provision, purposes, and spirit of our poor-laws—is a heavy loss to the community of productive labour from the wandering and idle habits of beggary—as encouraging the vices of those who are, professionally pilfering vagrants—and as humiliating, generally, the pauper to duplicity, falsehood, ingratitude, and dissipation.*

This is the system which Dr. Chalmers recommends to England. England thanks the doctor for his good intentions—but having two centuries ago got clear of this barbarous system, she will scarcely be induced to return to it again. We see with our own eyes its practical workings in Ireland, on the continent of Europe,—even in Scotland—and we read of its former operation here, but in all this we discover no single feature which could induce any reasonable mind to desire its re-establishment in England. In most, if not in all the countries to which we have alluded, large funds belonging to particular charities are set aside for the relief of the poor, but the offensive and heart-rending scenes of mendicancy, which shock the traveller, arise from the absence of a regulated and organized system of relief, similar to that which succeeded in suppressing vagrancy here. The states which have no organized system for the relief of the destitute, swarm with beggars, not because the poor go unrelieved, but because relief is administered to them in a thriftless and pernicious manner, which, whilst it corrupts their morals, paralyses their industry.

It is a very easy process to calculate the cost of the pauper system, which, for upwards of two centuries, has been acted upon in this country, and to make this the foundation of an angry clamour. But we request our readers to bestow a little attention on the opposite side of the account. Much praise has been bestowed upon the benevolent views of the authors of a body of laws which provide a never-failing source of relief for the impotent and destitute; we confess, however, that the policy of that branch of our system, which renders it imperative upon English parishes to provide work for the unemployed labourer, appears to us to deserve, at least, equal commendation. Had no legal provision been established for the orphan, the aged, and the impotent poor, it can scarcely be doubted that they would have possessed an ample source of relief in the innate benevolence of mankind, impotent, and from this cause utterly destitute, they

* Minute and Report of the Committee of General Assembly, 1818, p. 14

would have pressed forward with a double and irresistible claim upon the compassionate feelings of their neighbours. But the wants of the able-bodied but unemployed labourer, appealing with less force to the feelings of the opulent, would have been less willingly and less liberally relieved. Hence, they would have become houseless beggars, obtaining from door to door a precarious subsistence; their industry would have been lost to the country, and all that they consumed as idle vagiants would have been so much abstracted from the stock which would otherwise have been expended on the industrious and productive labourer. When an attempt is therefore made to estimate the value of our poor laws, as a great and extensive system of national policy, they should be viewed in all their bearings. True it is, that in practice something is occasionally lost to society through the indiscreet administration of these laws: this, however, is an evil incidental to all human institutions, and is of very trifling amount, when contrasted with the incalculable benefit conferred upon the community by a system *which renders every able-bodied labourer in this country an active producer.*

Were the poor-laws of England abolished, without the substitution of some other system equally regular, and, in the end, conducting to the same results, the inevitable consequence would be, the re-establishment of the old and exploded plan of mendicant vagrancy, for which they were substituted by the sagacious ministers of Queen Elizabeth. To suppose that the destitute wanderer would be allowed to perish for want, *if* no regulated system provided for his maintenance, is a foul libel upon mankind. Mr. Malthus may, if he please, persevere in maintaining that ‘the poor have no right to be where they are:’ we have a better authority than Mr. Malthus for contending that the poor will be where they are; ‘that they will never cease from any land;’ and the problem to be solved with respect to the poor is not whether they shall be maintained—the common feelings of mankind will decide this point; but how this maintenance can be provided at the least possible cost to the public, and at the hazard of doing the least possible injury to the morals and habits of the poor themselves.

The evils to which, in seasons of distress and sickness, the Irish poor* are subject, from the want of some established provision for their relief, are too dreadful to be tolerated. When these calami-

* We have, on a former occasion, explained our views as to a system of *compulsory savings' banks*, to be raised up and enforced in England, without any violation of the existing system of poor laws; the application of which might thus be greatly limited, and, possibly, the necessity for *one half* of their enactments eventually removed. But these are views which can have no value at all in relation to the present condition of the unfortunate Irish,

ties visit the country it is found indispensable to station constables on the highways to drive away beggars and prevent them from entering the towns. Dr. Cheyne, in his medical report on the state of the province of Ulster, in 1819, states, that

‘ When any individual of a family was affected with fever, the rest were sometimes so much impressed with the danger of contagion, that they had him removed to a barn or an outhouse (where they had prepared a bed and broken a hole in the wall to admit of their handing in medicines and drink) and locked the door, which was not unlocked till some time after the disease was over. This was not a very common practice. But when a stranger or a labourer, who had no cabin of his own, took the disease, it was quite customary to prepare a shed for him by the way-side ; this was done by inclining some spars against a wall or bank of a ditch, and covering them with straw. Under these sheds, which the rain penetrated, the patients lay on a little straw.’—*First Report on Condition of the Poor in Ireland*, p. 73.

But to come back to those who will not listen to such details as these, as at all worthy of influencing philosophers and statesmen, the old cry continually meets us, where is the capital which can afford profitable employment to the Irish poor ? To us it certainly appears that Ireland does possess a quantity of capital which, if properly directed, would furnish profitable employment to the whole population. This capital is the food consumed by the host of wandering mendicants, who now subsist in a state of vagrancy. The amount of capital thus wasted in Ireland upon unproductive vagrants is infinitely greater than a stranger can well conceive. Swarms of beggars overrun every district of that ill-fated island ; ‘ and, it is well known, that, from motives of misdirected charity, beggars are never refused admission into the cabin of the labourer or house of the farmer.’*

‘ The extremely poor,’ says the author of the very lively and interesting *Letters from the Irish Highlands*, ‘ are almost exclusively fed by those who are but one degree removed above them in the scale ; and the tax thus levied upon the humanity of the hardworking and industrious peasant is much greater than would easily be supposed. As far as I have been able to ascertain, and I have diligently inquired in various parts of Ireland, the house of every poor labouring farmer contributes, on the average, every year, no less than one ton of potatoes, worth, at least, thirty shillings, to the satchel of the wandering beggar ; and that, over and above the relief which he is always willing to afford to those of his immediate kindred who happen to be in want. We have a population of seven millions, and if we estimate them at five to a house, and if we allow that the rich also contribute, it will be evident that we are already paying for the relief of the poor a voluntary tax of about two millions one hundred thousand pounds, the greater part of which is

* *First Report on the Condition of the Poor in Ireland*, p. 70.

levied from the poorest of those who have anything to give, without the least return in the way of labour from the objects of their bounty. As the peasant's door is never closed during meal time, he cannot and, indeed, he will not discriminate, and, consequently, idleness and beggary are encouraged to prey upon the industry of the land. I do not by any means intend to argue, that the upper ranks in Ireland are deficient in a spirit of benevolence: I have reason to know that the contrary is the fact; and I only give the two millions one hundred thousand pounds as the first item of my budget. From the rich, besides their private charities, much more is levied by robbery, by reluctant labour, by large deficiencies of their rental. The same disposition, however, is not found in all: and the absentee seldom feel what they cannot see: my only wish is to place the subject in its just light.'—p. 238.

Unoccupied and unproductive vagrancy is the real mill-stone which weighs down the energy and retards the prosperity of Ireland. She possesses, in no ordinary degree, all the natural requisites necessary to render her wealthy, prosperous, and happy; a large extent of soil, of great fertility, and a population endowed with all the physical qualities which fit them for industry. All that is wanting is to give these inexhaustible resources a proper direction; and, in the case of every able-bodied workman, *to render labour a condition to be fulfilled before subsistence shall be administered.* At present, an enormous—an almost incredible proportion of the whole population actually subsist, in a state of idleness, upon the bounty of the remainder. The fertile fields are but half cultivated; and of the produce which the land thus imperfectly tilled yields, a large proportion is daily thrown away upon athletic vagabonds. The neglect of proper tillage, to which this pernicious practice leads, can scarcely be conceived by those who have never witnessed the workings of the system. In the course of a recent visit to Ireland, we ourselves happened, very soon after the harvest had been gathered in, to stray into a corn-field, two or three miles distant from Dublin; it presented to the eye a wilderness of thistles of extraordinary luxuriance. During the early part of the season, the occupier never dreamed of weeding his crop: the corn and the thistles were allowed to grow up together; and at the harvest the scanty crop of oats, which had struggled with its tall and prickly enemies, was, as we understood on inquiry, actually picked by the hand from among the thistles, which were left behind in all their glory, to perfect and shed their seed at their leisure. During the period whilst these pernicious weeds were growing up, the farmer to whom the field belonged, daily relieved a host of huge-limbed and long-backed vagabonds, who applied at his house for food; but to employ any of these sturdy *lazzaroni* in weeding, or in any other species of labour calculated to ameliorate
his

his crops, was an invasion on the divine right of vagrancy which he never thought of committing. The idleness thus fostered is the root of the misery. The cultivation is imperfect, and the produce consequently more scanty than it should be, not because there is a want, but because there is a waste of capital. A sufficiency of food (or capital) is annually produced in Ireland to develop, to a much greater extent than is now done, the natural capabilities of the soil; but this capital is as much lost to the community as if it were thrown into the sea. We admit that this capital is miserably less than it would have been under a more provident system; it is, however, enough to begin with, and, well husbanded and managed, it will annually increase. But were it less than it is, what argument can be built on its small amount? Surely, the less the capital, the more imperative the necessity of laying it out economically. The rich farmer, who employs as many labourers as his land requires, may afford to throw away a part of his surplus upon a vagrant idler; but this would ruin a poor farmer whose land is imperfectly tilled: he would say to the wandering and able-bodied beggar, who applied to him for relief, 'I cannot give any thing as alms, but I will pay you for working in my fields, which will then reproduce me the food which you consume while labouring in them.' And the same reasoning which applies to individuals will hold good with reference to communities. England, with a population habitually and systematically industrious, (and to render them so we are inclined to think our poor laws have greatly contributed,) could no doubt waste some of its surplus upon able-bodied vagrants, without feeling immediate inconvenience. England, however, is too wise and provident to countenance so wasteful and pernicious a system; but Ireland, where the disposable capital, or the surplus produce of the soil, is comparatively small, improvidently and foolishly squanders away even that contracted fund upon unproductive beggars. This pernicious system preys upon the vitals of the land: like a secret worm, it eats off the germ of her prosperity; and until the labour of the thousands and tens of thousands, now supported in idleness, is employed productively, Ireland cannot effectually emerge from her poverty. It is a common observation in private life, that the principal difficulty which impedes the progress of an individual, who wishes to realize a fortune, is to make a beginning—the saving of the first hundred pounds; that point once gained, the rest of his progress becomes comparatively easy; as our neighbours say, '*ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte.*' The same observation will apply to nations. In Ireland, this first step has not yet been made; because the fund, which ought to be saved as the foundation of a national capital,

capital,

capital, is now annually wasted upon idle beggars. It is not too much to say that, as long as the pernicious, degrading, and improvident system of vagrancy is allowed to prevail, if even half the disposable capital of England were transferred into Ireland, it could have no permanent influence on the prosperity of that island; it would gradually fall a sacrifice to the numerous and increasing host of unoccupied devourers. Even if England herself—if wealthy and happy England were to ‘put herself to school’ to relearn the mendicant system of maintaining her poor, we are convinced that her prosperity would from that moment begin to decline; the labourers, now profitably employed in her fields and manufactories, would gradually turn out into the roads and streets as wandering beggars; and with this declension of her industry, the power and greatness of England would ultimately fade away and vanish.

The establishment of a system of laws, imposing upon the occupiers of the soil the legal obligation of supporting the population which multiplies on their farms, would prove in practice the most effectual means of putting an end to the pernicious system of subdividing land which prevails in Ireland. This system seldom prevails where the head landlord has not parted with all controul over his property; it owes its origin, or at least the pernicious extent to which it has been carried, to the indifference or cupidity of the middlemen. The greater part of Irish estates, especially of those which belong to absentees, are let on leases for lives, or for a long term of years, to tenants who relet and subdivide them at their own pleasure. Hence the ownership of an Irish estate is vested in one person, and the management of it in another; and over this management the owner does not possess the slightest controul. However he may disapprove of the proceedings of the middleman, who cuts up his property into slips, covers it with mud-cabins, and multiplies around him an idle population, who subsist, in a great part, by begging or theft, he cannot effectually interfere: the middleman finds that the system answers his own immediate interest; and he is either too ignorant to foresee, or too selfish to regard, its future effects. We feel convinced that this has caused many Irish landlords to absent themselves from their property. It is scarcely to be wondered at that they should retire from their post, rather than remain the helpless spectators of the gradual progress of a system which must end in the ruin of their property, but which they have no power to check. Looking at the circumstances in which they are thus placed, we cannot speak of Irish absentees in the harsh language which is sometimes applied to them. Many of them are more unfortunate than culpable. Their ancestors, or themselves, per-
haps,

haps, have inadvertently parted with the power which is indispensable for the proper management of landed property. To part with this power was no doubt a capital error; but the mischief is now done, and the only alternative which is left to them, is to devise some plan for counteracting the consequences of past indiscretion.

If the subject be weighed dispassionately, we are convinced the Irish absentees will see that, above any other class who would benefit by the measure, they are interested in the establishment of an organized system for the maintenance and employment of the poor. This would constitute an effectual check upon the misconduct of the middlemen, into whose hands the uncontrolled management of their estates has passed. The interest of the middleman and occupier would then be made to coincide with the interest of the owner; and no tenant would permit the erection of a cabin if he did not require the assistance of an additional labourer in the cultivation of his farm. Granting that the population of Ireland should be thinned by emigration, we are persuaded that no measure, except the establishment of poor-laws, could effectually prevent the 'vacuum' from being rapidly filled up by a fresh influx of occupants. As matters now stand, a pauper can settle in almost every part of Ireland, without obtaining the consent of the owner of the land: he applies to the occupier, who readily gives him a corner of his little holding; but poor-laws would render all such occupiers liable to contribute towards the maintenance of the cabin-holder, if he could not maintain himself by his labour. This would induce them to refuse leave to build cabins, except to labourers possessing some probable means of supporting themselves; nothing, except the direct interest of the occupier, could bring about this result: the efforts of the owner, although armed with all the authority which the legislature has recently given him under the subletting act, will not effect it: for it has been well remarked, by those who are conversant with the internal economy of that island, that it is very easy to make acts of parliament for Ireland, but not quite so easy to put them into operation. Without a system of poor-laws, which will cause the interest of the occupier and middleman to coincide with the intentions of the legislature, the subletting act will remain a dead letter. That the middlemen of Ireland—that the multitude of mesne tenants who stand between the owner and the actual occupier of the soil, should resist such a measure, is natural: it would probably diminish, in some degree, the profits which they derive from the mismanagement of the land which they hold under lease; but that the landlords of Ireland, who have parted with all controul over the management of their estates, should join them in opposing the only measure which can

save their property from utter ruin, evinces a singular instance of perverted judgment.

The want of poor laws is very severely felt in Ireland by the occupying farmers, whose industry and economy have raised them above pauperism ; and it is consolatory to find that this class is gradually increasing in numbers as well as in wealth. Sir Henry Parnell stated, before the Emigration Committee, that ‘ the capital in the hand of small farmers is increasing, and that it has the operation of displacing the cottier system, according as opportunities are afforded to the industrious class of small farmers to acquire the land held by cottiers.’*

‘ In a well managed estate,’ says Mr. Thomas Spring Rice, ‘ there is a diminution in the number of cabins, and there is a substitution going on, I am happy to say, in most cases, of respectable farm-houses, and of houses of a better class, frequently built and repaired by the landlord, and according to the English system of managing lands. In the county of Limerick, in some parts, where fourteen years ago there was not a decent house, there are now many most respectable farm-houses.’†

Upon the property of this meritorious and increasing class the idle and unoccupied poor make daily inroads, either by begging or by theft. The depredations which the unemployed paupers commit upon the property of their more wealthy neighbours are incessant ; every thing which comes within their reach is pilfered and stolen.

‘ The English farmer,’ says Parkinson, ‘ can scarcely form an idea of the many sorts of thieving that are practised. There is nothing on the farm of any kind that they were not apt to steal, if opportunity offered.’ . . . ‘ Generally speaking, the people who inhabit cabins are all thieves ; but as their crimes are of a trifling nature, such as stealing the stubble from the land, turnips, hay, and straw, they mostly get off with impunity. Though the crimes of these people are small, they are yet aggravating ; and if left unnoticed, would lead, perhaps, to greater ones.’ . . . ‘ I cannot avoid mentioning one species of theft that was new to me ; namely, pulling the wool off the sheep’s back when alive in the field : they will, also, take regularly from the land both cow-dung and sheep-dung ; the former to burn, and the latter under the pretence that it is wanted for scouring thread. And it is a further trait in the character of these people, that they never betray their fellows, but will readily take an oath to clear one another of any of the petty depredations I have mentioned.’‡

When to the stationary thieves by which he is surrounded we add the horde of vagrant beggars, who daily apply at his door for relief, and never apply in vain, we may form some estimate of the perpetual inroads which dishonesty and mendicancy make upon

* 3d Emigration Report, p. 451.

‡ English Practice of Agriculture, pp. 146, 176, 457.

† Ibid. p. 457.

his property. Lectures upon political economy will not cure the evil of Irish pauperism. If no system for employing them be arranged and carried into effect, the poor of that country will continue, as felons, to purloin, or, as importunate vagrants, to extort a subsistence from the owners of property; and as Ireland gradually emerges from her poverty, and the capital of the farmers accumulates, the grievance of this wasteful and improvident system must become daily more oppressive and intolerable.

Without referring to higher considerations, there can be no question that an organized system of maintaining the poor would produce a great saving of expense. The sums which the importunity of starving vagrants now extorts from the compassion of the more wealthy classes in Ireland would, it is our firm belief, subsist twice that number of individuals, if expended upon a settled and well-arranged plan of systematic provision. Nay, this is not a theoretical assertion, resting merely upon analogical reasons, drawn from general principles; it has been actually put to the proof.

Mr. Douglas's pamphlet informs us that during the prevalence of fever in 1817, the inhabitants of Dublin found the evils of mendicity too enormous to be longer endured, and they resolutely set on foot an arrangement for its suppression; the city was regularly divided into districts, and the whole horde of vagrants were taken up and examined. While this measure was in agitation, a number of beggars fled from Dublin: but those who remained behind amounted to ten thousand. A system was then arranged to provide work for the able-bodied, and gratuitous relief for the impotent. When the athletic found that no food was to be obtained without working, they took up their wallets and went elsewhere. Those who remained were employed in various ways, and provided with food, clothing, and lodging, in some old barracks. The streets were cleared of beggars, and the inhabitants released from their importunity. This part of the plan was easily executed, but it was not quite so easy to provide funds for its continuance.

The inhabitants of Dublin were willing enough to get rid of the mendicants, but not quite so ready to subscribe to the fund required for their support. As there were no laws to enforce their contributions, the committee hit upon an ingenious, expedient to stimulate the reluctant citizen. They arranged a procession of beggars to be led through the streets: they stopped before the houses of such as refused to subscribe, and gave them pretty convincing proofs that the lungs of the mendicants were sound and vigorous. This quickened the hearts of the opulent, and after the mendicant procession had gone many rounds, the sum of nine thousand five hundred pounds was raised by what we suppose must be termed *voluntary* contributions. With this inconsider-

able sum the streets of Dublin were entirely freed from the intolerable nuisance of mendicity; and upwards of five thousand beggars were employed and maintained for a period of six months. It was calculated that each beggar cost the committee about four-pence a day. Independent of the other incalculable advantage resulting from the suppression of mendicity, the exertions of the committee produced a great pecuniary saving. Before they began their labours, there were at least twelve thousand beggars roving throughout the streets of Dublin; and if we estimate what each obtained by begging at the moderate sum of one shilling per day, it will appear that an organized system reduced the number of paupers one-half, and the expense of supporting the remainder from one shilling to four-pence per day for each individual.

A difficulty might, perhaps, be started as to the party upon whom the charge ought, in the first instance, to fall, if the legislature should think proper to establish a compulsory provision for the poor of Ireland. The present occupiers would urge, that a burden, which had no existence when they took their farms, ought not in justice to fall upon them, but upon the owners of the land. To this it may be replied, that the charge of supporting the poor does now really fall upon them alone: it is by them alone that the paupers of Ireland are now maintained in idleness and vagrancy. A legal assessment would form merely a substitute for the alms which they now voluntarily give; and there can be no question that it would be infinitely less than the amount of what they are now called upon to contribute. But it should be also recollected, that the beggars, whom they now support in idleness, would, under a more provident system, be employed productively either in manufactures or in the cultivation of the land; and the profit of this improved industry would, until the expiration of their present leases, fall to the share of the tenants. It must, lastly, be added that, if the rate be not made to fall upon the occupier, many of the most important political benefits which we anticipate from the measure would be rendered precarious. The excess of population, which is now said to oppress particular districts in Ireland, arises, it is manifest, from the ignorance or shortsighted cupidity of the middlemen and occupiers, who indefinitely subdivide their tenements for the sake of a little temporary profit. By rendering these parties responsible for the evil resulting from their mismanagement, we shall establish an adequate guarantee against its recurrence. Self-interest will thus be brought to bear directly upon the conduct of the Irish farmer, in the same manner as it now operates upon the English, and defer him from allowing the settlement of any pauper for whose labour he sees no demand.

ART. IV.—*Memoirs of the Life and Travels of John Ledyard, from his Journals and Correspondence.* By Jared Sparks. London. 1828.

THE traveller, of whose life and adventures Mr. Jared Sparks* has published these very interesting Memoirs, may, with great truth, be called an extraordinary man. John Ledyard, by birth an American, was, in all respects, from the habits of his life, a citizen of the world. He was born at a small village called Groton, in Connecticut, on the banks of the Thames: his father was a captain in the West Indian trade, but died young, leaving a widow and four children, of whom John was the eldest, his mother is described as ‘a lady of many excellencies of mind and character, beautiful in person, well informed, resolute, generous, amiable, kind, and, above all, eminent for piety and the religious virtues’ Her little property, it seems, was lost through fraud or neglect, and the widowed mother, with her four infant children, thrown destitute upon the world. In a few years, however, she was again married to Dr Moor, and John was removed to the house of his grandfather, at Hartford, where, at a very early age, it is said, he showed many peculiarities in his manners and habits, indicating an eccentric, an unsettled, and romantic turn of mind. Having gone through the grammar-school, he was placed with a relative of the name of Seymour, to study the profession of the law, but this dry kind of study was soon found to have no attractions for one of his volatile turn of mind. Something, however, was to be done to rescue from sheer idleness a youth of nineteen, with very narrow means, few friends, and no definite prospects, and, by the kindness of Dr Wheelock, the pious founder of Dartmouth College, who had been the intimate friend of his grandfather, he was enabled to take up his residence at this new seat of learning, with the ostensible object of qualifying himself to become a missionary among the Indians.

The whole period of his studies at Dartmouth did not exceed one year, of which he was absent nearly a third part, rambling among the Indians, in order to acquire, it was supposed, some practical knowledge of their habits and mode of life; at the same time, no doubt, to indulge the bent of his genius, and to escape from the studies and the discipline of the college. It ap-

* Mr Sparks is an American of some literary reputation, who has come to this country, principally, as we hear for the purpose of examining the public offices for documents connected with the history of Washington. He has been engaged for some time in arranging the private and public papers left by the General at Mount Vernon, and announces a selection from them in from eight to twelve volumes octavo. We doubt if Mr Sparks will find much encouragement in England at least, unless he considerably reduces the scale of his intended publication, which, therefore, we hope he will do.

pears, to us, indeed, obviously enough, that the scholastic life was as little suited to his disposition as had been the study of the law ; he was impatient under discipline ; he felt it irksome to tread the dull round, from day to day, of the chapel, the recitation-room, the commons'-hall, and the study. To vary this routine, Ledyard introduced the acting of plays, of the success of which we are told nothing, except that he performed Syphax in a long grey beard. Impatient of restraint, and indignant at remonstrance and admonition, he soon abandoned the missionary scheme that appeared to require such severe initiation, and resolved to make his escape from the college. The mode adopted to carry this project into execution was strongly marked with that spirit of enterprise by which, in after-life, he was so highly distinguished :—

‘ On the margin of the Connecticut river, which runs near the college, stood many majestic forest trees, nourished by a rich soil. One of these Ledyard contrived to cut down.’ He then set himself at work to fashion its trunk into a canoe, and in this labour he was assisted by some of his fellow-students. As the canoe was fifty feet long and three wide, and was to be dug out and constructed by these unskilful workmen, the task was not a trifling one, nor such as could be speedily executed. Operations were carried on with spirit, however, till Ledyard wounded himself with an axe, and was disabled for several days. When recovered, he applied himself anew to his work ; the canoe was finished, launched into the stream, and, by the further aid of his companions, equipped and prepared for a voyage. His wishes were now at their consummation, and, bidding adieu to these haunts of the Muses, where he had gained a dubious fame, he set off alone, with a light heart, to explore a river, with the navigation of which he had not the slightest acquaintance. The distance to Hartford was not less than one hundred and forty miles, much of the way was through a wilderness, and in several places there were dangerous falls and rapids.’—
p. 21, 22.

With a bear-skin covering, and a good supply of provisions, he launched into the current and floated leisurely down, seldom using the paddle, till, while engaged in reading, the canoe approached Below's Falls, the noise of which, rushing among the rocks, suddenly aroused him ; the danger was imminent ; had the canoe got into the narrow passage it must instantly have been dashed in pieces, and himself inevitably have perished. By great exertion, however, he escaped the catastrophe and reached the shore ; and by the kind assistance of some people in the neighbourhood, had his canoe dragged by oxen around the falls, and again committed to the water. ‘ On a bright spring morning,’ says his biographer, ‘ just as the sun was rising, some of Mr. Seymour's family were standing near his house, on the high bank of the small river that runs through the city of Hartford and empties itself into the Connecticut,

neciticut, when they espied, at some distance, an object of unusual appearance moving slowly up the stream.' On a nearer approach it was discovered to be a capoc, in the stern of which something was observed to be heaped up, but apparently without life or motion. At length it struck the shore, and out leapt John Ledyard from under his bear-skin, to the great astonishment of his relatives at this sudden apparition, who had no other idea than that of his being diligently engaged in his studies at Dartmouth, and fitting himself for the pious office of a missionary among the Indians.

By the advice of his friends and two clergymen, he was prevailed upon 'to apply himself immediately to a preparation for discharging the sacred functions of a divine, and turn the ruffled tenor of his life into the quiet and grateful occupation of a parish minister.' It was soon found, however, that his qualifications were not exactly such as were suited for the priesthood, and the discouragement, if not the rejection, he met with from the clergy, appears to have very much mortified and wounded him; he talks about inquiries made after 'the strange man in Hartford;' and of his being 'the mock of impertinent curiosity.' In short, it was deemed expedient, both by his friends and by himself, that all further thoughts of his becoming a divine should be abandoned; and in the course of a few weeks we find him a common sailor, on board a vessel bound for Gibraltar. While at this place Ledyard was all at once missing: he had enlisted into the army. The master, being the friend of his late father, went and remonstrated with him for this strange freak, and urged him to return—to which Ledyard assented, provided he could procure his release; though he said he liked the service, and thought the profession of a soldier well suited to a man of honour and enterprise. The commanding officer assented to his release, and he returned to the ship.

The voyage being finished, the only profit yielded by it to Ledyard was a little experience in the hardships of a sailor's life, as his scanty funds were soon exhausted and poverty stared him in the face. At the age of twenty-two he found himself a solitary wanderer, dependent on the bounty of his friends, without employment or prospects, having tried various pursuits, and failed of success in all. But poverty and privation were trifles of little weight with Ledyard: his pride was aroused, and he determined to do something that should exonerate him from all dependence on his American friends; but it never once entered his brain to accomplish this by walking in the same path that all the world were walking in, or of attaining common ends by common means. He generally acted on the spur of the moment, and the first idea that crossed his brain and suggested some pursuit he immediately took

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up and followed it to its, generally, speedy conclusion. He had often heard his grandfather descant on his English ancestors, and his wealthy connexions in the old country; it struck him, therefore, while thus hanging loosely on society, that it might be no unwise thing to visit these relatives, and claim alliance with them. With this view he proceeded to New York, and made his terms with the master of a vessel bound for Plymouth. Here he was set down, without money, without friends, or even a single acquaintance. How to get to London, where he made himself sure of a hearty welcome and a home among those connexions, whose wealth and virtues he had heard so often extolled by his grandfather, was a matter not easily settled. As good fortune would have it, he fell in with an Irishman as thoughtless as himself, and whose plight so exactly resembled his own, that, such is the sympathetic power of misfortune, they formed a mutual attachment almost as soon as they came in contact. Both were pedestrians bound to London, and both were equally destitute of money or friends; and one *honest* mode only remained for them to pursue, which was, to address themselves to 'the charitable and humane.' This point being settled, it was agreed to take their turn in begging along the road; and in this manner they reached London, without having any reason to complain of neglect, or that there was any lack of generous and disinterested feeling in the human species. Ledyard's first object, after arriving in the metropolis, was to find out his rich relations, in which he was so far successful as to discover the residence of a wealthy merchant of the same name, to whose house he hastened. The gentleman was from home; but the son listened to his story, and plainly told him he could put no faith in his representations, as he had never heard of any relations in America. He pressed him, however, to remain till his father's return, but the suspicion of his being an impostor roused his indignation to such a pitch that he abruptly left the house and resolved never to go near it again. It is said that this merchant, on further inquiry, was satisfied of the truth of the connexion, and sent for Ledyard, who declined the invitation in no very gracious manner; that, notwithstanding all this, the merchant afterwards, on hearing of his distressed situation, sent him money; and that the money was also rejected with disdain by the American, who desired the bearer to carry it back, and tell his master that he belonged not to the race of the Ledyards. This story is not very credible; and if true betrays a degree of pride and obstinacy utterly inconsistent with the situation of a man who had been subsisting on charity during his journey to town, and who, while there, does not appear to have had any ostensible mode of gaining a subsistence; but Ledyard was no common mortal.

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The next capacity in which we find Ledyard is that of a corporal of marines, on board the ship of Captain Cook, then preparing for his third and last voyage round the world. Of this voyage Ledyard is said to have kept a minute journal, which, as in all cases of voyages of discovery, went among the rest to the Admiralty, and was never restored. Two years afterwards, Ledyard, with the assistance of a brief outline of the voyage published in London, and from his own recollection, brought out, in a small duodecimo, his narrative of the principal transactions of the voyage, in which, we hear, (for we have never seen it,) he blames the officers, and Captain Cook in particular, for several instances of precipitate and incautious conduct, not to say severity, towards the various natives with whom they were brought in contact. It was to this want of caution, and a due consideration for the habits and feelings of the Sandwich Islanders, that he imputed the death of this celebrated navigator. The late Admiral Burney, who served as a lieutenant on the voyage, says that, 'with an ardent disposition, Ledyard had a passion for lofty sentiment and description.' He adds that, after Cook's death, Ledyard proffered his services to Captain Clarke, to undertake the office of historiographer of the expedition, and presented a specimen descriptive of the manners of the Society Islanders; but, says this author, 'his ideas were thought too sentimental, and his language too florid.'

Ledyard was one of the marines who were present at Cook's death, of which he gives an account (as appears from extracts of his journal above-mentioned, inserted by his biographer) somewhat different from that in the authentic narrative of the voyage—and different, also, we must add, from his own private journal, which, at least the portion of it relating to that event, is still in the Admiralty. It must be mentioned in favour of Ledyard's sagacity, that the visit to Nootka Sound suggested to him the commercial advantages to be derived from a trade between the north-west coast of America and China; and the views which he took of this subject very much influenced the succeeding events of his life.

Towards the end of December, 1782, we find Ledyard serving on board a king's ship in Long Island Sound, from which he obtained leave of absence to visit his mother; but, either from a sense of duty and honour, which obliged him not to act with the enemies of his country, or from a dislike of the service, he never returned. He had conceived, and now began to endeavour to execute, the grand project of a trading voyage to Nootka; for this purpose he went to New York and Philadelphia, and, after addressing himself to various individuals, he prevailed at last on
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the Honourable Robert Morris to promise him a ship. 'Thus,' says he, 'I take the lead of the greatest commercial enterprise that has ever been embarked on in this country.' And he adds, in writing to his friend, 'Send me some money, for heaven's sake, lest the laurel, now suspended over the brows of your friend, should fall irrecoverably into the dust.' The projected voyage, however, was ultimately abandoned; but he persevered in his project, rejected by some and meeting with encouragement from others. Finding, however, that they all failed him, and heartily sick of the want of enterprise among his own countrymen, he resolved to try his fortune in Europe. He visited Cadiz, from thence took a passage to Brest, and from Brest to L'Orient, where he was successful in prevailing on some merchants to fit out a ship for his north-west adventure. But the season being far advanced, it was deemed expedient to put off the equipment till the following summer, when it was intended to apply for a commission from the king to unite with the trading part of the voyage that of a voyage of discovery; but, as this project failed, the other part of the voyage was also abandoned, and Ledyard became once more the sport of accident.

He now proceeded to Paris, where he was received with great kindness by Mr. Jefferson, the American minister, who so highly approved of his favourite scheme of an expedition to the north-west coast, that, we are told by his biographer, the journey of Lewis and Clarke, twenty years afterwards, had its origin in the views which Jefferson received from Ledyard. Here, also, he met with the notorious Paul Jones, who was looking after the proceeds of the prizes which he had taken and carried into the ports of France. This adventurer entered warmly into his views, and undertook to fit out two vessels for the expedition. It was settled that Jones was to command the vessels, and carry the furs to the China market, while Ledyard was to remain behind and collect a fresh cargo ready for their return, after which he meant to perambulate the continent of America, and show his countrymen the path to unbounded wealth. Jones, it seems, was so much taken with the plausibility of a scheme, which presented at once the prospect of adventure, fame, and profit, that he advanced money to Ledyard to purchase a part of the cargo for the outfit; but, being suddenly called away to L'Orient, to look after his prize concerns, his zeal for this grand scheme began to cool, and, in a few months, the whole fabric fell to the ground.

Ledyard now felt himself a sort of wandering vagabond, without employment, motive, or means of support; the supplies he had received from Jones had ceased, and he was compelled to become a pensioner on the bounty of the American minister and
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a few friends. While thus suffering under the pressure of want, it may readily be supposed he was not insensible to the humiliating state of dependence in which he was placed. It would appear, however, from some lively letters written by him at Paris, that his flow of spirits did not forsake him.

‘The two Fitzhughs,’ he says, ‘dine with me to-day in my chamber, together with our worthy Consul, Barclay, and that lump of universality, Colonel Franks. But such a set of moneyless rascals have never appeared, since the epoch of the happy villain Falstaff. I have but five French crowns in the world; Franks has not a sol: and the Fitzhughs cannot get their tobacco money.’ ‘Every day of my life,’ he continues, ‘is a day of expectation, and, consequently, a day of disappointment; whether I shall have a morsel of bread to eat at the end of two months, is as much an uncertainty as it was fourteen months ago, and not more so.’

While in this state of penury he received a visit, the object of which was so creditable to a gentleman still living, and not unknown in the annals of science, that it gives us pleasure to print the story in Ledyard’s own words:—

‘Permit me to relate to you an incident. About a fortnight ago, Sir James Hall,* an English gentleman, on his way from Paris to Cherbourg, stopped his coach at our door, and came up to my chamber. I was in bed at six o’clock in the morning, but having flung on my *robe de chambre*, I met him at the door of the ante-chamber. I was glad to see him, but surprised. He observed, that he had endeavoured to make up his opinion of me, with as much exactness as possible, and concluded that no kind of visit whatever would surprise me. I could do no otherwise than remark, that his *opinion* surprised me at least, and the conversation took another turn. In walking across the chamber, he laughingly put his hand on a six livre piece, and a louis d’or that lay on my table, and with a half stifled blush, asked me how I was in the money way. Blushes commonly beget blushes, and I blushed partly because he did, and partly on other accounts. “If fifteen guineas,” said he, interrupting the answer he had demanded, “will be of any service to you, there they are,” and he put them on the table. “I am a traveller myself, and though I have some fortune to support my travels, yet I have been so situated as to want money, which you ought not to do. You have my address in London.” He then wished me a good morning and left me. This gentleman was a total stranger to the situation of my finances, and one that I had, by mere accident, met at an ordinary in Paris.’—pp. 223, 224.

Ledyard observes, that he had no more idea of receiving money from this gentleman than from Tippoo Saib. ‘However,’ he says, ‘I took it without any hesitation, and told him, I would be as

* Sir James Hall of Dunglass, Bart., the father of Captain Basil Hall, R. N., and, till lately, President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

complaisant to him if ever occasion offered.' Among other peculiarities of our traveller, was that of disregarding the value of money, though, it might be supposed, that its scarcity with him, and his numerous wants, would have taught him to husband his slender resources; but so far was this from being the case, that he was always ready to part with the last sou, for the purpose of relieving distress. With all his eccentricities and apparent roughness of manner, and, sometimes, rudeness of speech, it is, indeed, quite obvious that he possessed an affectionate and feeling heart. We extract the following as characteristic of the man.

'I have once visited the Foundling Hospital, and the Hospital de Dieu in Paris; twice I never shall. Not all the morality, from Confucius to Addison, could give me such feelings. Eighteen foundlings were brought the day of my visit. One was brought in while I was there. Dear little innocents! But you are, happily, insensible of your situations. Where are your unfortunate mothers? Perhaps in the adjoining hospital; they have to feel for you and themselves too. But where is the wretch, the villain, the monster—? I was not six minutes in the house. It is customary to leave a few pence; I flung down six livres, and retired. Determined to persevere, I continued my visit over the way to the Hospital de Dieu. I entered first the apartments of the women. Why will you, my dear sisters, I was going to say, as I passed along between the beds in ranks, why will you be—; but I was interrupted by a melancholy figure, that appeared at its last gasp, or already dead. "She's dead," said I, to a German gentleman, who was with me, "and nobody knows or cares anything about it." We approached the bed-side. I observed a slight undulatory motion in one of the jugular arterics. "She's not dead," said I, and seized her hand to search for her pulse. I hoped to find life, but it was gone. The word *dead* being again pronounced, brought the nuns to the bed. "My God!" exclaimed the head nun, "she's dead;"—"Jesu Maria," exclaimed the other nuns, in their defence, "she's dead!" The head nun scolded the others for their mal-attendance. "My God!" continued she, "she is dead without the form." "Dieu!" said the others, "she died so silently." "Silence," said the elder, "perhaps she is not dead; say the form." The form was said, and the sheet thrown over her face.—pp. 224—226.

His schemes for a north-west voyage, either for trade or discovery, being now wholly abandoned, he set about planning, as the only remaining expedient, a journey by land through the northern regions of Europe and Asia, then to cross Behring's Straits to the continent of America, to proceed down the coast to a more southern latitude, and to cross the whole of that continent from the western to the eastern shore. The Empress of Russia was applied to for her permission and protection, but while waiting for her answer, Ledyard received an invitation to London from
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his eccentric friend, Sir James Hall. He found, on his arrival there, that an English ship was in complete readiness to sail for the Pacific Ocean, in which Sir James had procured him a free passage, and to be put on shore at any spot he might choose on the north-west coast. The amiable baronet, moreover, presented him with twenty guineas, as Ledyard says, *pro bono publico*, and with which he tells us, 'he bought two great dogs, an Indian pipe, and a hatchet.' In a few days the vessel went down the Thames from Deptford, and Ledyard thought it the happiest moment of his life; but such is the uncertainty of human expectations, while he was indulging in day-dreams of the fame and honour which awaited him, he was once more doomed to suffer the agonies of a disappointment to his hopes, the more severe, as being so near their consummation—the vessel was seized by a custom-house officer, brought back, and exchequered.

This was undoubtedly the most severe blow he had yet received; but Ledyard never desponded—no sooner was one of his castles demolished, than he set about building another. 'I shall make the tour of the globe,' says he, 'from London eastward, on foot.' To aid him in this object, a subscription was raised by Sir Joseph Banks, Sir James Hall, and some others. By this means he arrived at Hamburgh; whence he writes to Colonel Smith:

'Here I am with ten guineas exactly, and in perfect health. One of my dogs is no more: I lost him in my passage up the river Elbe, in a snow storm: I was out in it forty hours in an open boat.'

At the tavern he went to, he learnt that a Major Langhorn, an American officer, 'a very good kind of a man,' as his host described him, 'and an odd kind of a man, one who had travelled much, and fond of travelling in his own way,' had left his baggage behind, which was sent after him to Copenhagen, but that, by some accident, it had never reached him. He had left Hamburgh, the host told him, with one spare shirt, and very few other articles of clothing, and added, that he must necessarily be in distress. 'This man, thought Ledyard to himself, is just suited to be the companion of my travels. The sympathy was irresistible; besides, he might be in want of money: this was an appeal to his generosity, which was equally irresistible to one who, like Ledyard, had ten guineas in his pocket. 'I will fly to him and lay my little all at his feet: he is my countryman, a gentleman, and a traveller, and Copenhagen is not much out of my way to Petersburg;' and, accordingly, in the month of January, 1787, after a long and tedious journey, in the middle of winter, through Sweden and Finland, we find him in Copenhagen, having discovered Langhorn shut up in his room, without being able to stir

stir abroad for want of money and decent clothing. 'Imagination only,' says his biographer, 'can paint the joy that glowed in our traveller's countenance, when he saw the remains of his ten guineas slip from his fingers to relieve the distresses of his new-found friend.' After remaining a fortnight, he made a proposal to the Major to accompany him to St. Petersburg. 'No: I esteem you, but no man on earth shall travel with me the way I do,' was the abrupt refusal to the man who had gone out of the way several hundred miles to relieve his wants, and given him his last shilling.

The visit being ended, and the amicable partnership dissolved, it became necessary for our traveller to think of raising the supplies for a journey round the Gulf of Bothnia, which was now rendered impassable, the distance being not less than twelve hundred miles, chiefly over trackless snows, in regions thinly peopled, the nights long, and the cold intense; and, after all, gaining only, in the direct route, about fifty miles. A Mr. Thompson accepted his bill on Colonel Smith, for a sum which, he says, 'has saved me from perdition, and will enable me to reach Petersburg.' This journey he accomplished within seven weeks; but he writes to Mr. Jefferson, 'I cannot tell you by what means I came, and hardly know by what means I shall quit it.' Through the influence of Professor Pallas, but more especially by the assistance of a Russian officer, he obtained the passport of the Empress, then on her route to the Crimea, in fifteen days. His long and dreary journey having exhausted his money, and worn out his clothes, he drew on Sir Joseph Banks for twenty guineas, which that munificent patron of science and enterprise did not hesitate to pay.

Fortunately, a Scotch physician, of the name of Brown, was proceeding in the service of the Empress as far as the province of Kolyvan, who offered him a seat in his kabitka, and thus assisted him on his journey for more than three thousand miles. Having reached Irkutsk, he remained there about ten days, and left it, in company with Lieutenant Laxman, a Swedish officer, to embark on the Lena, at a point one hundred and fifty miles distant from Irkutsk, with the intention of floating down its current to Yakutsk. On his arrival at this place, he waited on the commandant, told him he wished to press forward, with all expedition, to Okotsk before the winter should shut in, that he might secure an early passage in the spring to the American continent. The commandant assured him that such a journey was already impossible; that the Governor-General, from whom he had brought letters, ordered him to show all possible kindness and service, 'and the first and best service,' said he, 'is to beseech you not to attempt to reach Okotsk this winter.' Ledyard still persisting to proceed,
a trader

a trader was brought in, who, in like manner, declared the journey utterly impracticable. Ledyard, though far from being convinced of what, in fact, was not true, yielded to persuasions against his will and his judgment, and was only surprised that he should meet two men in Siberia, entire strangers to him, who should have his happiness so much at heart. This delay of a whole winter would not have happened, at least there would have been no excuse for it, had not his fit of romantic benevolence led him out of his way to Copenhagen, to seek out that 'odd map,' Major Langhorn. It preyed on his mind, and gave rise to the following melancholy reflexions, which are quite in character.

' "What, alas, shall I do," exclaims he, in his journal, "for I am miserably prepared for this unlooked for delay. By remaining here through the winter, I cannot expect to resume my march until May, which will be eight month's. My funds! I have but two long frozen stages more, and I shall be beyond the want or aid of money, until, emerging from the deep deserts, I gain the American Atlantic States; and then, thy glowing climates, Africa, explored, I will lay me down, and claim my little portion of the globe I have viewed; may it not be before. How many of the noble minded have been subsidiary to me, or to my enterprises; yet that meagre demon, Poverty, has travelled with me hand in hand, over half the globe, and witnessed what?—the tale I will not unfold! Ye children of wealth and idleness, what a profitable commerce might be made between us. A little of my toil might better brace your bodies, give spring to mind, and zest to enjoyment; and a very little of that wealth, which you scatter around you, would put it beyond the power of anything but death to oppose my kindred greetings with all on earth that bear the stamp of man. This is the third time, that I have been overtaken, and arrested, by winter; and both the others, by giving time for my evil genius to rally his hosts about me, have defeated the enterprise. Fortune, thou hast humbled me at last, for I am this moment the slave of cowardly solicitude, lest, in the heart of this dread winter, there lurk the seeds of disappointment to my ardent desire of gaining the opposite continent. But I submit."'
—pp. 303, 304.

While thus detained for the winter at Yakutsk, he drew up some very just observations on the Tartars, which were afterwards published. He is not much delighted with the Russian character. The bulk of the people, he says, are without moral virtue. Even in the most obscure villages, he finds 'the rankest vices to abound, as much as in the capital itself.' The following species of jealousy is whimsical enough:

'So strong is the propensity of the Russians to jealousy, that they are guilty of the lowest offences on that account. The observation may appear trivial, but an ordinary Russian will be displeased, if one even endeavours to gain the good will of his dog. I affronted the commandant

mandant of this town very highly, by permitting his dog to walk with me one afternoon. He expostulated with me very seriously about it. This is not the only instance. I live with a young Russian officer, with whom I came from Irkutsk. No circumstance has ever interrupted the harmony between us, but his dogs. They have done it twice. A pretty little puppy he has, came to me one day, and jumped upon my knee. I patted his head, and gave him some bread. The man flew at the dog in the utmost rage, and gave him a blow, which broke his leg. The lesson I gave him on the occasion has almost cured him, for I bid him beware how he disturbed my peace a third time by this rascally passion.'—pp. 334, 335.

He had not remained long at Yakutsk, when Captain Billings returned from the Kolyma. This officer had attended the astronomer Bayley, as his assistant, on the last voyage of Cook, and was, of course, well known to Ledyard. Being on his journey to Irkutsk, he invited Ledyard to accompany him thither. They travelled in sledges up the Lena, and reached Irkutsk in seventeen days, being a distance of fifteen hundred miles. Scarcely, however, had he arrived at this place when he was put under arrest, by an order from the Empress. He now experienced no more of that concern for his welfare on the part of the commandant, and even Billings kept away from him. All he could learn was, that he was considered as a French spy, which Billings could at once have contradicted. His state of suspense was very short, as, on the same day, he was sent off in a kabitka, with two guards, one on each side. The following was written apparently soon after he left Irkutsk :

' My ardent hopes are once more blasted,—the almost half accomplished wish. What secret machinations have been at work ? What motive ? But so it suits her royal Majesty of all the Russias, and she has nothing but her pleasure to consult ; she has no nation's resentment to apprehend, for I am the minister of no state, no monarch. I travel under the common flag of humanity, commissioned by myself to serve the world at large ; and so the poor, the unprotected wanderer must go where sovereign will ordains ; if to death, why then my journeying will be over sooner, and rather differently from what I contemplated ; if otherwise, why then the royal dame has taken me much out of my way. But I may pursue another route. The rest of the world lies undisturbed.'—pp. 364, 365.

On his journey, he says,

' The soldiers, who guard me, are doubly watchful over me when in a town, though at no time properly so, through their consummate indolence and ignorance. Every day I have it in my power to escape them ; but, though treated like a felon, I will not appear like one by flight. I was very ill yesterday : I am emaciated ; it is more than twenty days since I have eat any thing that may be called food, and, during

during that time, have been dragged along, from day to day, in some wretched open kabitka. Thus am I treated in all respects (except that I am obliged to support myself with my own money) like a convict, and presented by my snuff-box of a serjeant as a raree-show, at every town through which we pass.—pp. 359, 370.

In this manner was our traveller conveyed to the frontiers of Poland, a distance of six thousand versts, in six weeks. ‘Thank heaven,’ says he, as he approached Poland, ‘petticoats appear, and the glimmerings of other features. Women are the sure harbingers of an alteration in manners, in approaching a country where their influence is felt.’ He has bestowed, indeed, a beautiful and touching tribute to the excellence of the female character, not more beautiful than just, which cannot be too often recorded in print.

‘I have observed among all nations, that the women ornament themselves more than the men; that, wherever found, they are the same kind, civil, obliging, humane, tender beings; that they are ever inclined to be gay and cheerful, timorous and modest. They do not hesitate, like man, to perform an hospitable or generous action; not haughty, nor arrogant, nor supercilious, but full of courtesy, and fond of society; industrious, economical, ingenuous; more liable, in general, to err, than man, but in general, also, more virtuous, and performing more good actions than he. I never addressed myself, in the language of decency and friendship, to a woman, whether civilized or savage, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. With man it has often been otherwise. In wandering over the barren plains of inhospitable Denmark, through honest Sweden, frozen Lapland, rude and churlish Finland, unprincipled Russia, and the wide spread regions of the wandering Tartar, if hungry, dry, cold, wet, or sick, woman has ever been friendly to me, and uniformly so; and to add to this virtue, so worthy of the appellation of benevolence, these actions have been performed in so free and so kind a manner, that, if I was dry, I drank the sweet draught, and, if hungry, ate the coarse morsel, with a double relish.’—pp. 348, 349.

On setting our traveller down in Poland, the soldiers who had guarded him, gave him to understand that he might then go where he pleased; but that, if he again returned to the dominions of the Empress, he would certainly be hanged. • It did not appear for some time what the real cause was of this proceeding; but there is every reason to believe it arose out of the jealousy of the North-West Russian Fur Company, whose head-quarters were at Irkutsk, and that their influence at Petersburg had procured from the Empress the annulment of her previous order, together with the present inhuman mandate. Ledyard, however, knew nothing of this; and, having neither relish nor motive for making the experiment a second time, he took the shortest route to Königsberg, where he

found himself destitute, without friends or means, his hopes blasted, and his health enfeebled. In this forlorn condition, he bethought himself once more of the benevolence of Sir Joseph Banks, and had the good luck to raise five guineas, by a draft on his old benefactor, with which he reached London. Here he was kindly received by Sir Joseph Banks, who gave him an introduction to Mr. Beaufoy, the secretary of a newly-formed association for promoting discoveries in Africa.

‘Before,’ says Mr. Beaufoy, ‘I had learnt from the note the name and business of my visiter, I was struck with the manliness of his person, the breadth of his chest, the openness of his countenance, and the iniquitude of his eye. I spread the map of Africa before him, and tracing a line from Cairo to Sennaar, and from thence westward in the latitude and supposed direction of the Niger, I told him, that was the route, by which I was anxious that Africa might, if possible, be explored. He said, he should think himself singularly fortunate to be trusted with the adventure. I asked him when he would set out. “To-morrow morning,” was his answer. I told him I was afraid that we should not be able, in so short a time, to prepare his instructions, and to procure for him the letters that were requisite; but that if the committee should approve of his proposal, all expedition should be used.’*

This promptitude of decision stamps at once the character of the man. He did not allow a doubt or a difficulty to stand in the way of being employed on a service so congenial with his feelings, though fully aware that he was undertaking an enterprise full of danger, of toil, and of endurance. To his mother he writes thus:

‘Truly is it written, that the ways of God are past finding out, and his decrees unsearchable. Is the Lord thus great? So also is he good. I am an instance of it. I have trampled the world under my feet, laughed at fear, and derided danger. Through millions of fierce savages, over parching deserts, the freezing north, the everlasting ice, and stormy seas, have I passed without harm. How good is my God! What rich subjects have I for praise, love, and adoration!

‘I am but just returned to England from my travels of two years, and am going away into Africa to examine that continent. I expect to be absent three years. I shall be in Egypt as soon as I can get there, and after that go into unknown parts. I have full and perfect health. Remember me to my brothers and sisters. Desire them to remember me, for, if Heaven permits, I shall see them again. I pray God to bless and comfort you all. Farewell.’—pp. 395, 396.

In a few weeks all was ready for his departure. The plan was, to proceed up the Nile as far as Sennaar or the Bahr-el-Abiad, and from thence to strike across the African continent to the coast of the Atlantic. Mr. Beaufoy speaks of their last interview, and

* Proceedings of the African Association, vol. i. p. 18.

adds the following affecting remarks, as given in Ledyard's own words :—

‘I am accustomed,’ said he, in our last conversation, (it was on the morning of his departure for Africa,) ‘I am accustomed to hardships. I have known both hunger and nakedness to the utmost extremity of human suffering. I have known what it is to have food given me as charity to a madman; and I have at times been obliged to shelter myself under the miseries of that character to avoid a heavier calamity. My distresses have been greater than I have ever owned, or ever will own, to any man. Such evils are terrible to bear; but they never yet had power to turn me from my purpose. If I live, I will faithfully perform, in its utmost extent, my engagement to the society; and if I perish in the attempt, my honour will still be safe, for death cancels all bonds.’ *

His letters from Cairo are full of interest. Of the Nile itself he speaks contemptuously, says it resembles the Connecticut in size, or may be compared with the Thames :—

‘This,’ says he, ‘is the mighty, the sovereign of rivers—the vast Nile, that has been metamorphosed into one of the wonders of the world! Let me be careful how I read, and, above all, how I read ancient history. You have heard, and read, too, much of its inundations. If the thousands of large and small canals from it, and the thousands of men and machines employed to transfer, by artificial means, the water of the Nile to the meadows on its banks—if this be the inundation that is meant, it is true; any other is false: it is not an inundating river.’

This is quite a new view of this celebrated river, and, like the descriptions of most objects that are new to the observer, and seen but cursorily or only once, is liable to the charge of misrepresentation. There are years when the country is not inundated, but these are years of scarcity, and happily not of frequent occurrence. He is equally out of humour with Egypt as with the river. Nothing, he says, is more deserving of the whole force of burlesque than both the poetic and prosaic legends of this country :—

‘Sweet are the songs of Egypt on paper. Who is not ravished with gums, balms, dates, figs, pomegranates, circassia, and sycamores, without recollecting that, amidst these are dust, hot and fainting winds, bugs, mosquitos, spiders, flies, leprosy, fevers, and almost universal blindness? I am in perfect health.’

Again, he says that, in addition to all the curses of Moses, the people are poorly clad, the youths naked, and that they rank infinitely below any savages he ever saw.

After some delay, the day is fixed on which the caravan is to leave Cairo. He writes to his friends and to the African Asso-

* Proceedings of the African Association, pp. 397, 398.

ciation in great spirits ; talks of cutting the continent across, and raises the expectations of his employers to a high pitch ;—the very next letters from Cairo brought the melancholy intelligence of his death. It seems he was seized with a bilious complaint, for which he administered a strong solution of vitriolic acid, so powerful as to produce violent and burning pains, that threatened to be fatal unless immediate relief could be procured, which was attempted to be got by a powerful dose of tartar emetic. His death happened about the end of November, 1788, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. His appearance and character are thus summed up by Mr. Beaufoy :—

‘ To those who have never seen Mr. Ledyard, it may not, perhaps, be uninteresting to know, that his person, though scarcely exceeding the middle size, was remarkably expressive of activity and strength ; and that his manners, though unpolished, were neither uncivil nor unpleasing. Little attentive to difference of rank, he seemed to consider all men as his equals, and as such he respected them. His genius, though uncultivated and irregular, was original and comprehensive. Ardent in his wishes, yet calm in his deliberations ; daring in his purposes, but guarded in his measures ; impatient of control, yet capable of strong endurance ; adventurous beyond the conception of ordinary men, yet wary and considerate, and attentive to all precautions, he appeared to be formed by nature for achievements of hardihood and peril.’ *

Thus perished, in the vigour of manhood, the first victim, in modern times, to African discovery. Too many, alas ! have since shared the same fate in pursuit of the same object ; which, so far from deterring, seems only to stimulate others, and produce fresh candidates for fame to tread the same perilous path.

As unauthorised and unfounded reports have industriously been spread abroad, through the foreign journals, and copied into our own, respecting those who were the last to embark on expeditions of discovery in those regions which have proved fatal to so many, we avail ourselves of this opportunity to lay before our readers the result of the inquiries we have been enabled to make into their fate, from which each may draw his own conclusion. That most of them have perished by the climate of that horrible country, there is but too much reason to fear ; indeed, with the exception of Laing and Dickson, we have, at length, authentic information that such is the fact. The reports with regard to these two gentlemen, as usual in all African countries, are various and contradictory.

It will be recollected that Major Gordon Laing volunteered his services to proceed alone from Tripoli to Timbuctoo, and from thence to follow the course of the Niger to its termination. He

* Proceedings of the African Association, pp. 426, 427.

arrived at Tripoli on the 9th May, 1825, and, after the usual procrastination which precedes all the movements of Moors and Arabs, left that place on the 17th July, in company of the Sheik Babani, a highly respectable man, who had resided in Timbuctoo twenty-two years, and whose wife and children were there still. This sheik engaged to conduct our traveller thither in two months and a half; and there, or at his neighbouring residence, to deliver him over to the great Marabout Mooktar, by whose influence he would be able to proceed farther in any direction that might be required, according to information received as to the course of the river. This Babani is stated, by the consul of Tripoli, to be 'one of the finest fellows, with the best tempered and most prepossessing countenance that he ever beheld;' and Laing, in all his letters, speaks of him in the highest terms of respect and approbation.

As the Gharian mountains were rendered impassable by the defection of a rebellious chief of the Bashaw, who had taken possession of all the passes, the small kofila of Babani took the route of Beneled. On the 21st August they reached Shaté, and, on the 13th September, arrived safely at Ghadamis, after a 'tedious and circuitous journey of nearly a thousand miles.' In the course of this journey Laing reports the destruction of all his instruments from the heat of the weather and the jolting of the camels; his barometers broken; his hygrometers rendered useless from the evaporation of the ether; the tubes of most of his thermometers snapt by the warping of the ivory; the glass of the artificial horizon so dimmed by the friction of sand which insinuated itself everywhere, as to render an observation difficult and troublesome; his chronometer stopt—owing, he says, to the extremes of heat and cold, but more probably to the jolting, or the insinuation of sandy particles; and, to wind up the catalogue of his misfortunes, the stock of his rifle broken by the great gouty foot of a camel treading upon it. The range of the thermometer, in the desert, was from 120°, about the middle of the day, to 75°—68°, and once or twice to 62° an hour or two before sunrise, at which time was observable a great incrustation of nitre on the ground, which is the common appearance on the surface of all the known deserts of Africa, from Tripoli to the Cape of Good Hope.

Major Laing did not make the discovery, until they reached Ghadamis, that his companion, the Sheik Babani, was governor of the town. He considered him as a man of sterling worth, a quiet, inoffensive, unobtruding character, at the same time not deficient in determination, but he never once suspected that he was a person of so much influence and authority as he now found him to be. The sheik immediately lodged him in one of his own houses, with a large garden, and a yard for his camels, which were fed,

fed at the governor's expense. Ghadamis is a place of considerable trade; all the koffilas to and from Soudan passing through it. To the Tuaric, who inhabit the great sahara or desert on the western side of Africa, the people of Ghadamis submit to pay a tribute for permission to their koffilas to pass without being subject to plunder, by which they in some measure subsist. The town contains some six or seven thousand inhabitants. It is four or five miles in extent, including its gardens, and is surrounded with a low mud wall. In the centre of the town is a large pool of water, out of which all the streets and the gardens receive a plentiful supply. It is situated in lat. 30° 7' N., long. 9° 16' E., the temperature so cold that the thermometer was sometimes as low as 43° of Fahrenheit.

On the 27th October, our traveller left Ghadamis, and arrived at Ensala on the 3d December. This is the most eastern town of the province of Tuat, and belongs to the Tuaric. It is situated in lat. 27° 11' N., long. 2° 15' E., and is considered to be distant from Timbuctoo about thirty-five days journey. On approaching this town, some thousands of people came out to meet the Christian traveller, of all ages and both sexes. Nothing could exceed the kindness and hospitality of these people, which our traveller returned by listening to their complaints, and administering medicines to the best of his ability.

On the 10th January, 1826, the koffila left Ensala, and, on the 26th of the same month, entered upon the desert of Tenezarof, in lat. 23° 56' N., long. 2° 40' E., about twenty journeys from Timbuctoo—a mere desert of sand, destitute of all verdure, and as flat as a bowling-green. Major Laing, at this time, was in excellent health and spirits, and enthusiastic in the cause of research. He writes, that he had everywhere experienced nothing but hospitality and good will from every person. Hatteta, the Tuaric (the friend of Lyon) had accompanied him hither, of whose kindness and services he speaks in the most flattering terms; he also says that Babani continued to watch over him with the solicitude of a father. Shortly after the arrival of this despatch from Tenezarof, reports reached Tripoli of the koffila having been attacked by robbers, of Laing's servant with several others being killed, and himself wounded, adding, that he had effected his escape to the Marabout Mooktar, whose usual residence is at a spot distant only five days journey, on a maberrie, from Timbuctoo. These reports were disbelieved for a time; but, on the 20th September, 1826, a letter was received in Tripoli, from the major to his wife, (the daughter of the British consul, whom he had married just previous to his setting out,) which indirectly tended to confirm them. It

is dated, or rather not dated, from the desert Tenezarof, and contains the following paragraph :—

‘ I take the advantage of a Tuaric going to Tuat, to acquaint you that I am safe and in perfect health, and completely recovered from the trifling indisposition which annoyed me on leaving that place. If it pleases God I shall be in Timbuctoo in less than twenty days; and, in two months afterwards, I hope to find my way to some part of the coast. I have met with much annoyance from the Tuaric; few, very few, of whom are like Hatteta, and are not, as the consul anticipated, our friends. You shall know all particulars from me on my arrival at Timbuctoo, from whence I shall lose no time in addressing you. I have stopped in the sun to write: pray excuse it, for I am in great haste, and I write *with only a thumb and finger, having a very severe cut on my forefinger.*’

We conclude that this slight mention of his wound, was intended to counteract any alarming reports that might have reached his wife.

About the middle of October, further intelligence was received at Tripoli of Major Laing, being safe with Mooktar, at his residence not far from Timbuctoo; but it was added, that a Jew servant who accompanied him had been killed in an attack of the Tuaric, as also a black servant belonging to the Christian. The consul flattered himself, for some time, that these reports could not be true, but unfortunately it proved otherwise; and the whole transaction of the attack of the robbers was fully confirmed by the arrival of Laing’s Arab servant Hamet, who brought letters from his master, dated Azoad, the 1st and 10th July, at which place, it seems, he had been detained for some time, after his escape from the attack of the robbers, in consequence of a dreadful fever which had broken out there among the inhabitants :—

‘ I was detained,’ (he says, in his letter of the 1st,) ‘ to afford assistance to the sufferers with my medicines. Nearly half the population have been swept away by its ravages; and, among others, Sidi Mooktar himself, the marabout and sheik of the place; his loss I much regret, for he had taken a considerable interest in my situation, and had promised to conduct me to Nooshi, which, I regret to say, his son neither possesses the disposition nor the power to do. While attending Sidi Mooktar, I was seized with the malady myself; and, for nine days, lay in a very helpless and dangerous state, without any attendance, for poor Jack was taken ill at the same time, and the surviving sailor never was of much service to himself nor to any body else. My fever yielded at length to the effects of blistering and calomel, but poor Jack’s proved fatal, and he breathed his last on the 21st ultimo. On the 25th the sailor was taken ill, and died on the 28th, so that I am now the only surviving member of the mission.’

He then goes on to say that he has obtained permission to proceed to Timbuctoo, but that

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‘ with

‘with Timbuctoo my research must for the present cease, as I have no camels to carry me farther.’

In this letter no allusion is made to the attack of the Tuaric, but in that of the 10th, he says, ‘I am recovering rapidly, but am subject to dreadful pains in my head, arising from the severity of my wounds;’ and he speaks of his being unable to write much ‘from the mangled state of his arms.’ The statement, however, made by the Arab servant, removed all doubt as to the event, and of the severe wounds received by Major Laing. In his deposition he says,

‘That they left Tuat and travelled about eight hours (or twenty miles) each day, making forced marches when in want of water; that on the eleventh day the koffila was joined by twenty Tuaric mounted on maherries; that on the sixteenth day from Tuat, at a place called Wady Ahennet, the Tuaric, armed with guns, spears, swords, and pistols, fell at once on the rest of the koffila, consisting of forty-five persons; that they surrounded Laing’s tent, cutting the canvass and cords, fired at him while in bed, and that before he could arm himself, he was cut down by a wound in the thigh; that himself (the Arab) received a sabre wound which brought him to the ground; that Babani and his people rendered no assistance, nor were they attacked by the robbers, but he remonstrated with them, and fetched a marabout in the neighbourhood, who abused the Tuaric for their conduct, and made them swear not to molest the koffila further.’

Babani’s conduct in this affair was certainly open to suspicion, and it would seem that Major Laing thought so, (though no allusion of this kind is made in his letter,) as, if the Arab’s story be true, he desired him to mention to the consul, that, ‘on the night previous to the attack, he, the Major, had fired at a crow passing over a lake, and that Babani then told him not to reload his gun as there was no danger;’ and, the servant adds, ‘Babani one day before the attack, took the belts and gunpowder from me and the other black man, and gave them to the Tuaric, but Laing did not tell me to mention that part, but he objected at the time to Babani’s giving powder and the belts to the Tuaric.’

As the letters of Laing, which we have mentioned, of the 1st and 10th July, 1826, from Azoad, are the last that have been received from him, the Arab’s narrative of their proceedings subsequent to the attack, becomes the more important and interesting. He states that Major Laing’s wounds were so severe as to prevent his keeping up with the koffila of Babani for some days; and that he (the Arab), the Major’s servant Jack, a black boy to whom Laing had given freedom, and one of Babani’s men attended him, following slowly behind—that they all re-assembled, however, at a watering place, where they remained two days.

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‘ We then travelled (says the Arab) nineteen days, over a desert, without anything occurring of consequence, when we arrived at Mooktar. The Sheik and Marabout Mooktar received us very kindly, giving us rice, a bullock, and other things, and promised to forward us to any place we wished. The koffila rested six days, and proceeded to a place called Arwan, but Babani told Laing he had better stay behind with Mooktar till he was recovered, and, consequently, we remained.

‘ At the end of twenty days, Laing being nearly well, he proposed to proceed, but Babani recommended his staying a few days longer, for the recovery of the wound on his hand, but in four days Babani died of a complaint [by his description, the dysentery]. Mooktar then ordered the door of the room containing the property of Babani and Laing to be blocked up, till he sent on to Timbuctoo, for Babani’s nephew, who had gone on with the koffila ; but not arriving in nineteen days, Major Laing asked Mooktar to allow him to separate, and take his own things, which was granted ; but, after ten days more, the nephew arrived, and found all right.

‘ The nephew remained twenty-seven days, and then proposed to set out with Laing for Timbuctoo. Mooktar said the nephew might go, but that Laing’s life should not be endangered again ; that he would himself take him to Timbuctoo, and bring him back again. A violent sickness soon appeared, which detained Laing. Mooktar caught it, and died ; Jack, also, and Harry, the sailor, both died. Young Mooktar promised to take Laing to Timbuctoo, and bring him back safely to Tuat for one thousand dollars, which was agreed to, Major Laing saying he had no money, but would pay him in other things, which he still had. He was to set off in sixteen days when I left him.’

This Arab, it seems, had received such a fright from the attack of the robbers and the subsequent sickness and death of his fellow servants, that he determined to quit his master and return by the first koffila to Tripoli.

‘ On the very day it left (says Major Laing), when I was in a very weak state, having barely succeeded in overcoming the severe fever by which I had been assailed, while as yet the corpses of my poor Jack and the sailor were hardly cold, the Learer (of his letter), unmindful of all laws of humanity, came to me, and said he wished to go to Tuat along with the koffila : I told him he might go ; I blame no man for taking care of his carcass, so, in God’s name, let him go. I have given him a maherrie, provision, &c., so that he departs like a sultan.’

This Arab brought also a letter from Mooktar to the Bashaw of Tripoli, which mentions the death of Babani, the attack of the robbers, in which Laing’s Jew servant and a black man were killed, and Laing wounded ; so that this unfortunate affair, by which Laing was plundered of most of his property, is placed beyond a doubt.

No further intelligence than what the Arab servant brought being received from Major Laing, the British consul urged the bashaw of Tripoli to send out couriers in all directions, to cause inquiries to be made concerning him. On the 20th February, 1827, the return of the courier from Ghadamis brought letters for the bashaw and the consul, in which it was stated that a Tuaric had seen one of Mooktar's sons at Tuat, who told him that Laing was in Timbuctoo, in good health and spirits. To pacify the consul, who was deeply interested in Laing's fate, the bashaw had furnished him with copies of no less than six letters to different persons, purporting the interest which he (the bashaw) took in the English traveller, and desiring them to cause every possible inquiry to be made as to his safety. On the 31st March, the bashaw's minister acquainted the consul with some of the answers which his master had received to those inquiries. They stated that the Christian who arrived at Timbuctoo with Mooktar's son had been murdered; that the Fellata took Timbuctoo, and demanded that the Christian should be sent away, or they would plunder the town; that the people of Timbuctoo assisted him to escape, and gave him a man to conduct him to Bambarra; that the Fellata, apprised of this, followed him on the road, overtook him, and put him to death. The same report, with very little variation, was reiterated from every one of the bashaw's supposed correspondents: and it formed the groundwork of a very long article in the French newspaper *L'Etoile*. Some circumstances, however, induced Mr. Consul Warrington to believe that the bashaw was acting a deceitful and treacherous part with regard to the traveller; and that the whole was a scheme, in concert with some of his people, to extort money, which the British government had refused in the case of Laing, having paid him most liberally for the safe conduct of Oudney, Clapperton, and Denham. He was the more confirmed in this, as persons from Tuat, who had arrived at Mourzouk, reported that the English traveller was safe and unmolested in Timbuctoo. Besides, the koffila from Ghadamis arrived the 29th July, and one and all of the persons composing it denied the truth of the report of Laing's being murdered, and were positive that such report was wholly unfounded.

The *Etoile*, however, repeated the story of the murder, with additional and many irrelevant particulars, on the authority, as it said, of the minister of the bashaw of Tripoli. The consul, on reading this, demanded of the bashaw to question his minister on the subject, who took an oath that he had not supplied any such information; and that, as far as he was concerned, the whole was a fabrication, adding that he never believed the reports that had reached Tripoli. The consul, however, still suspected the

the bashaw or his minister of unfair dealing, for the purpose of extorting money; and that they had contrived to intercept all communication with Major Laing. At his request, therefore, the commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean squadron ordered a ship of war to proceed to Tripoli, and to inform the bashaw that, as Major Laing proceeded into the interior under his sanction and protection, he should hold him responsible for his safety; or at least to account for any accident that might have befallen him, and to secure his property and papers. This intimation, it appears, had the desired effect, for the consul writes, on the 20th November, 1827, 'that his highness had sent two persons to Timbuctoo, to ascertain on the spot every particular respecting the English traveller, to afford assistance, if wanted, and to obtain, if the report of his death should be true, his property and his papers. They actually (he says) leave this to-day.' The result of this mission is not yet known. In the mean time, the French journals continue to manufacture new editions of the old story, which are running the round of our own papers, equally thoughtless in circulating unfounded reports, that cannot fail to harrow up the feelings of those who are nearly connected with the supposed victims. These reports cannot all be true, and our belief is that none of them are strictly so; that where there is even some foundation for a story, an Arab or a Moor is incapable of telling it with anything like accuracy: partly from ignorance, but more generally through interest, they will circulate any story, however improbable. As far as regards the fate of Laing, we should entertain no apprehensions but what arise from his long silence, and his not drawing on the consul of Tripoli for a supply of money; neither of these circumstances, however, are by any means decisive, as we shall presently endeavour to explain. That the Fellatas, or the Fellans, as they are called by the Moors, invaded the territory of Timbuctoo, and entered the town, all accounts agree; but that they put to death the Christian traveller is mentioned only in the answers supposed to be received by the bashaw or his minister. One person whom the consul examined says, and the same thing is stated by Sheik Habeek, that Laing, on their entry into the town, was ordered to leave it; that his first intention was to return to Tuat, but he afterwards decided to proceed to Bambarra, accompanied by one person; and that it was understood he had arrived at Sausanding, on the banks of the Niger. The same story is reported by one Abdullah Benhahi, who, in August, 1827, had been in Timbuctoo three months before, and who saw Laing in Timbuctoo.

The following report, if true, might account for the Major's not
drawing

drawing for money. Mr. Douglas, the consul at Tangier, received a letter while in England on the 30th September, 1827, but without date, from his interpreter, addressed to him by the chief commercial agent to the Emperor of Morocco's minister. It states that a chief had just arrived there from Timbuctoo; that the minister inquired after a friend, to whom he had sent nine hundred and eighty dollars, belonging to a Christian (Belzoni); he said, in reply, that the Christian had arrived, and had been supplied with the money; that the Christian remained six months in Timbuctoo, taking plans and descriptions, after which he departed with a caravan to Arawan; that some time after, it was mentioned in Timbuctoo that he had been murdered by the people of the caravan, on observing him taking notes and plans of every place that he passed through. Now, it is quite true that Belzoni did send two hundred pounds, through the minister, for his use at Timbuctoo; and if it be true that Laing drew this money, his receipt, which would be sent to the emperor's minister, will in some measure clear up the mystery hanging over the fate of this traveller, but we put no more faith in this than in any other report that has reached this country.

With regard to the other point, of intercepting communications and spreading disastrous reports, Tripoli is well situated for managing an intrigue of this kind. Every koffila from Soudan and Bornou must pass through Ghadamis on the one side, and Mourzouk on the other, the two frontier towns of the bashaw's dominions; and at both he has his convenient agents. The proof is this:—when Mr. Consul Warrington was first apprized of Clapperton's intention to proceed from Soccato to Bornou, he wrote to that excellent man, the Sheik of Bornou, to give him notice of it. The sheik immediately replied, that he would be most happy to receive him and show him every attention. Since the receipt of that letter, the consul has written frequently, without receiving any further answers; the fact being, as the late Mr. Tyrwhitt's Tripoline servant stated, on his return from Bornou, that the governor of Mourzouk, Muckni, that hater of Christians, of whom all our travellers have had reason to complain, was known to have stopped all letters coming to Mourzouk, to or from the consul of Tripoli and El Kanemi. Nor is this all; we have it from the best possible authority, that a letter was addressed from Tripoli to El Kanemi, saying, that the Mahomedans once thought him a good man, and a true marabout; but they now believed the contrary, and it was not surprising that God had refused to send rain in his country since he had shown such favour to Christian dogs: to which the sheik replied, that so long as they paid for what they purchased, and behaved themselves well, he would
always

always receive them with kindness and hospitality; and if God was to punish him for this, why had he not already punished the people of Tripoli, where whole swarms of Christians were allowed to reside!

The bashaw has been told of these scandalous proceedings, and taken the alarm; and both he and the old minister stoutly deny the charge.

The journals of Laing, which have been received at the Colonial-Office, are carried down only to his departure from Ensala; the rest are wanting. If Laing actually reached Timbuctoo, and we entertain no doubt whatever of that fact, his observations would be curious, as describing a city which, as far as we know, no European had previously visited; we have no doubt it is little more than a large collection of mud-built huts; but its being the great central mart of Soudan, and its supposed proximity to a river which, like the city, has obtained more celebrity than it deserves, must have afforded scope for many interesting remarks; which, we trust, may yet be saved.

Captains Clapperton and Pearce, Doctor Morrison and Mr. Dickson, were conveyed, in his Majesty's ship *Brazen*, to the coast of Africa. The first three were landed at Badagry, in the bight of Benue, on the 28th of November, 1825; Mr. Dickson, at his own request, having previously been put on shore at Whydah, for a purpose to which we shall presently advert. The King of Badagry readily undertook to afford to the travellers such protection and assistance as far as his influence extended,—namely, to a place called Jannah, the frontier town of the kingdom of Hio or Eyco, which was found to be in lat. 6° 56' N., and on the same meridian as Lagos. A great part of this journey was performed on foot, along narrow paths, leading through deep forests; they reached this spot on the 18th of December.

From Jannah to Katunga, the capital of Youmba, was described as a journey that would require thirty-three days. The passage of the low, swampy forest produced the usual pestilential effects on some of the party; and on the 27th December, Captain Pearce, after a few days illness, died; he was an excellent officer, but of a delicate habit, and, in the opinion of his friends, not calculated to bear the heat and fatigue to which he would necessarily be exposed in the course of an expedition of this kind; but all remonstrances were in vain, and he determined to make the attempt. Dr. Morrison also falling sick, was advised by Clapperton to return to the coast, to which he readily assented; and Mr. Houtson, a merchant, who had voluntarily undertaken to accompany the mission as far as Katunga, returned with him. They had proceeded no farther, however, than Jannah, when Morrison became alarmingly ill, and died in the course of the day.

•Mr.

Mr. Houtson, having decently interred his companion, rejoined Clapperton. They now proceeded across a mountainous and beautifully romantic country, which continued so for many days; and beyond this range, the surface became gradually more uniform, but still undulated with hill and dale, and in an excellent state of cultivation. Towns and villages were constantly occurring, the former generally surrounded with mud walls and ditches, and many of them containing from ten to twelve thousand inhabitants; the people everywhere civil and obliging, and the head-men receiving them with the utmost kindness and hospitality. It does not appear that any Mahomedans were residing in this part of the country.

On the 27th of February, 1826, Clapperton writes from Katunga of his intention to proceed from thence through Youri to Soccatoo, and to request Bello to forward him on to Timbuctoo; after that, he would endeavour to visit Adamowa, and proceed from thence to Bornou, and circumambulate the shores of the great lake Tsad. The latitude of Katunga, he states to be $9^{\circ} 9'$ N. and longitude $6^{\circ} 12'$ E. The thermometer never rose higher, and that but seldom, than to 95° , and was frequently down to 75° , generally about 80° to 84° . The barometer on the mountains never lower than 28.4.

Mr. Houtson, who returned from Katunga alone and without molestation, states, that on the 7th of March Clapperton set out from that place for the Borgho country, the nearest way to Youri; that before he (Houtson) left Katunga, he had heard of his arrival at, and departure from, Yarro, a province of that kingdom; that the king had met him at some distance from Yarro at the head of five hundred horse, treated him with great kindness and distinction, furnished him with abundance of provisions, and everything necessary for his journey; he states, further, that from thence he was about to proceed to Wawa, four days distant only from Youri. Mr. Houtson adds, that Clapperton was in high health and spirits when he left Katunga.

Mr. Dickson, having met with a Portuguese gentleman of the name of De Souza, at Whydah, who had been some time resident at Abomey, with the King of Dahomy, was prevailed upon to accompany him to that place; from thence he proposed to proceed direct for Soccatoo, as being apparently the shortest route. The king received them with the greatest kindness, and promised to give Mr. Dickson every assistance and protection on his journey as far as his power extended, which was to a place called Shar, about twenty-two days' journey to the northward. Dickson left Abomey on the 31st of December, with the expectation of reaching Shar before the end of January. On the 26th of April, Mr.
James,

James, a merchant, residing on the coast, writes from Whydah, that Mr. Dickson had reached in safety the town of Shar, and that he was on his way to Youri, which is only five days' journey from Soccato; and he adds, that he had received authentic information of the safe arrival of Clapperton at the capital of his old friend in the Fellata country. Here ended all information respecting the travellers, and two whole years had elapsed without the least intimation respecting Clapperton, when some time in February last, his servant, with the black man Pascoe, made their appearance at Badagry, having been nine months on their journey from Soccato. The servant, who is an intelligent young man, brings the account of the death of Clapperton at that place on the 13th of April, 1827, after a month's illness, brought on by a severe attack of dysentery. It appears, that Bello broke faith with Clapperton in every way; he even seized the present which he had for the Sheik of Bornou, and opened the king's letter addressed to that chief. This conduct, so contrary to what Clapperton had expected, preyed on his mind, and his servant thinks hastened his death. Bello, however, it seems, had some reason for this change in his behaviour to the traveller. It may be recollected that Denham made a present of some Congreve rockets to the Sheik of Bornou, who, being at war with Bello, employed them successfully in burning a town of the Fellatas, and terrifying the inhabitants. He was also told, by Bello, that he had received letters from most respectable persons, apprising him that the English travellers were only come as spies into his country, and advising him to be on his guard. From what quarter these letters proceeded, will not, we think, after what we have stated, admit of a doubt.

We understand that the whole of Clapperton's Journals have been saved and brought back by his servant, and that they contain a minute and interesting account of his journey from Badagry to Soccato, by the route across the Kong Mountains, through Kattunga, Wawa, Berghoo, Boosa, where Park was wrecked and drowned, Nyfé or Noofé, Youri, and Kano, in the course of which the geographical position of several hundred cities, towns, and villages has been ascertained, by observations of their latitude and longitude,—thus completing the geography of the central part of northern Africa, from Tripoli to the bight of Benin. This narrative, we are glad to see, is in the course of publication, as we have every reason to believe it will be found highly interesting. Dickson had not been heard of at Soccato, nor has any account of him reached the coast: it is to be feared, therefore, that he, too, has fallen a victim to the pestilential climate of Africa, though some of his countrymen, who know him, persuade themselves he will yet turn up.

Notwithstanding these disastrous results, it is quite inconceivable with what increased zeal new candidates for African discovery come forward the moment that the death of any fresh victim to this pestilential country is announced. To the list of those who have already fallen, may be added young Park, the son of the late enterprising Mungo Park, and a midshipman of his Majesty's ship *Sybil*. He went out in this ship with a full determination to proceed on foot, and alone, from the coast to the spot where his father perished, in the hope of hearing some authentic and more detailed account of the catastrophe than had yet been received. With leave of the Commodore, he set out from Accra, and proceeded as far as Yansong, the chief town of Acquimbo, distant from the coast about one hundred and forty miles. Here the natives were celebrating the Yam feast, a sort of religious ceremony, to witness which Park got up into a Fetish tree, which is regarded by the natives with fear and dread. Here he remained a great part of the day, exposed to the sun, and was observed to drink a great quantity of palm wine. In dropping down from one of the lower branches, he fell on the ground, and said, that he felt a severe shock in his head. He was that evening seized with a fever, and died in three days, on the 31st October, 1827. As soon as the king, Akitto, heard of his death, he ordered all his baggage to be brought to his house, and instantly despatched a messenger to Accra, first making him swear 'by the head of his father,' that he would not sleep till he had delivered the message; it was to inform the resident of the event, and that all the property of the deceased would be forthwith sent down to Accra. This was accordingly done, and it did not appear on examination, that a single article was missing; even an old hat, without a crown, was not omitted. Park was a promising young man, full of zeal and energy, with an excellent constitution, in which, like most of our countrymen, he put too much confidence. There was an idle report of his being poisoned, for which there appears not the slightest foundation.

We trust there will now be an end to the sacrifice of valuable lives, in prosecuting discoveries on this wretched continent, of which we know enough to be satisfied that it contains little at all worthy of being known;—a continent that has been the grave of Europeans, the seat of slavery, and the theatre of such crimes and misery as human nature shudders to think of;—where eternal war rages among the numberless petty chiefs for no other motive than to seize the innocent families of the original natives, and sell them into perpetual slavery. The products for commercial purposes are few, and mostly confined to the sea-coasts; two-thirds of the interior being a naked and inhospitable desert, over which

which are scattered bands of ruthless robbers. Park's discovery of a great river running in a contrary direction to what had been supposed in modern times, and which was therefore concluded to be the *Niger* of the ancients, gave a celebrity to this re-discovered stream to which it now appears to have little claim, either for its size, or its direction, or the length of its course; its size about Noosé being not more than two-thirds the width of the Thames at Westminster Bridge; its direction easterly, discontinued at or near Timbuctoo; and if it actually does reach the sea somewhere in the bight of Benin, which is still very doubtful, the whole length of its course does not exceed two thousand miles. This last point cannot, however, long remain unsettled; the easy and frequent communication that will now be held with the rivers in that bight from the new establishment on Fernando Po, will induce some enterprising young man, or some commercial agent, to penetrate beyond Gatto, on the river Benin, which at present seems to be the ultima Thule of that stream. One hundred miles beyond this place will afford data on which to decide this question.

Clapperton has had the singular merit of penetrating, in the course of the two expeditions, directly through the heart of northern Africa, from Tripoli to the bight of Benin, and from the shores of the Tsad to Soccatoo. Nearly all to the eastward of this lake is still a *terra incognita*; but a Frenchman of the name of Linant, employed by the African Association, has been up the Bahi-el-Abiad to a very considerable distance, and would have proceeded further had not the shallow state of the river in the dry season obliged him to return from a part of it where its surface was spread out to a vast expanse,—his barge, with which he had passed the cataracts of the Nile, drew too much water. We suspect, however, that, like Mr. Oxley, in his attempt to trace the Macquarie in New South Wales, Linant had got out of the main channel and was unable to recover it. He is disposed to think, from its easterly direction, that it proceeds from the Lake Tsad; and he is about to renew the examination of the intermediate country by means of camels. He describes the shores of the Bahi-el-Abiad as rich and well cultivated, abounding with herds of cattle, and we do not hear that he met with any opposition from the natives. If he should succeed in reaching the Tsad, and thus ascertain a water communication with the Nile, we shall then not only have fixed numerous geographical positions from the east and west, as well as from the north and south extremities of North Africa, but be acquainted with every thing that is worth knowing of that land of slavery, disease, and death.

ART. V.—*Geschichte, Lehren, und Meinungen der Juden*, von Peter Beer. Leipsig. 8vo. 1825.

I LOOK upon that people (the Jews) with astonishment and reverence; they are living proofs of facts most ancient and most interesting to mankind. Wherever we have a Jew on the surface of the earth, there we have a man whose testimony and whose conduct connect the present time with the beginning of all time.' So says Bishop Watson, expressing what must ever have been the sentiment of a rational Christian. But there are many circumstances which concur to render the condition of the ancient people of God a subject of more than ordinary interest at the present time.

Their actual numbers may perhaps not exceed six millions—numbers, however, probably greater than those over which Solomon reigned;—and of these six millions there may be resident in the contiguous countries of Moravia, ancient Poland, the Crimea, Moldavia and Wallachia, above three millions. Except within the countries which formed Poland before its partitions, their population contained in any one European kingdom cannot, therefore, be great. Yet so essentially are they one people, we might almost say one family; and so disposable is their wealth, as mainly vested in money transactions, that they must be considered as an aggregate, and not in their individual portions.* Would that one bond of this people of most tenacious memory were not an indignant and resentful feeling of the cruelties and persecutions heaped on them in old times by various nations of the earth, and not least by our European ancestors; and fixed on their minds by the contempt and slight of an age which abhors the name of barbarity! Is it too much to say, that we have rather left them amongst ourselves as vermin, which we know not how to get rid of, than regarded and treated them as the children of a common Father? We have not even afforded them any portion of that compassion which usage and opinion would require that we should at least appear to feel for fallen greatness. The man of the world must admit in his phraseology, on the case being intelligibly laid before him, that 'we have shown bad taste in this matter.' But if they are kept together in some measure by the sense of their wrongs, it is hope wrought up by faith to the highest degree of certainty, that forms the most powerful bond of their identity, and constitutes them a nation apart, which can be bound to no Gentile government by permanent ties of citizenship.

* Such are their union, activity, and multiplied relations with each other, that Frederick the Great states, that the Jews were always beforehand with him in obtaining intelligence.

This feeling exists so strongly, and with such increasing intensity, that many Jews of late years, under the persuasion that the accomplishment of the prophecies of the restoration of Israel is at hand, have actually transported their wealth and their families to Syria, quitting the milder rule of European governments for the exactions and tyranny of a Turkish bassa. Twenty years ago there was at Saffet* and Jerusalem but a small number of Polish Jews, some few hundreds at the most, there are now, at the very least, ten thousand. These eager expectations place them greatly at the mercy of every political adventurer who may, for his own purposes, undertake to work upon them; witness, within these very few years, the extraordinary effect of an address from a pretended Jewish prince, stated to rule over an independent kingdom in Asia, which was mysteriously circulated amongst the Jews in Poland.

The greatest accumulation of them on any one point in Europe is in the countries of ancient Poland, now forming Russian, Austrian and Prussian Poland, and the modern kingdom of Poland under the sceptre of the Emperor of Russia. It is stated by Beer, that many centuries ago a considerable body of Jews migrated from France into Germany, whence many of their descendants passed into Poland; but they must have remained long in Germany before this second swarm lived itself in Poland, as the language of the Polish Jews, called Jewish-German, though written in the rabbinical characters, is fundamentally a German dialect, with a slight intermixture of Hebrew and other elements, and particularly of Polish, in proportion as you travel further north. The colony obtained considerable privileges of Casimir the Great who married the beautiful Jewish Esther; and from this stock, as their language proves, must have descended the great mass of the Polish Jews. There are great numbers of Jews in the parts of Turkey contiguous to Poland, but *there* they literally swarm: they are innkeepers, tradesmen, distillers of brandy, brewers, horse dealers, money changers, usurers, as every where else, some very few of them are farmers of the soil. Their numbers have increased of late years so rapidly as greatly to alarm and embarrass the government of countries which afford but slender resources for a population so averse to be engaged in tillage. The evil of this immense accumulation of such a people, having one common interest and feeling, both of which are foreign

* The ancient Bethulia considered as an holy city by the Jews.

* It is a curious proof of this cruel spirit of persecution or deference to law, that whilst he elicited as Christ his sorrow, whom he felt by her heart with a sincere love, he put up in the faith of her mother, whom however, he afterwards decider in a fit of fury

to the interests and feelings of the citizens of the state, is felt, especially by the Russian government.

The crowds of Jews in some of the towns of Russian Poland, and the miserable mode of existence of the greater part of them, have been forcibly depicted of late. It seems clear that, while, with such an augmentation of their population, they must be the more disposed to seek their fortunes elsewhere, their hosts also must be the more disposed to get rid of them if they can. It is to be observed, moreover, that they are thus placed in the midst of precisely that Christian population—the Polish—where, of late, the national feelings have been the most wounded, and the interests of the great proprietors the most deeply injured and sacrificed, and where, therefore, the whole frame of society is especially precarious and liable to violent changes, such as the Israelites look forward to as precursors to their deliverance. The essentially aristocratical existence of the whole Polish nation tends decidedly to prevent the Jews rising into consequence. There is no middle class in it, unless we consider as such that which the Jews have imperceptibly formed, but which is one eminently unqualified to be useful as a blending medium between the Christian nobles and the Christian serfs. Their mental development and civilization greatly exceed those of the lower orders of Poles, because they have an education, however perverted. They are described as being in general, physically, a fine and active people, such as would contrast most advantageously with the rickety figures which, formerly at least, were seen in the public walks in Holland. The comeliness of the Jewesses in Warsaw is much celebrated; and Bishop James describes the Volhynian Jews as a particularly fine race of men, and their women as remarkable for beauty in figure, features and complexion. In general, the Jews in Poland affect no external show, except in the dress of their women, but, as of old, those of them who are wealthy, live at home in considerable splendour.*

The state of Germany, as to commerce and civilization, has been very beneficial to the Jews; their wealth, in its leading cities, has long been well known, and of late has attracted more attention than they would, perhaps, have wished. Since the time of Mendelsohn, many of them have studied with much success in its universities; of these Professor Neander, now a Christian, may be cited as a very creditable specimen; and many young Jews fought in the armies which delivered Germany from the yoke of Buonaparte, with a courage and intelligence of which several of them

* This is natural to men so circumstanced. Not long since a Jew was found at Jerusalem leading a life of much luxury, in a house with a broken staircase, in a small obscure street.

bear the honourable records in the decorations they have earned. Many Jews have studied and practised medicine with success. The distresses of the noble holders of land, occasioned by French occupation and contributions, and the preceding and subsequent wars, all of which bore with peculiar weight upon Prussia, caused permission to be granted there to the Jews, the great holders of ready money, whose property, too, is the least tangible and exposed to spoliation, to purchase manors (*rittergüter*), which conferred a new splendour and consistence on their existence. It was, however, subsequently found necessary to suspend the exercise of one of the privileges attached to the possession of these estates—the gift of the spiritual benefices appertaining to them—as long as they should be unconverted, and for very obvious reasons. But when these feudal properties, besides many of the finest houses in the German capitals, passed thus into Israelitish hands, it was in the course of things that the people should view with envy and indignation these foreign unbelieving money-changers climbing up on the pedestals from which the statues of Christian knights and barons of ancient race had been hurled down by the storms which shook their native land to its centre. Besides this, circumstanced as the Jews were, it was to be expected that they would enter largely into the contracts made by the French government for the prosecution of its military enterprises, and that this conduct of theirs would be highly offensive to the German patriots. These causes, therefore, and somewhat here and there of that ostentation and indiscretion which seem to be almost inseparable from the enjoyment of suddenly acquired wealth, had indisposed the minds of men towards them; and this more than any one was aware of, until riotous proceedings against them broke out, first at Meiningen, and then at Wurtzburg, in 1820, and spread to the Rhine. These were, however, soon suppressed, and, except at Hamburgh, the vigilance of the governments of the north of Germany prevented their extension thither, in despite of an evident disposition to them—a tendency, indeed, which burst out into action at Copenhagen. It is curious, that the old cry of ‘Hep, Hep,’* was at this time revived against the Jews, after a disuse of so many centuries.

The Jews are subject to military conscriptions in Germany; their civil predicament has occupied much of the attention of the governments; various regulations have been introduced for the improvement of their condition, and especially for the promotion of education among them; and the old restraints and

* *Hep* is supposed to be the contraction of *Hierosolyma Est Perdita*. This was the *cri-de-guerre* used on the Rhine, and particularly at Mentz, in a rising against the Jews, accompanied by extensive massacre and spoliation, in the twelfth century.

inhibitions on them, many of which were highly arbitrary and oppressive, have, generally speaking, been mitigated and diminished: under these circumstances, though very much indeed remains to be done, it is natural that the character and intelligence of the Jew should improve, and that the evidences of his courage and intelligence should increase daily. To his own people, at least, he abounds in kindness; and there are splendid instances of its extending beyond those national limits, and yet without its having been always duly estimated,—as for instance, above fifty years ago a Jew subscribed largely to the re-building a small town, in the north of Germany, which had been burnt down; a year or two later, arriving at its gates, on his way onwards, he was stopped at them by a law of the place, forbidding the entry of an Israelite. Long ill-treatment, and exclusion from the nobler professions, have driven an active-minded people, whose existence depended on its industry, into ignoble and sordid sources of gain; but we cannot reasonably doubt that, if the pressure be removed, the Jew will arise anew to his former moral height. His having sustained during ages, without being annihilated by it, the enormous weight imposed on him, proves the greatness of his strength and elasticity.

We refer our readers to Beer for the measures by which the Emperor Joseph II. gave the example of freeing the Jews from the ignominious burthens laid on them in barbarous ages, and liberating them in his states from distinctions in their dress, the poll-tax, and from the obligation to live in the Jewries. He endeavoured to prepare the way for identifying them with the citizens of those states, in duties and privileges. He introduced German schools for the Jews of both sexes, laid his universities open to them, and even assigned stipends at them to the most distinguished of their students. The present Emperor of Austria has also laboured to ‘render harmless the manners, and mode of life, and occupations of the Jews,’ and to remove the disparities existing between them and their Christian fellow-subjects. The Act of the Germanic Confederation has declared as follows, in its sixteenth article:

‘The diet will take into consideration in what way the civil amelioration of the professors of the Jewish religion may best be effected, and in particular how the enjoyment of all civil rights, in return for the performance of all civil duties, may be most effectually secured to them in the states of the Confederation. In the meantime the professors of this faith shall continue to enjoy the rights already extended to them.’

An ukase of the Emperor Alexander, of the year 1824, directed the summary removal of all the Jews of Russian Poland, except
such

such as should devote themselves to *solid mercantile business*, or to the practice of medicine—it ordered that all Jews should give up, by the year 1825, *small trade*, distilleries, &c., and be removed to a tract of ground in a mild climate, which he would assign to them, and where, free from all taxes for a limited period, they might devote themselves to agriculture. But we need hardly observe that this was an act of legislation as impossible to execute as easy to issue. The slightest attempt at carrying it into execution must cost a convulsion in the Russian, and excessive inconvenience to all the neighbouring states, whither the dismayed Jews would fly in crowds from the perpetration of this sweeping deed of benevolence. But we would on no account so characterise another measure of the same monarch—the formation of a Commission at Warsaw, ‘for the amelioration of the condition of the Jews.’ A committee of that people, also under an order of his, has been sitting there since the year 1825, to propose plans for the consideration of this commission; and the erection of an institution for the education of the rabbis and schoolmasters has already resulted from their labours. Regular teachers in Hebrew, German, Polish, history, geography, mathematics, and rabbinical literature have begun their lectures to Jewish youths; and the establishment of elementary schools for the Jews throughout the *kingdom* of Poland is, we understand, contemplated. The first half-yearly examination of the scholars of that institution has now taken place; it succeeded so much beyond expectation, that the rich Jews, who had been greatly prejudiced against it, are now sending their children to it, paying for their education;—those who are on the establishment are educated gratis.

Pharisaism has descended uninterruptedly to the rabbinical Jews; their modern rabbis are the lineal spiritual descendants of the scribes and lawyers of the time of Jesus Christ; and it appears, that the whole of the traditionary additions to the law existing then are in vigour now, and that they have been fearfully augmented since then.* We spare our readers citations from the blasphemous and horrible absurdities of the Talmud, which professes to have, as its ground work, an oral revelation made by God to Moses on Mount Sinai, when he delivered the law to him; nor will we add a statement of the superstitions which harass the Jew, or of that demonology which arrays innumerable maleficent invisible agents in arms against his health and happiness, under all and the strangest circumstances. In Russian Poland the Jews

* This is well stated by Beer, who is an anti-rabbinical Jew, and who appears to treat fairly his subject, the Jewish sects. Respecting the origin of the Carites, however, whom he conjectures to have been the lawyers of our Lord's time, he is evidently in error.

bury their dead hastily, judging them to be such when no steam appears on a glass applied to the mouth. If the jolting of the cart recalls life and action, they believe that it is a devil who occupies the body, and deal with it accordingly: thus says a very respectable Jew, an eye-witness born and bred there. He adds, that they are armed against our reasonings on the Old Testament, (of which, however, they know very little,) by the assurances of their rabbis, that the Almighty has placed many things in the text, as stumbling-blocks to the Gentiles, but that the truth is to be found in the marginal notes from the Targuin, which are given as infallible guides to the Israelites alone. They are taught, that the seven nations of the land of Canaan were Christian, and that Jesus Christ was a magician. How deeply they feel the want of a mediator, is evident from a part of a prayer used by them on the day of atonement, which runs thus: 'Woe unto us, for we have no mediator.' The Jew on the bed of death can see nothing in his God but an inexorable judge, whose wrath he cannot deprecate, and whose justice he cannot satisfy. At all times, but in sickness especially, the thought or mention of death is terrible to him; the evil eye, ever an object of horror, is then peculiarly so; they then fear their nearest and dearest friends looking at them. We can find no solution of this mental darkness in those who have Moses and the prophets for their guide, and millions of whom have lived for centuries amidst the civilization and literature of Europe, but in that curse which God pronounces against rebellious Israel, 'that he will smite him with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart;' and declares of him, 'that he shall grope at noon-day, as the blind gropeth in darkness.' But there is a dispensation of heavenly justice and mercy respecting Israel, requiring particular attention. An unheard of crime required an unheard of punishment; and the race were condemned to the dispersion and captivity in which they still languish. But while other races, long trodden under foot, like the Pariahs of India, lose the keen sense of degradation, and of the injustice of men, through a continued habit of humiliation, and with blunted feelings endure them as a matter of course—it is not so with the Jew. He has implanted in his bosom a national and spiritual pride—a fierce constancy and a contempt of his oppressors, which constantly exasperate and keep alive his sense of pain and degradation. This pride and contempt are infused into him by the extravagant, most uncharitable, and often blasphemous assertions of his rabbi. But from this very arrogance which increases his sufferings, springs that principle of resistance and opposition under which the Jews have clung together and struggled incessantly against the

the storms that have buffeted them for ages; and it is this loftiness of mind, so ill-suited to their present lot, that will the better enable them to seek, contend for, and maintain those higher and nobler destinies which are placed before their sight in a glorious futurity. It is the consciousness of his past and his future fortunes which gives to the Jew a buoyancy and a tendency to rise above the surface of the waves, even when plunged deep below them, unknown to other depressed nations, and which inspires into him the will and the means to seek the level of his promised fortunes; for even the meanest Jew considers himself as personally invested with national and spiritual greatness. Israel has within him another principle of resistance. He was, from the first, reproached with being a 'stiff-necked generation;' and stubborn as he was in the desert, so he is now, whether you find him in the streets of London, or of Cairo, or in a Polish forest. His eye, his nose, and his narrow upper jaw are not more especial marks of his physical conformation, than is his stubbornness a distinguishing feature of his mind. It is this obstinacy which creates one of our greatest difficulties in dealing with him. Proteus could be bound by no knot, because he perpetually changed his shape—the Jew can be bound by none, because he will not change his. In other nations corruption and abandonment of religion have been a mighty cause of moral and national decadence: but the moral and national wreck of the Jewish people was caused by their stiff-necked adherence, in despite of type and prophecy, to a religion superseded by a purer code of heavenly laws.

It has been often observed, that, under every religion, which was originally false or has degenerated into falsehood, the weaker sex is not possessed of the advantages it holds under the true. Superstition corrupts the heart whilst it weakens the understanding; and where that charity, which springs from a pure faith alone, vanishes, the stronger animal lords it over the feebler. We know how honourable was the situation of the women in ancient Israel. We have Miriam, Deborah, and Hannah, as it were, before our eyes—but the Jewess of these days is treated as an inferior being. Neither religious nor moral instruction is vouchsafed to her; and in lieu of it three observances are imposed on her, as comprising her whole duty: one of them doubles a restraint enjoined to her by the law, the two others are purely mechanical. The only book given to the rabbinical Jewesses, and given in childhood to them, is eminently calculated to fill their minds with the most impure ideas, as well as with the falsest notions of the divinity. There have been, however, of late extracts from the Old Testament published in Germany expressly for their use and benefit. An equally mischievous effect in polluting the minds of the boys must be

be produced by an instruction which they are compelled to make themselves acquainted with—and this also in childhood.

If the ways of Judaism are foul, rough, and uninviting, that by which the baptised Jew has to return to it, fully maintains that character. He must lie down with his face to the earth on the threshold of the synagogue during a considerable space of time, in order that his brethren, as they enter and leave it, may wipe their feet, spit, and trample on his body.

But in truth, although the Jews have in their rabbis professedly religious teachers, whom they believe to have power over spirits, these blind guides to the blind are not known to exercise any functions which answer to those of the Christian minister, who, besides exhortation and reproof, has to pour into the hearts of his flock all the comforts and consolations proffered to us by the charities and promises of the gospel. They constitute a sort of nobility of the Jews, and it is the first object of each parent that his sons shall, if possible, attain it. When, therefore, a boy displays a peculiarly acute mind and studious habits, he is placed before the twelve folio volumes of the Talmud, and its legion of commentaries and epitomes, which he is made to pore over with an intense-ness which engrosses his faculties entirely, and often leaves him in mind, and occasionally in body, fit for nothing else; and so vigilant and jealous a discipline is exercised so to fence him round as to secure his being exclusively Talmudical, and destitute of every other learning and knowledge whatever, that one individual has lately met with three young men, educated as rabbis, who were born and lived to manhood in the middle of Poland, and yet knew not one word of its language. To speak Polish on the Sabbath is to profane it—so say the orthodox Polish Jews. If at the age of fourteen or fifteen years, or still earlier, (for the Jew ceases to be a minor when thirteen years old,) this Talmudical student realizes the hopes of his childhood, he becomes an object of research among the wealthy Jews, who are anxious that their daughters shall attain the honour of becoming the brides of these embryo santons; and often, when he is thus young, and his bride still younger, the marriage is completed, that as early a chance as possible may be taken of the Messiah being born in the family. The evil of such precocious marriages might easily be imagined—even were the husband less unfitted by his education for the state of wedlock, for the charge of a family, and for the business of life than he is. It is by exercises in abstruse casuistry and disputations on words and letters that the dignity of rabbi is obtained; and the worth of his labours, when he has ascended into this tree of knowledge, may be estimated by that of the ladder on which he mounted.

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When Poland became the seat of rabbinical literature, the present Talmudical system of learning, if such it can be called, consisting in the most frivolous sophistry, and war of words, and particles, and in distinctions, subtle beyond perception, misleading the imagination and destroying the judgment, was invented by Rabbi Jacob Pollak, and rose into such repute that the Jewish youths flocked thither from all quarters to acquire it: the pursuit of all other and more solid Jewish knowledge fell into contempt; at the call of the Jews in Germany, France, and Holland, these northern talmudists issued forth, as would a cloud of nocturnal bats from some gloomy ruin at nightfall, true heralds of darkness, scattering obscurity around them, as tutors and rabbis. Barbarism is said to be hyperborean, and civilization to be the child of the south, and behold! they were encountered on their road by a noon-day swarm of French abbés, tutors also in their way, milliners, cooks, and dancing masters, conveying their sciences and their talents to the north of Europe in the opposite direction. Mankind may, perhaps, have been pretty equally benefited by their respective exertions. Among other results of the rabbinical invasion was the establishment of three Jewish Universities in Germany, —namely, at Frankfort on the Meyn, Fürth (near Nurembergh,) and Prague.

The Emperor Alexander was so sensible of the evils caused by the power of the rabbis, that he decreed in the kingdom of Poland the abolition of the bodies which, under their orders, governed the Israelitish communities, stating, amongst other things, in the ukase, that the properties of those communities should be administered by their elders, in order that they might be rescued from the existing malversation. The Jew does not appear to be very curious to inquire why he is thus under the sway of these spiritual rulers, unknown to the law, whilst he has entirely lost the priesthood which it created; and the reason why he avoids research into this matter is obvious. Daniel, whom to lessen his authority, he degrades to the rank of a lesser prophet, tells him, that about the time ‘when Messiah shall be cut off, but not for himself, the sacrifice and oblation will cease;’ now they did cease at the destruction of Jerusalem, and never have been, nor can now be, resumed, although Jerusalem is rebuilt, and numerous Jews inhabit it, because they cannot take place without the ministration of a priest of the sons of Aaron, of the tribe of Levi. The prophecy requires that the oblation and sacrifice shall be no more resumed; and what more effectual mode of preventing that resumption could have been devised, than to obliterate from the minds of the Jews the memory of the genealogies of their tribes and families? It is most remarkable

markable that they have forgotten these things completely, while they have forgotten nothing else. It is true, that there are persons amongst them, who call themselves Levi and Cohen (or Priest); but none of these pretend to establish their claims to such titles by any genealogy. Yet every Jew had a personal and family interest in preserving his pedigree, and especially in the tribe of Judah, in which the Messiah was to be born. It was important to them to preserve their genealogies, were it only to enable them to falsify this prediction, if they could.

Is it to be wondered at, that, amidst a people under such spiritual misrule and neglect, confined to cities, in general, occupied mainly in the pursuit of petty gains, under the guidance of the foul and uncharitable abominations of the Talmud, a great relaxation of moral principles has taken place, and especially at the expense of those, whom they hate as their oppressors, and despise as heathens and unclean? Indeed there are many precepts of their rabbis utterly subversive of honesty in all their dealings with gentiles. Antonio Margarita, a converted Jew of the sixteenth century, reproached them with the *Col Nidre*, an absolution, pronounced at the yearly feast of atonement, to all present, for all perjuries and breaches of vows and engagements, committed by them in the preceding year. It is so called, from the two words with which a prayer used at that feast begins: the night and day are passed in prayer and fasting, during which the Jew wears the shroud in which he is to be buried, a present from his father-in-law, as it is also his wedding garment; and then this absolution is pronounced to him. But Eisenmenger, in his 'Entdecktes Judenthum' (Judaism Unveiled), published in the seventeenth century, upbraids them with pronouncing that absolution prospectively in his day, that is, for the coming year. A German government, aware of this fact, not long since caused the Jews, when sworn in cases in which Christians were concerned, to make oath that they were not present at the last yearly promulgation of this absolution; forgetting that, if they were present, this last perjury was also comprised in this precautionary white-washing. It is not long since, (we state the fact on the best authority) that a Polish Jew hired his rabbi to send the angel of death to destroy a Polish nobleman, as his only means of escaping the detection of an heinous fraud: soon after this, the countess died, but the husband lived. The Jew went to upbraid his rabbi, who replied, that 'he sent the angel on his errand, who, not finding the count at home, did his best, by slaying the lady;' and this satisfied the complainant.

It is always and especially to be observed, that these and the like matters are stated exclusively of the Rabbinical Jews, those bent
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down under the whole weight of their law as now interpreted, and most especially of them as they are found in their northern hive, in Poland. In other parts of Europe there are great numbers of Jews, who have profited very considerably of the civilization which surrounds them, and of the morality of the gospel, though without recognizing its divine origin. Amongst them there are many amiable, charitable, liberal-minded men, of unquestioned probity, to whose virtues we offer a willing tribute ; and, small as is the number of English Jews, we have had, and have, amongst us, men adorning this country, by their talents and acquirements, as well as virtues, who trace their origin to them. But it was Mendelssohn, the translator of the Pentateuch, who was in truth an infidel, that gave the first impulse to the Jewish mind in modern days, and the first blow to rabbinism : he was seconded by able and learned Jews, his associates ; a taste for literature and science was excited amongst their nation. A journal, written originally in Hebrew, and afterwards in German, whilst it gave the encouragement to, and the example of, a new Hebrew literature, embracing that of the day, contributed essentially to lower rabbinism in the opinion of the Jews, and to free the rising generation in Germany from its chains. There are, consequently, now very many of the German Jews, so enlightened as to see, with the most decided repugnance, the brutifying and senseless slavery in which the rabbis retain the great mass of their countrymen. These have broken their yoke ; they have established what is called a reformed worship, at which portions of the Old Testament are read, and a sermon on morality is preached ; the prayers, too, are in German, instead of being in Hebrew, which but few understand, as in the rabbinical synagogues. This worship, however, is not now allowed of in the Prussian states, and, we apprehend, on the ground of its being set up on no recognized basis. It is but too true, that infidelity has made very considerable progress amongst the educated Jews ; and there is but too much reason to apprehend, whatever may have been, and is, said, that this worship was mainly set on foot under views inimical to all revelation. We are perfectly aware, that many highly respectable Jews are sincerely and earnestly anxious to restore Judaism to its primitive simplicity, and to remove from features of heavenly beauty a mask exhibiting the mixed contortions of lunacy and imbecility ; but these are engaged in an attempt beyond the power of man ; and, at any rate, our present business is with the majority, from whom they dissent.

The prospect before us, of a people of Deists without a revealed God, of moralists without a moral code, sanctioned, or even not sanctioned, is like that of a boundless desert and arid plain,

plain, in which neither tree nor herb can grow; and that of Israel, under its rabbis, immersed in the pursuit of petty gains, and wrapt in ignorance, fear, and superstition, is as one of black and interminable crags, naked, bleak, and desolate. From objects such as these, how gladly does the eye turn to the wood-clad hill, the fertile valley, the winding shores and the glassy surface of the peaceful lake—however small! Such is the moral prospect which is presented to us, in striking and pleasing contrast, by the few and very inconsiderable establishments which exist of the Caraites, a pure remnant of the Hebrews, which appears to have been preserved apart, as if for our instruction, and as a specimen of what the Israelite was, and may be again, when not corrupted and debased by deplorable superstitions. The Caraites are every where well esteemed by their gentile neighbours, and appear to be an industrious, honest, and hospitable race. Their dress is simple, and they are moderate in their food. But their virtues have not saved them from the condemnation of the rabbinical Jews, who impute much heresy to them, and to this day hate and calumniate them in-eterately. Thus—Rabbi Bozalel Aschkonasi, of the fourteenth century, declares that no Israelite must help a Caraites out of a pit; while the more acute Rabbi Samson, foreseeing that a ladder might perchance be left in the aforesaid pit, enjoins its instant removal. Their great crime appears to be, that they abide scrupulously by the written law, rejecting the Talmudical explanations and additions. Rigid moralists, they maintain that the wife can be divorced for adultery alone, whereas the rabbis pronounce that she may be dismissed at the will of the husband, and that either a fairer rival, or an ill-dressed dish may give sufficient grounds and authority for divorce. Their teachers preach moral discourses to them on all Sabbaths and feast-days, a duty which the rabbis usually fulfil but twice in the year, and then very imperfectly.

There is much reason to mistrust all that has hitherto been written as to the origin of this remarkable sect. They are in Poland dealers in corn and cattle, carriers, handicraftsmen, and, in some cases, agriculturists; and these are also their occupations at Baktiserai, where they are eleven hundred in number. It is generally stated that above six hundred years ago they settled there on a mountain-rock, having migrated to the Crimea under especial privileges granted to them by the then reigning khan, which they still enjoy. Their picturesque fortress, called Dschou-fait Kale, the Jews' Castle, the rocky narrow path by which the ascent winds up to it, and its beautiful detached sepulchral grove, have been well described by Clarke and other travellers. A tomb-

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stone in this cemetery bears a Hebrew inscription, dated five hundred and seventy years back. In a petition addressed by them to the Empress Catherine, they represented that their forefathers had no part in the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, and Dr. Clarke (who says that their honesty is proverbial, and their word equal to a bond, and tells us to believe nothing stated respecting them by the rabbimists) adds, that they uniformly assert themselves to have separated from the main stem of the Jewish people in the very earliest periods of its history, and that *their schism is as old as the return from the Babylonish captivity*. The Caraites at Troki are but one hundred and sixty in number, and say, that, descending from the Crimean Caraites, they have been settled in Lithuania about four hundred years and it is remarkable that they still retain the Tatar tongue, of the Jewish German they are wholly ignorant. They also speak Russian and Polish, and, like the Crimean Caraites, wear the dress of the country they inhabit. Their manners are simple and obliging; they are accessible, and, above all, they have the inestimable advantage of holding to the faith of their ancestors, as resting exclusively on the Old Testament. A Christian writer says, that during those four hundred years no one of this colony has had a criminal judgment passed on him. A missionary, who in travelling through Troki pressed upon their minds the truth of the Gospel in the only short conversation he had an opportunity of holding with them, found them candid and well-disposed to listen, they were surprised at his arguments, and little able to reply to them, as they know nothing of the quibbles and subtleties which the rabbinical Jews have long resorted to, when engaged in controversy with Christians. Who, reflecting on the pure faith of the Caraites, and that integrity, industry, and virtue, by which they have every where impressed sentiments of respect and esteem for them upon the people with whom they dwell, would not fain believe that, though exiles from Palestine, they are exempt from the worst and final curses inflicted by the Almighty upon Israel for the worst and blackest of his crimes? And who will not be delighted to hear that, whilst the rabbinical Jews can give no clue to the history of this remarkable portion of the race, modern discovery appears strongly to confirm the views cherished among the Caraites themselves? Mr. Wolff, the missionary, having learnt that a body of Caraites was established in the desert of Hit, at three days' journey from Bagdad, visited them. The account which they gave him was, that their fathers, during the Chaldean captivity, perceiving that their brethren were corrupting the pure faith by amalgamating with it the plu-

philosophical doctrines of the country, 'sat down by the waters of Babylon, and wept when they remembered Sion;' that in order to imprint the scriptures unmix'd on their hearts, they read them incessantly, and were thence called Caraites, or *reuders*; and that, when the others returned from the captivity, they separated themselves, to escape their offences and punishments, and retired to the very spot where the missionary found them. He there saw these 'children of the Bible,' as they call themselves, living an Arab life in cottages; they are a very fine people, and the women singularly handsome. He was struck with their unvarying truth, of which their neighbours allow the merits, but practise it not; and they are remarkable for their honesty and cleanliness. They said that they had sent colonies to Cairo and to Ispahan, where a synagogue still bears an inscription, which shows that it belonged to them. Benjamin de Tudela, it is said, found the same people living in the same manner at Hit, six hundred years ago. They speak pure Arabic, but all know and read Hebrew; they state the whole number of their sect to be five thousand, and that they are the original stock of it. They call their ministers 'wise men,' and know not the name of rabbis.

Mr. Wolf's travels in the East made him acquainted with various detachments of the Israelitish nation, living in great diversities of circumstances. Many of the Georgian Jews are *ascripti glebæ*. In Yemen, they all lead an Arab life. In Kurdistan, they speak the old Chaldaean language, but are occupied in petty traffic, and do not till the ground. In Persia, they are so miserably oppressed, that they fly frequently to the despotism of Turkey, as more endurable. At Shiraz, they are acquainted with the Old Testament; they have no copies of the Talmud, but still pin their faith to it. In Caucasus, those living amongst the Ossitinians are wild and ignorant horsemen; they have neither the Bible nor the Talmud.

The Zoharites are a sect stated to believe in the Trinity; they date from the seventeenth century; their doctrines are mysteriously concealed; and losing ground as this sect does rapidly, it is not worth our while to endeavour to unfold them. The Chasidim, on the other hand, who, like the Zoharites, regard the Zohar, (a rabbinical work dating from the first century of Christianity,) as their chief religious book, are a numerous sect, which increases rapidly, especially in the Russian Polish provinces. It arose about seventy years ago. There is much fanaticism amongst them, and consequently they have many impostors, and many more dupes. They ascribe to their rabbis still greater powers than the faithful assign to the head of the Romish church—the keys of heaven and
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of hell, and the power of working miracles at will by cabalistic means.

We have said little of other European Jews than those of Poland and Germany, for with them are the great and leading interests of the people, whether their religious or political existence be considered. The Jews in France are perhaps from thirty to forty thousand; they abound chiefly at Metz, along the Rhine, and at Marseilles and Bordeaux. In Bonaparte's time they were imagined to amount to at least twice that number; but it may be inferred, from the report of the proceedings of his Sanhedrim,* how large a proportion of them came from his German and Italian provinces. They are relieved from civil restraints and disabilities in France, and in the Netherlands also. The Jews in Holland, of both German and Portuguese origin, are numerous; the latter are said to have taken refuge there when the United Provinces asserted their independence of Spain; they have a splendid synagogue at Amsterdam. Infidelity is supposed to have made more progress amongst them than amongst the German Jews in Holland. The Italian Jews are chiefly at Leghorn and Genoa; and there are four thousand of them at Rome. In speaking of the religion of the Jews, it is not necessary to particularize those who assumed the mask of Christianity under terror of the Inquisition, although much has been said of their wealth and numbers, and of the high offices they have filled in Spain, and especially in Portugal. But it is curious to see, in a very distant quarter, a like simulation produced amongst them by like causes. There are at Salonica thirty synagogues, and about twenty-five thousand professed Jews; and a body of Israelites have been lately discovered there who, really adhering to the faith of their fathers, have externally embraced Mahomedanism.

The Barbary Jews are a very fine people; but the handsomest Jews are said to be those of Mesopotamia. That province may also boast of an Arab chief who bears the name of the Patriarch Job, is rich in sheep, and camels, and oxen, and asses, abounds in hospitality, and believes that he descends from him; he is also famed for his justice. The Jews at Constantinople, forty thousand in number, and in the parts of European Turkey on and near the Mediterranean, speak Spanish, and appear to descend from Israelites driven from Spain by persecution. The Bible Society are now printing at Corfu the New Testament, in Jewish-Spanish, for their benefit.

* Bonaparte attempted, by the construction of an assembly which he called the Great Sanhedrim, so to bend an inflexible religion to his purposes, as to derive from it the means of binding and uniting to the state those whose complete union with any Gentile state is rendered impossible by that very religion.

In truth, little appears to be known of the state of the Jews during some hundreds of years after the destruction of Jerusalem. The first body of learned Jews which drew attention after that disastrous event was that settled in Spain; and from it all Jewish learning descends. As in accomplishment of the prophecy, the Jew is found over the whole surface of the globe; he has been long established in China, which abhors the foreigner; and in Abyssinia, which it is almost as difficult to reach as to quit. The early Judaism of that country, and in later days the history of the powerful colony of Jews established in its heart, which at one time actually reigned over the kingdom, are matters so curious that we regret that we can do no more than advert to them: we must say the same as to the evidence existing of Jewish rites having extended themselves very far southward along the eastern coast of Africa; the numerous Jews of Barbary; and the black and white Jews, who have been established for ages, more or less remote, on the Malabar coast. It may be here observed, that all the Israelites hitherto discovered appear to be descendants of those who held the kingdom of Judah.

When the existence of the Jews in the European states is considered in a political view, in order that we may determine what conduct should be observed towards them by the several governments, it is evident that we have but one of two things to do, either to drive them out, which no statesman in his senses would dream of at this day, or to endeavour to render them sound, enlightened, efficient, and, as far as possible, integral members of the several bodies politic; in other words, to identify their feelings and interests with those of the Christian citizens, and qualify them by suitable education to discharge fitly their respective duties, whether public or private. But when we come to reflect on the means to be adopted for the improvement of their present condition, and the remedy of those inconveniences which that condition inflicts on the states where they reside, we are lost in difficulties. If the discordant and painful position of the Jews amongst us, and the prejudicial effects of the mode of their existence as a crude, unamalgamated, and heterogeneous mass, arise from their Judaism, and from their refusal to adopt the religion of Christendom, then every rule of sound policy urges us to promote, by means of persuasion, and as far as we can, the reception of the gospel by them. Civil enactments, with reference to this peculiar people, require much deliberation. We may harm both them and ourselves by hasty and injudicious attempts to benefit them. But worldly wisdom, as well as charity, demands that we shall, in our several codes and systems, abolish whatsoever can be fairly held to prejudice the interests and to wound the feelings of these domesticated

domesticated strangers, unless under a positive state-necessity, so that we may not, through injustice and impolicy, continue to keep up feelings under which they must be at the least foreign to our interests. On the other hand, to give all the rights and privileges of citizens to them, whilst holding to Judaism, would be to bind ourselves wholly to those who cannot so bind themselves to us; to confer on them a strength which might be turned against ourselves; and to compel them of course to contract reciprocal obligations, which their highest duties—in their view—national, political, and religious, must force them to violate at such a call as they shall believe to be that of their promised deliverer.

We have reasoned on these matters on general principles; politically, the question affects us here far less than it does many other nations. The Jews in Great Britain and Ireland are not supposed to be more than from ten to twelve thousand, very many of whom are foreigners, and migratory.

When we speak of the conversion of the Jews as a thing which is a desideratum for the European governments, nothing can be farther from our intentions than to suggest, that they should mix in it directly; we are well aware that it could not be usefully even attempted by them,—for this, among other reasons,—that their so doing would excite extreme mistrust and jealousy: they should, undoubtedly, however, view such attempts, if prudently made, with favour and good will, and endeavour to lead to them by advice and encouragement. But if political wisdom urges us to encourage, by all prudent and charitable means, the promotion of Christianity amongst the Jews, our religion summons us to the same duty with a far more powerful voice. What can show more strongly that inveteracy of uncharitableness towards the Jews, which has grown out of long indulgence in the feeling, than the disfavour accompanying the attempt to convert them? There are even many who will contribute to the support of missions to distant nations, to which we owe no atonement, and yet withhold their aid from those whose aim is to give the gospel to the Israelites who dwell in our cities, and who have so long been trodden down under our feet. That very degraded moral state, which gives the Jew his strongest claim to our assistance, is urged as a reason why it should be withheld from him as one past help and amendment! He is vilified for blindness, perverseness, obstinacy, if he adheres to the faith of his fathers; and he is vituperated as insincere and interested, if he abandons it to profess our own!

St. Paul says that, ‘blindness *in part* is destined to Israel, until the fulness of the gentiles be come in.’* We cite this passage,

* Romans xi. 23,

because it is often and gravely alleged as a reason for not attempting to convert the Jews,—since—it is argued,—all attempts to that effect must fail until this event happens. We shall abstain from any inquiry into what this ‘fulness of the gentiles’ is. Thus much is obvious, that St. Paul speaks of the blindness of Israel, which is to prevail until this ‘fulness’ takes place, not as complete, but *partial*; and that we, if we refuse to aid in the conversion of the Jews until that event happens, declare that, as far as we are concerned, it shall remain *entire*: we thus refuse to participate in that beautiful dispensation which is to heal all bitterness between Jew and Gentile, and to complete the reciprocity of the most important of benefits, when we shall have conveyed back to them that gospel which we received from their fathers. If we should admit that there is an indication* in the Old Testament, that the national baptism of Israel will take place *on its restoration to Palestine*, we must be aware, that its conversion to Christianity is to be effected through the instrumentality of man,† and we can in no wise look forward to this event, but as to one which is to be prepared by long and arduous exertions on our part. Granting that the *public profession* of Christianity by Israel is to take place on their restoration to their own land; yet that they must previously return to God ‘with all their heart, and with all their soul,’ is the indispensable condition, under which God will gather them from all the nations, and so restore them.‡ Moreover, if the work to be done be great in extent, and accompanied by manifold and peculiar difficulties, we should calculate on its being long in hand, and possibly of remote completion. It is out of all the analogies of nature, that a nation, long trampled on and abased, should at once start into a fitness for the achievement of great and noble things. It is true, that the fierce pride of the Jew has always risen against the weight depressing him;§ but his mind is not in due measure—it is like an instrument put out of tune by much neglect and mismanagement, whose tones cannot at once be brought into just modulation.

In this state of things, the question may naturally be addressed to the European Christians: what endeavours they have made to convey the gospel to the ancient people of God.

We may dispense with any allusion to the Sunday exposition of the errors of Judaism, which the Jews at Rome are compelled to hear, or to the flames of the Spanish *auto da fê*. The

* Ezek. xxxvi. 24, &c. † Jer. iii. 12, &c. Ezek. xxxvii. 1, &c. Rom. xi. 30, 31.

‡ Deut. xxx. 1, 2, 3. Jer. iii. 12, 13, 14, &c.

§ The reader will find some passages of singularly rich and forcible eloquence concerning the Jewish character, as it once was, and as it might again be, in *Salathiel*—a newly published romance, in which it is impossible not to recognise the imagination of a poet, and the learning of a divine.

Jew has peculiar feelings, which will ever cause him to repel the hand of the church of Rome, even were it tendered in kindness.

Halle, in Prussian Saxony, the seat of an university, was also that of the Callenberg Institution, the first formed with a view to convey the Gospel to the Jews. It originated, under very interesting circumstances, in 1728, and was supported by voluntary contributions, collected in Germany; but as it was, in the main, an offspring of the piety of the Protestant German clergy, it perished, as the parent plant withered away under the blasts of infidelity, and expired, for want of funds, about the time of the French revolution. Amongst its publications are, the journal and travels in Europe, Asia, and Egypt, of Schultze, its most distinguished missionary, a man remarkable for his piety, humility, discretion, industry, and knowledge of languages, ancient and modern: they form a work of high interest in various points of view. This society circulated translations into Hebrew of portions of the New Testament, several copies of which have been found of late amongst Jews, both in Poland and Aleppo; an important testimony that their labours were not fruitless. Not long since a copy of the Gospel of St. Luke, translated and published by this Society in 1738, was found in the possession of an unconverted Jew at Bombay, and he exchanged it for a Bible, refusing every other price. It is now in England. Its date, its travels, which, no doubt, must have been performed in Jewish hands, and the price required and obtained for it, are sufficiently instructive.

The next attempt made by any body of men to communicate the knowledge of the Gospel to the Hebrews was that of the 'London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews.' It was formed in 1809, and its founders appear not to have known that the Callenberg Institution had existed. It has been for many years a religious society of the Church of England exclusively. Its revenues arise from voluntary contributions, and were last year between fourteen and fifteen thousand pounds. It has translated the New Testament into Hebrew, and employs various missionaries abroad, particularly in Poland, where they enjoy especial protection from the government. Other societies have been formed subsequently in Great Britain and Ireland, with the same object, either in connexion with that Society, or acting independently of it; and the continent is beginning to follow this example.

The Berlin Society receives strong countenance and support from his Prussian majesty and his government; one of his aides-de-camp general is its president, and many distinguished persons in the church, and in the service of the state, are members of its committee.

committee. It appears to labour successfully through its missionaries in Prussian Poland. Other societies are connected with it. A like society, at Dresden, has had distinguished patronage, and a society has been formed at Petersburg, with a view to afford protection to Jewish converts.

When we endeavour to form some estimate of the probable result of such institutions, we must bear in mind how almost entirely the minds of men, both Christians and Jews, were unprepared for any enterprises of this nature only twenty years ago. Emperors and kings (and such *are* to be the nursing fathers of Israel) have already given proofs of an earnest interest in its weal, and in its adoption of the gospel; and large bodies of men amongst the Christians are associated in order to promote this. Sentiments of kindness towards the Israelites, unknown before, have arisen, and have been brought into action; and the evidence of such sentiments is, above all things, calculated to work favourably* upon a people who are as unexampled in the strength of their love for kindred and friends, as in their hatred of enemies and strangers.†

The difficulties, however, are great and must not be disguised. The Jews resisted the preaching of Jesus Christ himself, and of his inspired apostles: the traditions, which so materially aided in causing that resistance, have multiplied an hundred fold since then; and there arose subsequently amongst them a new and deadly repugnance to the gospel, as being the law of their own persecutors. At the commencement of our Lord's mission, the Jews attempted his life, because he signified to them the call of the Gentiles to the gospel; trodden under foot for ages, on account of their rejection of it, by those Gentiles who accepted it, they traced their calamities up to Christ, with a blindness like that of their fathers, and heaped upon the name of the Son of God a horrible and vindictive hatred, of which the Talmud, in its text and commentary, the Mishna and Gemara, bears dreadful and multiplied evidence. The rabbis, their spiritual guides and rulers, have moreover most powerful

* We know it to be a fact, that a Jew, an artist of reputation, who had conceived a great confidence in a Christian engaged in the promotion of the conversion of the Israelites, revealed to him, that both he and his brother had been Christians from their childhood from having been bred up amongst Christians, but were too indignant at the treatment which they and their brethren met with at Christian hands, to profess Christianity; and he earnestly pleaded, as essential to their being induced to receive the gospel, that those who participate in the attempt should approach them with a language of decided affection for Israel.

† The Jewish children to this day celebrate the fall and death of Haman, and, on that anniversary, represent the blows which they would fain deal on his skull, by striking with venomous fury on the floor with wooden hammers. This observance was but very lately forbidden in the Grand Duchy of Baden.

worldly motives for endeavouring to check the progress of the gospel, which they do, by burning tracts and the New Testament, whenever they get them into their hands, with unrelenting activity, and by harassing the Jews who are inclined to turn their attention to Christianity—*inter alia*, by curses and imprecations, of which they have long possessed a fearful store, and for adding to which they possess a facility that attests the effects of uninterrupted practice, and Asiatic imagination. Their priestcraft, pre-eminence, power, and worldly wealth, are all at stake. The Jews, moreover, are scandalized, especially on the continent, by our profanation of our own Sabbath, and other prevalent impieties: they have no need to send spies to learn the weaknesses of the lords of the land, for they dwell amongst us, and in our tents. They are, on the one hand, so bound together by worldly interests the most cogent, and by family and national affections, that any individual has an effort to make, in breaking the bonds of his religion, of which we, situated as we are, can form no just conception: while, on the other hand, they despise us as typified by the unclean animals, as strangers to God, and about to perish under His wrath; for, it is undeniable that all Rabbinites are confidently looking forward to the destruction of the European Christian nations, and especially of those of the church of Rome, in the secondary accomplishment of the prophecies respecting Edom and Babylon, as about to take place about this very time. The chief residence of Jews amongst Christians has been in Roman Catholic states, and most especially in ancient Poland; and, consequently, their impressions, their feelings, and their opinions respecting Christianity, are mainly formed on the manner in which they see it practised in those countries; and the bithens with which popery has overwhelmed the religion of the gospel, are especially calculated to offend the religious persuasions of the Israelite. Further, the denial by many Christians of their future and glorious national re-establishment in Palestine exasperates the Jews, and leads them to impeach our judgment, as that of partial, unjust, and ignorant interpreters of the prophecies of the Old Testament regarding these matters.* And, lastly—a considerable difficulty in the

* If they were to found the certainty of that re-establishment solely on the thirty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel, we should not know how to controvert them. In its tenth verse, God declares plainly, that he will take 'Ephraim and the tribes of Israel, his fellows,' that is, the ten tribes, and 'Judah,' that is, the two tribes, 'and unite them in His hand.' In the following parts of the chapter, God declares that He will gather together the children of Israel from among the heathen on every side, and bring them into their land, and 'will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel,' and that 'one king shall be king to them all, and that they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms, any more at all.' It is declared that they shall defile themselves no more, but shall dwell for ever under David, the se-

the cause of the promotion of Christianity amongst the Jews, is created by the excessive depravity and miserable poverty prevailing amongst the lower orders of that people; many of whom have been led to feign themselves proselytes, in the hope of worldly advantages, and thus brought much discredit on the cause both among the Israelites and the Christians. But, as none of the converting societies, we apprehend, *now* give pecuniary aid to the neophytes, (under a rule of absolute necessity, though often most painful in its application,) this evil is little to be apprehended for the future.

But whilst it is right to state these difficulties and obstacles to the attempt to diffuse the gospel amongst the Jews, so as to prevent unreasonable expectations, the parents of disappointment, on the one hand; so on the other, in order to obviate discouragement, it should be added, that there exists among them now a spirit of inquiry, and a disposition and desire to hear new things, which are decidedly favourable to that attempt. The fearful recent convulsions which agitated the European nations, the ill-extinguished fires of commotion still smouldering, and the present revolt among one class of the Grand Seignior's subjects, have excited extraordinary attention in a people full of hope, and have brought their faculties into action on matters long little noticed by them. The interest beginning to be taken in themselves has awakened a corresponding one on their part. The active state of the human mind of late years, often, indeed, a feverish one, the increase of knowledge, and their improved access to education, have stimulated and invigorated their intellects. It would appear, that in their discussions with missionaries, they in general display less learning than Schultze and his colleagues were encountered by, but that they are now more sensible to appeals made to their hearts; that they cavil less, and feel more.

The missionaries in Poland, on visiting places for the first time, have frequently found in the hands of Jews, and conveyed to them by other Jews, New Testaments and tracts originally distributed by themselves; and in one case, a Jew was converted thus by a tract given to him by one of his brethren, who retained his Judaism. Mr. Wolff found at Ispahan and Cashan Hebrew New Testaments, which he had given away at Jerusalem and Aleppo, and

vant of God, as their king, 'in the land which God gave to Jacob his servant, wherein their fathers dwelt.' God further declares, 'my tabernacle also shall be with him; yea, I will be their God, and they shall be my people, and the heathen shall know that I do sanctify Israel, when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for evermore.' Surely it is not possible for an unbiassed mind to misunderstand the clear and precise language of this prophecy, not one particle of which has as yet received its accomplishment. Who is there, who even now dares form more than a conjecture respecting the hiding place in which the ten tribes of the kingdom of Israel have lain concealed for above two thousand five hundred years, those still unrevealed mighty kings of the east, but whose return is to be preceded by that of the two tribes? (Zechariah xii. 7.)

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had marked ; and there were notes subsequently inserted, recommending them to the perusal of the Persian Jews ; and there are accounts of New Testaments given to Jews at Ispahan, having been sent to their brethren in Balk, Bokhara, and Afghanistan. The Jews of one of their colleges at Mosul, near the site of Nineveh, showed to Mr. Wolff a manuscript of the New Testament in Arabic, but written in Jewish characters ; the translator was a rabbi, now dead, but whose son still lives there. Mr. Wolff found it to be a good translation. They refused to part with it. The rabbi had written in it a recommendation to peruse it, addressed to the members of the colleges, and to his descendants. Mr. Wolff found also, in the library of the Spanish Jews at Jerusalem, a Syriac translation of the New Testament written in Hebrew characters. This is the less surprising, as Schultze, in 1754, found the eastern Jews less disputatious than the European, and especially than the German ; and they heard him willingly. He tells us, moreover, that they do not talk during worship, as those of Europe do.

With respect to conversions of Jews, it appears that many have taken place of late years, and especially in Germany ; and that although there have been some cases of deception and apostasy, and mainly in the earlier day of the attempt, many of the proselytes give every reason to believe in their sincerity, and to depend upon their firmness. One hundred Jews were baptised at Berlin alone, in 1825 ; and there is most satisfactory testimony that there is every reason to trust in the far greater part of those conversions as disinterested, and founded on a competent knowledge of the grounds of their new faith. Two young rabbis of Berditchef, in Russian Poland, just after a missionary had left their town in despair of success, abandoned every thing, and wandered above twelve hundred miles on foot to Berlin, by a circuitous road, in search of Christianity. They had a language and trades to learn, that they might earn their subsistence, and have conducted themselves ever since, that is, about six years, in the most exemplary manner. Unless they have perished under their sufferings, there are at this moment two lately baptised Jews in the prison of the arsenal at Constantinople, whose enraged brethren have bribed the Turks to inflict upon them a variety of privations, hardships, and chastisements, which an English clergyman, who saw them there, describes to be such that to have met death would have been more easy than to endure them : though their instruction in the truths of Christianity had been incomplete and interrupted, neither want, fear, pain, nor length of imprisonment have been able to shake, in the least, their devoted attachment to it. A third had flinched under the
fearful

fearful trial, and resumed his Judaism. There is strong evidence that Christianity is making extensive, though secret, progress amongst the Jews, at Constantinople. Indeed, we think there is every reason to believe that the general extent of avowed Christianity amongst the Jews is very greatly less than that which is concealed from motives of fear, from aversion to, or mistrust of the Christians, and from, in very many cases, the dread of forfeiture of the means of existence, in nearly all of breaking the bonds of consanguinity and affection. Three such cases of old Jews came lately within the knowledge of one individual of our own acquaintance, within a short space of time: two of them had been converted by the perusal of tracts circulated amongst their brethren, without their having ever conversed with a missionary; yet these men were known to be regularly performing the rites of their apparent religion in the synagogue.

To say the truth, it is not on the number of conversions actual, visible, and avowed, effected amongst a people so circumstanced as the Jews now are, that we dwell as the matter of the most importance. The great object is not at present to pursue and hunt down, as it were, single Jews to conversion, but to remove the prejudices and soften the hearts, and dispose *towards* Christianity the minds of hundreds. Though providentially a beginning is made, too much of general work remains to be done to allow us to pursue, with much consecration of time to it, the labour of finishing details. Let us suppose a colony settling on a soil naturally fertile, in a tropical climate, but incumbered with woods and stagnant waters, and, consequently, infested with agues and fevers;—the wisdom surely would be to fell the trees, to let in the sun and the wind, to drain off the waters, to clear away the putrefying vegetable incumbrances—in short, to remove the origin of the evils. A similar course has been followed, in the main, with the Jews—Schultze having given the example of it; and accordingly the results produced hitherto have rather been general than particular. In the kingdom of Poland, where the greatest prejudices existed both against Christianity and Christians, a state of things completely justifying this view has been produced. From the circulation of tracts, and of the scriptures, and from oral communications, the Jews have acquired a sufficient knowledge of Christianity to have abated considerably of the hostile feelings with which they contemplated it; and the earnestness and kindness with which the Gospel has been proffered to them, have led them, in almost every case, to give full credit to the sincerity and good will of those who conveyed it to them. Their resort to the missionaries, and the access which the missionaries have to them, prove this incontestably. Involved in the cobwebs of the Talmud,

mud, they had actually lost sight of the Old Testament; those who are well disposed are now induced to study it, that they may understand the arguments addressed to them; those, who are ill-disposed, do so in order to be able to answer them; and in either case an advantage is gained, for the Talmud is the great wall of separation between Judaism and Christianity. In general it may be affirmed, on the best and latest testimonies from the north and the east of Europe, and from the Persian and Ottoman empires,—testimonies which coincide completely, and in a way that is most striking,—that very many of the Jews, now bearing far less hostile feelings towards Christianity than they used to do, on account of its being professed by Gentiles, have so strong a conviction of the beauty of the morality of the Gospel, that they do justice to it in despite of our imperfect practice of it, and say that the fault is in us and not in our law. Many of the rabbis enrich and improve not only their moral lessons from its precepts, but even their views of the nature of the Messiah's reign, though looking to it in futurity, by clothing it with a spirituality wholly foreign to the Talmudical writings. One thing is of high importance indeed; and the fact cannot be controverted. Jews have, within these very few years, materially changed their conduct towards converted Jews. Strange to say, they now admit that they may be sincere Christians; allow them to preach the Gospel to them, and hear them attentively. It was thus that the Jews at Ispahan acted towards Mr. Wolff; they even maintained him, when his funds were exhausted.

We have said enough to show that rabbinism is the object of serious attack on the part of the enlightened Jews, and of hostility direct on the part of the Russian, and indirect on that of the German, authorities. It is true, that very many of the German and the great mass of the Polish Jews adhere to it; but, assaulted as it is, on so many sides, by power in a righteous warfare, and by all that reason, wit, and literature can bring in arms against it on the part of the educated Israelites, its ruin, though it may be protracted, is certain. These Israelites are indignant at their long and unworthy slavery under its yoke; they fully perceive that it kept them in a stupifying and debasing vassalage amidst enlightened millions; and this is not the day in which despotism, even if rationally exercised, will be easily endured. In the mean while, rabbinism, to do it justice, has defended itself valiantly; it has kicked and brayed with all its might and main, cursing and anathematising until it is hoarse; but its doom is sealed. The Jews in Germany are abandoning rabbinism in shoals, and will all finally leave it;—what then are they to become? This desertion is beginning to show itself

in Poland; and the Jews themselves, who believe in the Prophecies, are led by it to think that some new and important dispensation respecting them must be at hand. In the German universities, whither the most gifted and ardent of their youth resort, the risk of their falling into scepticism, neologism, the mad * metaphysics of the day, or pantheism, is infinitely greater than the chance, in the present state of things, of their enrolling themselves under the comparatively small number of those who, in these institutions, profess genuine Christianity; and this experience has but too well proved. But further—the Jew, though he may have thrown off rabbinism, can nowhere have found or undergone a discipline calculated to chasten or subdue that extreme pride, which characterizes his race; and, contemplating the doctrine of the cross with a proud and inflated heart, if he views it as a Jew, he will see in it a ‘stumbling-block,’ and if as a Greek, that is, as a philosopher, ‘foolishness.’ Then, as for a pure worship—such as the so-called reformed Jews profess to seek to restore—we must observe, that no Israelitish Luther or Calvin has as yet arisen, to divest Judaism of the rubbish which so miserably incumbers it.

Doubtless there is no state of his religion, in which we, with a view to his conversion to Christianity, can so much desire to see the Jew placed, as in a belief of the divine origin and authority of the law and the prophets, with the rejection of every addition and tradition whatever. But let us estimate calmly what is the chance of the Rabbi-trained Jew turning from his old guides to embrace a pure Judaism. That the Caraites practise a religion nearly such, or quite such, as we will assume for the argument’s sake, we are willing to admit; and it is perfectly intelligible, that a humble, unlearned people, without institutions of education, and earning their bread by constant toil, should adhere mechanically to the law held from time immemorial by their fathers—a system of ordinances neither weighed down nor polluted by an addition of follies and extravagancies foreign to it, such as the Talmud is—without much reflection, and without being scared from it by whatever imperfections it may contain. But what we have to consider is, what will be the conduct of men of awakened minds who have a religion to reconstruct or to seek? How many ancient buildings are there, moral and political, as well as physical, which remain upright and whole, simply because they are undisturbed, but which the least shock would precipitate to the earth, and out of whose

* One of the most eminent leaders lately dogmatized thus—‘*Homo est, sed non est, sed non non est.*’

superannuated and worn-out relics and materials it would be impossible to restore the fallen edifice! Such a building is Judaism. To instructed and reasoning men, whose anxious and entire attention is turned to the subject of religion, you must present a substance, a reality. Judaism is not a country of permanent occupation and settlement; it is only a road to such a land; and, moreover, it is a very rough one, and defies macadamization. Judaism is a transitory religion, and one of transition, too; a passage to, and a preparation for, Christianity: its very imperfections, and moreover its types and prophecies, besides other most important purposes, are visibly framed and devised to excite the desire for, and the sense of the necessity of, a further revelation, which shall afford its completion; but we cannot offer it as such passage and preparation to Jews, who are at once averse to Christianity, and in quest of something final, positive, and perfect, with a shadow of a chance of success. They will of course seek a religion sufficient in itself for their guidance and support. But will they now discover either in Judaism, even in its purest shape? Many of them are well acquainted with the morality of the New Testament, and they will find in the Old a moral law greatly inferior to it, and imperfect as our Lord has shown. They will find religious ordinances, which cannot be executed but by a priesthood of one particular family, of which every trace has been lost for ages, and of which none could now be recovered but by a miracle, and in particular, a law of sacrifices which, for the same reason, can no longer be offered up,—sacrifices which, bloody and perpetually renewed, at once indicated the necessity of an atonement, and the incompleteness of theirs. They will find the immortality of the soul, and future rewards and punishments signified and intimated in the Old Testament, but nowise enounced by the law as matters of faith, and as furnishing rules of conduct. They will read that the Almighty, when speaking of the children of Israel, declares, that he ‘gave them also statutes that were *not good*, and judgments, wherein they should *not live*.’ (Ezekiel xx. 25.) These are not the times, and such is not now Israel, that the holiness and beauty of the old law shall again be engraved on his heart under the terrors of Sinai, though it may well be, that a new and more perfect law shall be written there, amidst the convulsions and the wreck of nations. The most active and intelligent spirits of the race, whose impulse will assuredly be followed by thousands, are in perilous risk of being engulfed in the whirlpool of a godless philosophy. On the other hand, as we have stated, a far more favourable impression in respect to Christianity than ever before existed amongst them, has been made on the minds of very many of the Israelites. It is now for this great Protestant

maritime

maritime nation to decide whether, in this crisis of the fate of the ancient people of God, it will listen to the exhortation addressed to it, as 'the land shadowing with wings,' 'that sendeth ambassadors by the sea,' by one * of the ablest of the interpreters of the Scriptures, who have adorned its venerable church, and lend its powerful aid to 'bring a present unto the Lord of Hosts of a people scattered and peeled, and from a people terrible from the beginning, a nation meted out and trodden under foot.'

We cannot quit this subject without adverting shortly to the destiny of a plant which grew up under the shelter of the mighty cedar of Israel, but was destined to endure and flourish when that proud tree was levelled to the earth; for 'Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, Jonadab the son of Rechab shall not want a man to stand before me for ever.' Anxious though we all must be, to discover the resting-place of this interesting race, which, according to scriptural record and prophecy, must at least be a distinct and easily distinguishable family,—if not a people,—Midianites, as being the descendants of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, and one of whom was Jael, by whose hand Sisera fell,—few of our readers, perhaps, know, that the Rechabites had not escaped the researches of Benjamin de Tudela. He declared that he had discovered them in the neighbourhood of Mecca; and this testimony is wholly confirmed by the recent publication of Mr. Wolff. The Rechabites were mentioned to him both by Mahometans and by the Jews of Yemen, and called Hybarri; and once, as he was making inquiries respecting them of some Jews, whom he found leading an Arab life in the desert, one of them exclaimed,

'See, there is one of them; and turning his eyes where he was directed, he saw a man standing by his horse's head, dressed like an Arab, but having a more lively countenance than the Arabs; he accepted courteously the whole bible in Arabic and Hebrew, reading in both, but answered all questions in a voice of thunder. When asked who he was, he read aloud the whole of the 35th chapter of Jeremiah, saying at the close of it, "I am a son of Rechab."'

He invited the missionary to visit his people, who, to the number of sixty thousand, live in three oases in the neighbourhood of Mecca, but, like their forefathers, dwell in tents, and neither sow seed nor plant vineyards; and he begged him to bring more bibles with him. He then mounted his horse, and vanished at full speed. It appears that they are circumcised; profess pure Judaism; and possess the Pentateuch and the books of Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the smaller Prophets. They say, that they always abode in the desert where they now are, except when they repaired to Jerusalem, for the cause stated by Jeremiah;

* Bishop Horsley, on the 18th chapter of Isaiah,

they speak Arabic, but all know Hebrew. They attacked Mahomet in the name of the law of Sinai, but were defeated; and there is a tradition that he was poisoned by a girl of that nation. The Arabs spoke to the missionary, in animated and picturesque language, in praise of the Rechabites as admirable horsemen, whose movements were most rapid and decisive. They painted the Rechabite cavalier as appearing suddenly, as deputed by his tribe, before the Mahometan caravans on their approach to Mecca, receiving the accustomed tribute or its refusal, and in either case, vanishing like lightning,—but in the latter as the certain omen of a storm of cavalry soon to burst with resistless fury on the heads of the Moslem. The Jews generally are persuaded that these Beni Rechab are destined to succour them powerfully on their return to Palestine.

Mr. Wolff also visited the Samaritans: they reside at Sychem, at the foot of Mount Gerizim, to the number of fifty families; they are known to be true and honest; they expect the Messiah, and say, that God should be worshipped in mount Gerizim, and not on mount Sion. Of the holy writings they have the Pentateuch alone; they have been accused of worshipping the Noachic dove; but he says, that they regard it only as a symbol; and other authentic accounts also rebut this charge against them. Mr. Wolff also heard of an Abrahamitical family still existing near Bussorah, and retaining the name of their mother, being called 'Beni Keturah.'

We must resist the temptation of dwelling on the state and fortunes of another kindred race, although its peculiar existence, like that of Israel, has been justly called a standing miracle—the Arabs; and merely observe, that they possess nearly the whole of the open country, and Land of Promise, except Mount Libanus, (the different Tribes, according to Schultze, hiring of the Turkish bassas permission to occupy certain districts;) and that this tented people is the one of all others, which, if induced, or compelled to evacuate a territory, can do so with the greatest facility. But if we are told that even this land, if restored to Israel, would not suffice to maintain the immense increase of numbers promised to it on its final return, we observe, that one of the promises made to Abraham runs thus: 'Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates' (Genesis xv. 18.); a prophecy which certainly has never yet received its accomplishment.

If the first wonder of the Hebrew nation be its existence, national and religious, in its dispersion, such as we witness it, the second is that interment, as it were, of the ten tribes for above two thousand five hundred years, from whence, if there be
any

any faith in prophecy, they are to arise as from the tomb, to share the splendour of the revival of Israel. It is natural that the eye should seek with anxious curiosity for the hiding-place in which these illustrious exiles have so long lain buried. But hitherto we have conjecture alone for our guide; such as it is, it appears to point out preferably the Afghans as their descendants. Foster, in his journey from India overland, through their country, was forcibly struck by their Jewish physiognomy; Sir William Jones subsequently suggested that they might be the children of the ten tribes; and his supposition is countenanced by the fact, that the neighbouring nations believe them to have an Israelitish origin, and by a fact still more material, namely, that they themselves believe it too; for the Jewish name is in such unfavourable repute through the world, that no nation can be suspected of claiming such a descent gratuitously. Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, in his very interesting account of his mission to Caubul, throws much doubt on their Israelitish descent, for he states that no affinity exists between their language and the Hebrew; while, on the other hand, the Serampore missionaries (who have more recently and far more fully examined the matter) declare that in no eastern language have they discovered so many Hebrew roots as in the Pushtoo, or Afghan. All testimonies agree in attributing to them the qualities befitting them for mighty deeds. They are robust in their persons, and so brave, that they have long been known in the armies of India, as their most valiant soldiers, by the name of Patans. The Rohillas, whose courage we have experienced in the field, are a branch of the same people. They enjoy a considerable degree of freedom; are much given to field-sports and warlike exercises; and are, perhaps, the least intolerant of Mahometans. It is remarkable, that, excepting possibly that tribe which is contiguous to India,—for they also are divided into tribes,—and which is said to have imbibed its immoralities, they are represented as being unstained by the foulest of Asiatic vices. If the Afghans be the ten tribes, and the ten tribes be ‘the kings of the east,’ whose way may be even now preparing, that title may not be deemed too lofty for a nation which has held the thrones both of Persia and Hindostan.

Here this imperfect sketch of an inexhaustible subject must find its boundaries; such is that subject, that, though of the highest antiquity, it must always present something that is new and strange, as well as rich and rare; and we trust to the novelty of matters, which, as it appears to us, we have been able to present to view—by no means to the manner in which these have been treated—for exciting some livelier interest in the present crisis of the Hebrew nation. We believe we shall gratify all our
readers

readers by transcribing, in conclusion, Mr. Wolff's translation of a Hymn which forms part of the Liturgy now in use among the *Caraites* in Jerusalem.

Cantor. On account of the palace which is laid waste :

People. We sit down alone and weep.

Cantor. On account of the temple which is destroyed :

People. We sit down alone and weep.

Cantor. On account of the walls which are pulled down :

People. We sit down alone and weep.

Cantor. On account of our majesty which is gone :

People. We sit down alone and weep.

Cantor. On account of our great men who have been cast down :

People. We sit down alone and weep.

Cantor. On account of the precious stones which are burned :

People. We sit down alone and weep.

Cantor. On account of the priests who have stumbled :

People. We sit down alone and weep.

Cantor. On account of our kings who have despised him :

People. We sit down alone and weep.

Cantor. We beseech thee, have mercy upon Sion.

People. Gather the children of Jerusalem.

Cantor. Make haste, Redeemer of Sion.

People. Speak to the heart of Jerusalem.

Cantor. May beauty and majesty surround Sion.

People. And turn with thy mercy to Jerusalem.

Cantor. Remember the shame of Sion.

People. Make new again the ruins of Jerusalem.

Cantor. May the royal government shine again over Sion.

People. Comfort those who mourn at Jerusalem.

Cantor. May joy and gladness be found upon Sion.

People. A branch shall spring forth at Jerusalem.'

Wolff's First Journal, pp. 266, 267.

ART. VI.—1. *Epistles in Verse.* London. 1828. 8vo. pp. 135.

2. *Italy, a Poem.* By Samuel Rogers. Part the Second. London. 1828. 12mo. pp. 188.

THE 'Epistles in Verse,' which we name at the head of this paper, are the productions of a man of polished taste and amiable feelings, who, with modesty little in accordance with the spirit of the times, disclaims the title of poet. That he might have earned that title, even in the high sense which he attaches to it, none who read his little volume will doubt; and we hope its readers will not be few: We have had enough of noisy and

impatient pretenders to genius of late years. Surely, real elegance has some right to attention.

Several of the epistles are addressed 'to an eminent poet,' and from one of these we quote a few lines, which will give a sufficient notion of the author's spirit and manner.

'Sweet though his numbers as the murmuring stream,
And bright each image as the morning beam,
Though the wit sparkle, tho' the passion flame,
And Fashion dictate to obedient Fame;
Yet—if the theme be grovelling or impure,
The verse is mortal:—it shall not endure:
Virtue's the vital spark, the deathless soul,
That must pervade, and animate the whole:
He from the altar borrows all his fires,
And consecrates to heav'n what heav'n inspires.

Oh haste! the laurel twine, the statue raise,
Vast the desert, and equal be the praise!
Lo! Plenty at his feet her tribute flings!
His rank with Princes, and his seat with Kings!
Ah no!—in penury, perhaps in shame,
He lives, whom lost, contending nations claim,
Lives—not dismay'd, nor murmuring at his lot,
Content though poor, not humbled though forgot.
He can at once foresee, and brave his doom,
Sure that the Palm shall flourish o'er the tomb,
The world's neglect with generous scorn repays,
And proud to serve mankind forgoes its praise.

How different is thy fate, accomplished friend!
Whom still the most commended most commend:
Thine all the honours of a well-earn'd name,
Secure of present as of future fame;
Thine fortune's favors too, and thine the art
(So rarely learnt) to use them, and impart.

Thus gifted, thus encouraged, be it thine
To lift thy light on high, and bid it shine,
A star! to guide the wanderer as he strays
O'er life's dark ocean, and its trackless ways:
Thy course so well begun pursuing still,
Obey thy call; thy destiny fulfil;
And pour out all the treasures of thy mind,
Bestow'd on thee, but meant for all mankind.'

Epistles, p. 10-12.

This call has not been made in vain; and the Second Part of Mr. Rogers's '*Italy*' will be considered, we think, as every way worthy of the author's high reputation. It consists, like the former, of a series of detached pictures, all of them touched with the delicate skill of a masterly artist, not a few of them conceived

in

in a spirit of chaste and noble pathos, such as the devourers of our modern poetry have had few opportunities of contemplating. Let the following specimen suffice :—

‘ THE NUN.

‘ ’Tis over ; and her lovely cheek is now
On her hard pillow—there, alas, to be
Nightly, thro’ many and many a dreary hour,
Wan, often wet with tears, and (ere at length
Her place is empty, and another comes)
In anguish, in the ghastliness of death ;
Her’s never more to leave those mournful walls ;
Even on her bier.

‘ ’Tis over ; and the rite,

With all its pomp and harmony, is now
Floating before her. She arose at home,
To be the show, the idol of the day ;
Her vesture gorgeous, and her starry head—
No rocket, bursting in the midnight sky,
So dazzling. When to-morrow she awakes,
She will awake as tho’ she still was there,
Still in her father’s house ; and lo, a cell
Narrow and dark, nought thro’ the gloom discerned,
Nought save the crucifix, the rosary,
And the grey habit lying by to shroud
Her beauty and grace.

When on her knees she fell,
Entering the solemn place of consecration,
And from the latticed gallery came a chant
Of psalms, most saint-like, most angelical,
Verse after verse sung out how holily,
The strain returning, and still, still returning,
Methought it acted like a spell upon her,
And she was casting off her earthly dross ;
Yet was it sad as sweet, and, ere it closed,
Came like a dirge. When her fair head was shorn,
And the long tresses in her hands were laid,
That she might fling them from her, saying, “ Thus,
Thus I renounce the world and worldly things ! ”
When, as she stood, her bridal ornaments
Were, one by one, removed, even to the last,
That she might say, flinging them from her, “ Thus,
Thus I renounce the world ! ” when all was changed,
And, as a nun, in homeliest guise she knelt,
Veiled in her veil, crowned with her silver crown,
Her crown of lilies as the spouse of Christ,
Well might her strength forsake her, and her knees
Fail in that hour ! Well might the holy man,
He, at whose feet she knelt, give as by stealth

('Twas in her utmost need ; nor, while she lives,
Will it go from her, fleeting as it was)
That faint but fatherly smile, that smile of love
And pity !

Like a dream the whole is fled ;
And they, that came in idleness to gaze
Upon the victim dressed for sacrifice,
Are mingling in the world ; thou in thy cell
Forgot, TERESA. Yet, among them all,
None were so formed to love and to be loved,
None to delight. adorn ; and on thee now
A curtain, blacker than the night, is dropped
For ever ! In thy gentle bosom sleep
Feelings, affections, destined now to die,
To wither like the blossom in the bud,
Those of a wife, a mother ; leaving there
A cheerless void, a chill as of the grave,
A languor and a lethargy of soul,
Death-like, and gathering more and more, till Death
Comes to release thee. Ah, what now to thee,
What now to thee the treasures of thy Youth ?
As nothing !

But thou canst not yet reflect
Calmly ; so many things, strange and perverse,
That meet, recoil, and go but to return,
The monstrous birth of one eventful day,
Troubling thy spirit—from the first, at dawn,
The rich arraying for the nuptial feast,
To the black pall, the requiem.

All in turn
Revisit thee, and round thy lowly bed
Hover, uncalled. Thy young and innocent heart,
How is it beating ! Has it no regrets ?
Discoverest thou no weakness lurking there ?
But thine exhausted frame has sunk to rest.
Peace to thy slumbers !—*Italy*, p. 53-58.

Two or three fragments of *prose* are, not appended to, but interspersed in, the texture of this portion of Mr. Rogers's work—a circumstance which might, we think, have been avoided, and which, we hope, the author will reconsider. The fragments, however, are in themselves beautiful, and it is from one of them that we shall take our text for some observations on a subject which we consider as, at this time, of high and serious importance.

'If life be short,' (says Mr. Rogers,) 'not so to many of us are its days and its hours. When the blood slumbers in the veins, how often do we wish that the earth would turn faster on its axis, that the sun
would

would rise and set before it does ; and to escape from the weight of time, how many follies, how many crimes, are committed ! Men rush on danger, and even on death. Intrigue, play, foreign and domestic broil, such are their resources ; and when these things fail, they destroy themselves. Now in travelling we multiply events, and innocently. We set out, as it were, on our adventures ; and many are those that occur to us, morning, noon, and night. The day we come to a place which we have long heard and read of,—and in Italy we do so continually,—it is an era in our lives ; and from that moment the very name calls up a picture. How delightfully, too, does the knowledge flow in upon us, and how fast ! Would he who sat in a corner of his library, poring over books and maps, learn more or so much in the time, as he who, with his eyes and his heart open, is receiving impressions all day long from the things themselves ? How accurately do they arrange themselves in our memory,—towns, rivers, mountains ;—and in what living colours do we recall the dresses, manners, and customs of the people ! Our sight is the noblest of all our senses. “ It fills the mind with most ideas, converses with its objects at the greatest distance, and continues longest in action without being tired.” Our sight is on the alert when we travel ; and its exercise is then so delightful, that we forget the profit in the pleasure. Like a river, that gathers, that refines as it runs, like a spring that takes its course through some rich vein of mineral, we improve and imperceptibly—nor in the head only, but in the heart. Our prejudices leave us, one by one. Seas and mountains are no longer our boundaries. We learn to love, and esteem, and admire beyond them. Our benevolence extends itself with our knowledge. And must we not return better citizens than we went ? For the more we become acquainted with the institutions of other countries, the more highly must we value our own.

‘ I threw down my pen in triumph. “ The question,” said I, “ is set to rest for ever. And yet—”

“ And yet—” I must still say. The wisest of men seldom went out of the walls of Athens ; and for that worst of evils, that sickness of the soul, to which we are most liable when most at our ease, is there not, after all, a surer and yet pleasanter remedy—a remedy, for which we have only to cross the threshold ?

The English have long held the character of a travelling people ; a peculiarity derived partly from our commercial eminence and naval power ; principally, we believe, from the habits of intellectual and political energy engendered by our free institutions at home. Our frequent exclusion from the continent, during protracted wars, has further had the effect of giving a sudden fashion to foreign travel, when the obstruction was removed. Still this migration was comparatively limited in extent. A certain number of noble or wealthy families, with a befitting proportion of eldest sons, pursued the beaten road of France and Italy ; bringing home the

the record of three days of arduous adventures in crossing those Alps, which are now surmounted in a few hours. Some men of letters or science, a few artists, and a somewhat more numerous body of the idlers who belong to every age, followed in their train. The protracted residence of families abroad was, however, comparatively infrequent; and, though Paris and Spa took their annual contributions from England, Rome had not yet risen to the dignity of an English colony, nor French châteaux and Italian villas been translated in perpetuity to English possessors.

The interval since the last peace may be said to have changed our whole mode of social existence in this respect, and, especially, when contrasted with the twenty preceding years of separation from the continent. Instead of tours to the Welsh mountains and Cumberland lakes, and Scotch tours long and short, with the more arduous daring of a few detached travellers round the edges and outskirts of the prohibited countries, the tide of travel has of late set impetuously over every part of Europe, carrying with it all sorts and conditions of people; some as tourists, some as residents; some urged by poverty, others by wealth; some by active curiosity, others by idleness and ennui. It is useless to describe in much detail, what all know as matter of daily observation. The wonted habits of social and family life amongst us have all been more or less modified by this cause. If there be a sudden accession of fortune, the earliest use of it is in passing over to the continent; if misfortunes occur, the first suggestion is that of seeking solace in another land. The assumption of the *toga virilis* by our youth may be practically translated, the putting on of the travelling cloak. Marriage, instead of being the means of more extended family union, is the plea for immediate separation. The wholesome feeling of new ties and duties, of having 'given hostages to fortune,' is broken; and the newly married pair drive from the church to the packet boat. If the elders of a family are snatched away by death, the first idea which occurs to their successors is that of distant removal from home. Sorrows are not endured, but fled from; and misfortune becomes the signal for dispersion to those who survive it.

The giant power of the steam-vessel lends its aid to this migrating spirit, and gives an almost supernatural facility to the means of changing place. We cannot but feel a certain awe, mixed with admiration, in looking to the future changes which this great motive agent may effect in the state of the world. The main object of the busy age in which we live is to shorten distance, and to save time. For this hills are levelled and vallies filled up, canals dug, rivers spanned, and the steam-engine made, in a thousand ways, to supply the offices of human hands. From the most trivial im-

provement

provement in the spoke of a wheel, to the gigantic projection of the Menai bridge, all the efforts of human invention have this end more or less in view. Seconding this restlessly energetic spirit, the steam-vessel has come forth upon the seas; a floating bridge, as it were, between remote lands; curtailing distance, and giving speed and certainty, where, before, time and safety were at the mercy of the winds. We have already seen the effects of this great discovery in time of peace. It remains yet to be known what may be its influence upon the condition of war; for that such a power can be inert or neglected, that the steam-vessel can sleep upon the ocean, when the passions of men are awake, and the rivalry of nations called forth, may well be deemed impossible in the present state of the world.

Here, however, we are digressing from the subject before us, and giving, perhaps, a colouring too general and glaring for the sober reality of our purpose.

‘Many gentlemen,’ says an old English author, ‘many gentlemen coming to their lands sooner than to their wits, adventure themselves to see the fashion of other countries; whence they see the world, as Adam had knowledge of good and evil, with the loss or lessening of their estate in this English paradise; and bring home a few smattering terms, flattering garbs, apish carriages, foppish fancies, foolish guises and disguises, the vanities of neighbour nations.’

The fashion thus quaintly condemned, prevails infinitely more at present than it did in the days of old Purchas. We desire to repress, as far as our influence will go, that vague and restless repetition of continental tours so frequent among our countrymen at the present time; and it is yet more earnestly our intent to remonstrate against the long residence of English families abroad, and the education of their children on a foreign soil. We seek not, and wish not, to check that active and enterprising spirit of observation, which, as we have before said, we believe to be mainly an effect of our free institutions, extended education, and high state of social culture at home. We feel a reasonable pride in the fact, that, while in other nations travelling is limited to certain of the aristocracy and to a few scientific men, England sends forth intelligent travellers from almost every class and order of society. It may be conceded that there are many usurping this character, who might far better have been treading their turnip fields, or superintending their warehouses at home, than traversing the Alps, criticising the Pantheon, or loitering through the galleries of the Vatican. Ridicule has followed such instances, and will continue to appropriate them; but it can have no power, as applied to that large body of intelligent men, who seek to inform their minds and cultivate their tastes, by the observation which
other

other countries supply. Above all, it never can, nor ought to apply to that bold and masculine spirit of discovery, which, disdain-
ing danger, seeks to extend the knowledge and dominion of man to the utmost limits of the globe he inhabits. We have derived much glory, at all times, from such enterprises; and it is in some sort a national duty to foster them—conducting, as they do, not merely to the extension of knowledge, but also to the life and energy of the national character.

With those who have offended against the laws or moral usages of their country, and who seek refuge or retirement elsewhere, we can have no concern. A much larger class, whose absence from their native soil we may deplore, though we cannot reprehend it, are those, whose slender means induce them to seek the cheapness of foreign living; and to domiciliate themselves where they may be comparatively exempt from taxes, and can give a certain amount of education to their families at an easier rate. Milton has said that ‘there cannot be a more ill-boding sign to a nation, than when the people, to avoid hardships at home, are enforced by heaps to forsake their native country.’ While lamenting, however, the fact of which we have spoken, we do not draw any lasting ill-augury from it. The effect, to some extent, was almost inevitable, from the circumstances of England since the close of the late war. Thousands of families, depending on public employment, were suddenly thrown upon diminished means of subsistence, and with little prospect of changing their lost occupation for another. The fluctuations and lessened profits of commerce, and the wild and profligate speculations which ensued, have further contributed to this result. At the same time, the great facility of travelling has doubtless carried this migration farther than it would otherwise have gone; affording, therefore, a presumption, that the changes needful to stop or lessen it are not out of the reach of probable occurrence. We shall rejoice when they do occur; for we can appreciate the evil, though unable to suggest an adequate remedy for it.

With respect to those who seek health from foreign climates, we profess not to be able to judge how the record stands; and should hesitate in giving an opinion, on partial knowledge, concerning a point of such very serious importance. Yet we cannot refrain from stating our belief, and this on the authority of intelligent physicians, as well as from personal observation, that much mischief is done by committing invalids to long and precarious journeys, for the sake of doubtful benefits. We have ourselves seen consumptive patients hurried along, through all the discomforts of bad roads, bad inns, and indifferent diet, to places, where certain partial advantages of climate poorly compensated

compensated for the loss of the many benefits which home and domestic care can best afford. We have seen such invalids lodged in cold, half-furnished houses, and shivering under blasts of wind from the Alps or Apennines, who might more happily have been sheltered in the vales of Somerset or Devon. On this topic, however, we refrain from saying more—further than to state our belief, that much misapprehension generally prevails, as to the comparative healthiness of England, and other parts of Europe. Certain phrases respecting climate have obtained fashionable currency amongst us, which greatly mislead the judgment as to facts. The accurate statistical tables, now extended to the greater part of Europe, furnish more secure grounds of opinion; and from these we derive the knowledge, that there is no one country in Europe where the average proportion of mortality is so small as in England. Some few details on this subject we give in the subjoined note,—tempted to do so by the common errors prevailing in relation to it*.

We would further narrow our subject, by declining what may be termed the financial and political part of it. Whatever argument may be held by theorists as to the large expenditure of English residents abroad, and the possibility of an equivalent in its indirect effects on commerce, and by the operation of bills of exchange, little question can exist as to the direct injury to the revenue from this widely spreading absenteeism. We do not pretend to estimate the amount lost to taxation from this source, nor would it be easy to obtain data on which to decide the point; but it cannot be other than considerable, looking at the number of large houses in every county in England closed from the absence of their owners, and their establishments removed or reduced. The same inference occurs as strongly in traversing France, Italy, Switzerland, or the Netherlands, and observing the numerous English families domiciliated, not only in the capitals, but even in the smaller provincial towns throughout these countries. The question we believe to have occurred, whether any legislative means should be adopted to lessen the evil, by extending taxation in some form to absentees. The idea, if it existed, has probably been abandoned from the difficulty of the measure, and its doubtful constitutional

* The proportion of deaths to the population is nearly one-third less in England than in France. Comparing the two capitals, the average mortality of London is about one-fifth less than that of Paris. What may appear a more singular statement, the proportion of deaths in London, a vast and luxurious metropolis, differs only by a small fraction from that of the whole of France; and is considerably less than the average of those Mediterranean shores which are especially frequented by invalids for the sake of health. In Italy, the proportion of deaths is a full third greater than in England; and even in Switzerland and Sweden, though the difference be less, it is still in favour of our own country.

character, in any other mode than by a general property tax. But we leave this, and recur to our more immediate object.

The calendars and police reports of the last few years make it too certain, that the amount of crime has increased in England within that period; and this in districts purely agricultural, as well as in the towns and manufacturing counties. Increase of crime in such situations is usually the effect of some increase of poverty and distress; and of this, also, we fear there is evidence given by those who best know the state of our rural population. Among the various causes, more or less important, which have contributed to this effect, we believe ourselves fully authorized in reckoning, as one, the frequent and prolonged absences of so many landed proprietors on the continent. We have already slightly alluded to that intrepid doctrine of certain economists of the modern school, which teaches us that absenteeism is not only innoxious, but even a source of wealth and prosperity to a country. We willingly leave the general assertion untouched for discussion elsewhere—satisfying ourselves, meanwhile, with the concession, which even these hardy speculators make, that the absence of proprietors may be a source of local evil in the immediate circle surrounding each. We scarcely, indeed, require this concession, where the fact is so palpable; and do but notice it, that the ground may be wholly clear of objection or cavil for what we have to say on this point, one of the most important in the subject before us.

We will not indulge in declamation on the honourable condition of an English nobleman or country gentleman, residing the greater part of the year on his estates; the centre of family connexions; opening his family mansion with munificent hospitality; preserving the attachment, encouraging the industry, and sustaining the moral habits of his tenantry; performing the various local duties of a magistrate and citizen—and, it may be, a higher duty in the parliament of his country. Such descriptions, however true, are less in unison with the temper of the age than we should desire. A spirit of depreciation is abroad on this, as on many similar topics—mischievous in its effects, in various ways. In contradiction to it, we broadly state our belief, that in no respect has England been more eminent, in comparison with other nations, than in the character and habits of her aristocracy; including under this term all the large proprietors, whether titled or untitled, of the country. We state this conviction impartially, not as mere matter of closet speculation, but on the better grounds of actual observation, directed to this point, in various parts of Europe.

The country-seats of England form, indeed, one of the most remarkable

remarkable features, not only in English landscape, but yet more in what may be termed the genius and economy of English manners. Their great number throughout the country, the varied grandeur and beauty of their parks and gardens, the extent, magnificence, and various architecture of the houses, the luxurious comfort and completeness of their internal arrangements, and their relation generally to the character of the peasantry surrounding them, justify fully the expression we have used. No where has this mode of life attained so high a degree of perfection and refinement. We will allude to two circumstances, amongst many others, in illustration. The first of these is, the very great number of valuable libraries belonging to our family-seats. It has been sometimes remarked as singular, that England should possess so few great public libraries, while a poorer country, like Germany, can boast of its numerous and vast collections at Vienna, Prague, Munich, Stutgard, Goettingen, Wolfenbuttel, &c. The fact is partly explained by the many political divisions and capitals, and by the number of universities in Germany. But a further explanation may be found in the innumerable private libraries dispersed throughout England—many of them equal to public ones in extent and value, and most of them well-furnished in classics, and in English and French literature. We may further allude, in speaking on this subject, to the numerous works of art, particularly pictures, which are similarly scattered through our English country-seats. It may be alleged, that these would confer more benefit upon the arts, if collected into large galleries in our cities. It may be so; yet we own that we should see with some reluctance these ornaments displaced from the family mansions of our gentry. The moral effect, derived from the frequent presence to the eye of objects of taste, is well suited to the worthiest motives of residence in the country; and is comparatively lost in the casual, hasty, and crowded gazing of the city gallery. Let the town have its collections of art, but not at the expense of the country.

The other peculiarity we would name about our English country-houses is, that they do not insulate their residents from the society and business of active life; which insulation is probably a cause, why so many proprietors in other countries pass their whole time in the metropolis or larger towns. The facility and speed of communication in England link together all places, however remote, and all interests, political and social, of the community. The country gentleman, sitting at his breakfast-table a hundred miles from London, receives the newspapers printed there the night before; his books come to him still damp from the press; and the debates in Parliament travel to every country-house
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in England within fifty or sixty hours of the time when they have taken place. The like facility exists as to provincial interests of every kind. The nobleman or country gentleman is a public functionary within his district, and no man residing on his estates is, or need feel himself, unimportant to the community.

The moral influence of a resident landlord on his tenantry is as great, and ought to be as beneficial, in England as in any other country in the world. We are not without fear that it had, in some respects, diminished, even before the cause of absence arose which we are now considering. The fluctuations in rent, and the introduction of manufactures into many districts, before agricultural only, have contributed to this effect. The disuse of many old festivals, which were wont to assemble the tenantry round the mansion-house, the decay even of many ancient local superstitions, and the abridgment of country sports, have had part in the change to which we allude. 'There has never been a merry world,' says Selden, 'since the fairies left dancing, and the parson left conjuring.' We have our regrets, connected with some of these changes; but, whatever be their degree and effect, the influence of the resident proprietor is still a most important one upon his dependants. If modern refinements abridge it, by rendering intercourse less familiar, they add, perhaps, something on the score of respect. The progress of improvement, moreover, enables the landlord to give various aids and encouragements to his tenantry, and to establish a more intimate community of interest with them; while the influence of the religious and moral habits of his family must ever be great in the circle immediately surrounding him.

M. Dupin, in describing the country-seats of England, has quitted the sobriety belonging to his subject, and portrayed them in phrases somewhat more glowing than is consistent with English notions of style. We select but one passage from among many such :—

'Ah! je conçois que les plus riches habitans des trois royaumes désertent avec empressement les capitales les plus éblouissantes et les plus fastueuses, pour venir goûter, dans le silence et la paix, des plaisirs si pleins de charme et d'innocence. En rappelant ces plaisirs à ma pensée, je sens qu'ils me séduisent encore d'un attrait irrésistible: et pourtant il leur manquait à mes yeux un enchantement qui manquait aux jardins même d'Armide, pour Renaud épris d'amour: c'est le bonheur qu'on éprouve à la vue des beautés de la terre natale. Aspects sublimes de l'Angleterre et de la Calédonie, je n'éprouvois donc pas à vous contempler, ce qui doit donner sur vos patriotiques habitans, le plus de puissance à votre charme! '*

We have dwelt on this topic of English country life longer than

* Force Commerciale de la Grande Bretagne.

may seem needful, partly, because pleasurable to ourselves, and one which we would not willingly see forgotten by others; principally, because it much enforces our argument against protracted residence abroad. For what is the condition of the country-seat of the absentee proprietor? The mansion-house deserted and closed; the approaches to it ragged and grass grown; the chimneys, 'those windpipes of good hospitality,' as an old English poet calls them, giving no token of the cheerful fire within; the gardens running to waste, or, perchance, made a source of menial profit; the old family servants dismissed, and some rude bailiff, or country attorney, ruling paramount in the place. The surrounding cottagers, who have derived their support from the vicinage, deprived of this, pass into destitution and wretchedness; either abandoning their homes, throwing themselves upon parish relief, or seeking provision by means yet more desperate. The farming tenantry, though less immediately dependent, yet all partake, more or less, in the evil. The charities and hospitalities which belong to such a mansion lie dormant; the clergyman is no longer supported and aided in his important duties; the family pew in the church is closed; and the village churchyard ceases to be a place of pleasant meeting, where the peasant's heart is gladdened by the kindly notice of his landlord.

We must not be accused of overcharging this picture, for we have ourselves seen all that we describe. We remember, too, with painful exactness, the expressions and tone of some of those remaining behind in these deserted places; the mixture of sorrow and bitterness with which they told, in answer to our enquiries, 'that the family were gone to live somewhere in France, had sent away the servants, and shut up the house.' Is it to be wondered at that distress and crime should follow close upon all this? And if it be so, are those altogether innocent who can consent to forfeit the fair condition in which Providence has placed them, as the protectors of the happiness and virtue of others?

Among the causes which have led of late to the protracted residence of English families abroad, one especially we are bound to notice and comment upon—we mean the desire of avoiding those changes in the mode of living at home, which a lessened income makes expedient or necessary. Every one knows to what extent this motive has had effect. The high agricultural prices and commercial profits, during the war, raised the scale of living generally among the higher classes, and even much lower down in society. The present altered rate of profits on every branch of produce and industry has revoked this effect, and created the need of considerable retrenchment in expenditure; though, by no means, we believe, to the same level at which it stood twenty or
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twenty-five years ago. It is the struggle against this retrenchment, the 'paupertatis pudor et fuga,' which has caused hundreds of English families, of property and consideration, to desert their family places, and to pass year after year in residence abroad. At the close of each London season, the question too often occurs as to the best mode of evading return to the country; and the sun of summer, instead of calling back the landlord to his tenants, and to the harvests of his own lands, sends him forth to the meagre adventures of continental roads and inns. Making fit allowance for particular instances, we cannot hesitate to call the motive an unworthy one, and injurious in its moral effects. It has been well said, by an acute observer, that 'the eyes of other people are the eyes which ruin us.' How much more noble that fortitude of mind (happily not without many examples amongst us) which can dare to be poorer at home; can condemn the opinions of the idle and impertinent; and honourably and openly submit to those changes which an altered fortune may require. So to submit is to master fortune, and not to be overcome by it. The pride of a generous mind will be to persist in its duties, however their scale be reduced by circumstances;

'Inconcessa tenens dubio vestigia mundo.'

And, in truth, by such change, the duties of life are often increased instead of lessened in importance; to fly from which duties is to abase the character of the individual in his own esteem, without gaining it credit with the world. For public feeling is often generous and wise, beyond the calculations of those who most assiduously court it; and we are well persuaded that, in this instance, even a selfish and worldly policy would dictate the same course, as that which comes better recommended by its fortitude and manly virtue.

And what, we go on to ask, is this life abroad, for which the English family exchange that of their native soil? We can confidently say, that its pleasures are far from being of an unmixed kind. Actual travelling, indeed, we believe to be a much better condition than stationary residence abroad; yet even from this are to be made many deductions for mortifications and discomforts. The man whom we have known to be surrounded by respect and attachment at home, whose life is honourable and useful within his proper sphere, we have seen with his family drudging along continental roads, painfully disputing with postilions in bad French, insulted by the menials of inns, fretting his time and temper with the miserable creatures who inflict their tedious ignorance under the name of guides, and only happy in reaching any term to the journey which fashion or family intreaty have forced

forced upon him. We are willing, however, to regard such instances as casual, and proving only that travelling, like other pleasures, has its alloys; but stationary residence abroad brings with it other and more serious evils. To the animation of a changing scene of travel, succeeds the tedious idleness of a foreign town, with scanty resources of society, and yet scantier of honourable or useful occupation. Here also we do but describe what we have too frequently seen,—the English gentleman, who at home would have been improving his estates, and aiding the public institutions of his country, abandoned to utter insignificance; his mind and resources running waste for want of employment, or, perchance, turned to objects to which even idleness might reasonably be preferred. We have seen such a man loitering along his idle day in streets, promenades, or coffee-houses; or sometimes squandering time and money at the gambling table, a victim because an idler. The objects of nature and art, which originally interested him, cease altogether to do so. In some instances, it has been in our power to trace the progress of this debasement of life through all its stages; in many we have seen it in its results, and extending alike to the other parts of his family. They are equally detached from all habitual employments and duties; the salutary feeling of home is lost; early friendships are dissevered, and life becomes a vague and restless state, freed, it may seem, from many ties, but yet more destitute of the better and purer pleasures of existence.

We admit many exceptions to this picture; but we, nevertheless, draw it as one which will be familiar to all, who have been observers on the Continent. One circumstance must further be added to the outline: we mean, the detachment from religious habits, which generally and naturally attends such residence abroad. The means of public worship exist to our countrymen but in few places; and there under circumstances the least propitious to such duties. Days speedily become all alike; or if Sunday be distinguished at all, it is but as the day of the favourite opera, or most splendid ballet of the week. We are not puritanically severe in our notions, and we intend no reproach to the religious or moral habits of other nations. We simply assert, that English families removed from out of the sphere of those proper duties, common to every people, and from all opportunities of public worship or religious example, incur a risk which is very serious in kind, especially to those still young and unformed in character.

And this leads us to another point, which we cannot refrain from touching upon, however unwillingly; viz., the influence of foreign residence upon English female character, and, particularly, upon our young countrywomen. That this question is

an interesting one, who will deny? We preface our answer to it by again saying, that we intend no objection to mere travelling on the continent; and that we even think it right, if this can be done without the desertion of duties at home, that English women should climb Swiss mountains, visit cities, cathedrals, and ruins, and study in Italian picture-galleries. The social state in England requires a fit proportion of cultivation between the sexes, and this is one mode of maintaining it: but going thus far, we must add our decided conviction, that continued or repeated residence abroad is, in various respects, injurious to the character of English women; and that all the objections we have already stated, apply with ~~two~~-fold force to the female part of families so circumstanced. The detachment from former habits is here more complete, and the mode of life is one yet more at variance with the peculiar duties and graces of the sex. We shall be censured as old-fashioned monitors, if we talk of 'the worthy knowledges which belong to the vocation of the English housewife;' but it can never be out of season to speak of those endearing domestic qualities, which refuse foreign nurture, even under the warmest suns and fairest skies, and can nowhere be so well fostered as in the tranquillity of home. The objects and motives, which best give guidance to conduct, are wanting abroad; and their place is too often usurped by others, of harmful tendency to the reserve and delicacy of the female character. It has too frequently occurred to us to see young Englishwomen, who, living at home, would have been the ministers of innocent cheerfulness to their own families, and of charity and consolation to the poor around, become, when transplanted to a foreign town, either insignificant idlers, or, yet worse, bold, unfeminine, and too prodigal of their favours to the doubtful society which so often surrounds them. On the latter point more might easily be said; but we satisfy ourselves by a simple allusion to it. We have no pleasure, indeed, in making these remarks, and very willingly admit great exception to them; but we may appeal to those who most intimately know the state of English society abroad, whether there is not too frequent reality in the picture, and whether the general influence of that life upon female character is not such, that no accomplishments of language, dress, music, or manners, can make sufficient compensation for the change?

A claim of exemption from all that we have said, may perchance be made for that select society of our continental residents, who have taken Italy for their province, and Rome for their city of abode; and are wont, on this score, to assume higher prerogatives than belong to ordinary travellers. These are the persons whose talk is of statues, pictures, and columns ;
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who honour the Pantheon with their patronage, and play the part of cicerone to each well-accredited new-comer; mixing, however, with their regard for antiquity, a befitting respect for cardinals, ambassadors, princes, and the other appurtenances of modern Rome. But we must tell it as a secret, for the benefit and consolation of our less travelled countrymen, that even to these select and initiated personages, Rome soon ceases to be really more than Brussels or Boulogne. The patrons, or patronesses of the Eternal City (for, whimsically enough, the majority has generally been a female one) speedily lose the doubtful love they ever had for the memorials of ancient time and art; while they bring to the soil of the Scipios and Gracchi, all the vapouring vanities and petty intrigues of a modern metropolis. Were we disposed to chronicle the minor follies of the time, we might give some curious details on this subject; but we leave such anecdotes to the novelist of manners, scrupling to mix them up with our present more serious purpose.

In relation to this purpose, we have yet one further remark to make, viz., that the return of an English family to their native seat, after such prolonged absence, is not always a replacement of things as they were before. Habits are altered—ties and associations broken; a vague desire of further change supplants too often the tranquil feelings of a domestic life, and interferes with its duties; and retirement for a time is too often regarded merely as giving a fresh claim to evasion from it. To this cause may be attributed the frequent repetition of journeys to the continent, hardly less injurious than prolonged stay there, and far exceeding the limits of a laudable curiosity. Restlessness is a quality which propagates itself; and this is no less true with regard to families than to individuals.

We have still some observations to make on the travelling of young Englishmen; these, however, will be much abridged by what we have already said on the same topics as applied to families; and, with respect to the general question of education abroad, it involves too many points to be safely treated of in the cursory way in which alone we could now take it up. It is told of one of the wise ministers of Elizabeth's reign that, when applied to by the young nobles or gentlemen of that day, for passports for foreign travel, he had the habit of questioning them as to their knowledge of their own country; and, if they were found wanting in this, of remanding them for a season to their studies at home. The temper of the present age is not that of submission to restrictions; and we assuredly have no design of proposing a commission in Downing-street, under the presi-

dency of his Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, for the examination of all juvenile claimants of passports: but we may fairly suggest some circumstances to the consideration of the parents, or guardians, of our English youth, in reference to this important part of education, as we really deem it to be. The time which elapses between college, and an entrance on the more determinate duties in life, is too often regarded as a void, to be filled up in any, or the best way it can. Yet, this interval is of no small significance to the after character of the man; and often decides more of his future fate than the discipline of school and college, which comes before, or the first years of the business of life, which follow afterwards. Nor is the importance of the period lessened, if travelling be the occupation assigned to it. Life is here urged on with more rapid strides; the boy passes *per saltum* into the man; while by the removal of many of those restraints which domestic habits and connexions impose, he is much more open to receive all those impressions of good or evil import, to which novelty adds its influence in giving their effect upon the future character.

Our opinion on this matter is, that the residence of young Englishmen abroad at the present day, for the completion, as it is termed, of education, is, generally speaking, somewhat too early in date, and very often much too long in time. Travelling raises a superstructure rapidly, but there must be a fair and sufficient basis to build it upon, or the edifice soon falls to decay. The character should be in some degree determined, the understanding advanced, and knowledge attained, otherwise there is much risk in proportion to the benefits acquired. The aptitude for turning knowledge to account mainly depends on that already possessed; and this is particularly true as regards the objects and pursuits in foreign travel; where just observation is difficult, and false inferences are prompt to present themselves on every side. The man of thirty or forty may traverse Italy from north to south, without becoming either antiquarian, artist, or philosophical observer. The youth of eighteen or twenty, turned loose upon the same country, is in great danger of becoming a mere idler on its surface; or if he escape this Scylla may plunge into the worse Charybdis of a vague, precocious, and pretending knowledge, without depth or usefulness. *Inanibus aristis ante messem flavescit*. The successful cultivation of the mind by objects of art and taste is rarely attainable under a certain age; and the boy, aping the connoisseur, does but cast discredit on those who placed him in the way of becoming ridiculous. The Corinthian edifice should rest on a Tuscan foundation.

These effects of too early travelling are familiar to observation. Not less so those which depend on a residence abroad, too long

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or too often repeated. Every ill result is here variously multiplied to the young traveller. In the first place, the lengthened plan of absence lessens that zeal and activity of observation which is so much to be desired for him, both from the good it produces and the evil it prevents. What may be seen in the second year of travel, will not be seen in the first, and often escapes being seen altogether. The mind thus becomes inert, even amidst novelty and less is done from the larger scope that is given for doing. Then, again, this protracted stay abroad is often a serious misfortune in the idle and desultory life it is apt to produce. Without resorting to any common-place maxims on this matter, it is enough to say, that a young man loitering away his months in French or Italian capitals, especially if freely provided with the means of expense, is in a situation of no small peril to his character. If even he escape other and worse seductions, those of idleness are prompt to overtake and overcome him. The society, whether English or foreign, of these places—the climate—even the peculiar character of many of the objects of art which surround him, combine to relax the vigour of the mind, and to impair the habits of action. The objects of laudable ambition, and of permanent interest to future life, are removed from his view; and if long removed at this period, are with difficulty recalled. The void, so created, is ill supplied to a young Englishman, even by the better acquisitions of foreign literature and art. It is lamentably filled up by the frivolous coxcombry, or vicious dissipation, which too often are the consequences of a lengthened stay in foreign capitals. We must again remind our readers that we are censuring, not the custom, but the abuse, of travelling. We see, in fact, daily instances, giving us cause to lament both this protracted residence abroad, and also the habit of incessant transit across the Channel, which makes our young men more familiar with the passages, arcades, and cafes of the Palais Royal, than with the streets of our own metropolis. We have seen many who could name each single quay along the borders of the Seine; but who were totally ignorant of those great works of art, the bridges, docks, and warehouses of their native Thames, otherwise than as they hurried past them in the Calais steam-boat. That this frequent and prolonged residence at Paris is enervating to our English youth, it is impossible to deny. This, in truth, is to say the least in censure of it. The character and future prospects are often more seriously affected; and the peace of many an English family has been deeply wounded by the debaucheries of the French capital.

The race of travelling tutors has become, in great measure, extinct

extinct in modern fashion ; and those yet remaining, differ considerably, it would seem, from their predecessors. The Smollet of this day, in place of his Jolter, would have to represent a well-dressed Oxonian, some five or six years older than his pupil, and living on terms of fair familiarity with him throughout their continental tour. Whether these changes have more of good or evil in them, may admit of doubt ; and we have not time to balance the account. We must, however, state our conviction of its being highly important that every young Englishman, likely to have future place and consideration in his own country, should obtain good guidance for his travels through others, under whatsoever ~~form~~ name this guidance may come : nor, looking at the present surplus of well-informed men in England, can it be difficult to provide such assistance as may be effectual in giving the best direction to this most important point of education.

The importance of speaking the foreign languages, and especially French, early and well, is the argument we perpetually hear urged for the residence of our young countrymen on the continent. We might add, of our young countrywomen also ; for, by some process of reasoning, to us not very intelligible, it has been made to appear that the speaking of French is essential to female education, and that a young lady is barely presentable in society without this acquisition. The question chiefly belongs to the more extensive one of foreign education, yet pertains so far to our present object, that we cannot wholly neglect the consideration of it. To the general argument respecting languages we can concede something, but must not be called upon to grant too much. It is fair and reasonable to rate the speaking French well as a valuable accomplishment ; but too much, we venture to think, may be ‘ paid for this whistle ;’ and too much is paid, if it be purchased at the expense of residence abroad for this sole purpose ; and at the risk of abandoning, or even lessening, the attachment to our own literature ; to those works, which come to us consecrated by time and genius, in our native tongue.

In arguing on this subject, it is needful to discriminate between the several degrees, of understanding a foreign language so as to be familiar with its literature and best authors ; of speaking it adequately for common colloquial intercourse ; and of speaking it thoroughly and idiomatically as a native. The first acquirement, as respects French, is rightly common to all well-educated Englishmen ; the second is valuable, though not extensively useful, except abroad ; the third is seldom attained, and yet more rarely required. Yet it is this latter talent which is now generally and laboriously sought after, with little regard to the degree of useful-

ness resulting from it, and often at the expense of objects better worthy of pursuit. Fashion dominates in this, as in other things. Of late, its dictation has been to cradle children in French; often, even to prohibit English in the nursery and school-room; and, frequently, at a later time, to detach our youth from their own country, for the sake of forwarding the same object in foreign *pensions*, or schools. We have seen this fashion extending itself to more mature life; and serious and discreet men, senators and judges, toiling painfully through elements, vocabularies, and rules of pronunciation, to acquire an amount of speech, sufficient to attract ridicule and produce inconvenience, but very *inadequate* to any useful or ornamental purpose. We have already noticed, what is rather a suspicious indication on the subject, that this fashion of speaking foreign languages prevails most in the female education of the day, where it may fairly be presumed to be least needed, and where, indeed, it is often of very doubtful utility. Here it has even disputed the palm of precedence with music, strong as is the tenure of the latter in the present system of education.

We are not behind others in estimating the value of an attainment, which can only be debased by being made the object of an idle and indiscriminating fashion. We would appeal to all who have candidly observed, whether there be not reason for the distinction, and cause for the censure of this excess? We assert merely that too much general value is attached to a degree of perfection in the acquirement, which can only be really important to a few. We deprecate not the knowledge itself, but, simply, the too great price paid for it, in a prolonged, and otherwise fruitless residence abroad. We seek not to abridge, in any respect, the familiar and intimate study of the French and Italian classics; but we would conciliate this with a precedence to English literature: and we rather dwell upon this point, because we are convinced that the fashion of late years has tended to diminish the knowledge of, and veneration for, the great masters of our own tongue. We think that Spenser, Milton, and Dryden are altogether less familiar to the rising generation than they were to that which preceded it; notwithstanding the fashion of modern criticism, which, in default of fresher subjects, has so often gone back to explore the beauties of the earlier English poets. We will not say that our Shakspeare is neglected, for his age is ever fresh and green, and he comes reflected back to us from a thousand sources, whether in the tranquillity of home, the turbulent life of capitals, or the solitude of travel through distant lands.

Connected with the subject we are considering is a minor abuse,

abuse, to which we may slightly advert. We allude to that tasteless practice, engendered by the vanity of foreign travel, of mixing French words and idioms with our own language; not in the legitimate way of quotation, to enforce or illustrate the sense, but as mere substitutes, without use or significancy. We must not, indeed, quote this as exclusively a folly of modern fashion, inasmuch as we find many notices of it in our older writers. Butler, in his satirical character of the Traveller, thus describes him :

‘He hath worn his own language to rags, and patched it up with scraps and ends of foreign. He believes this raggedness of his discourse a great demonstration of the improvement of his knowledge, as Inns of Court men intimate their proficiency in the law by the tatters of their gowns.’ And the following passage occurs in a writer of yet earlier date. ‘Some far-journied gentlemen, at their return home, like as they love to go, in foreign apparel, so they will powder their talk with over-sea language. He that cometh lately out of France will talk French-English, and never blush at the matter.*

We do not think it necessary to vent any very grave indignation against the fashionable folly thus reprehended; even though we believe it to be much more general now than at any former time. Like most other similar foibles, it is, to a certain extent, self-corrective in its excess. The man of highest taste and breeding will disdain to impoverish his language by such admixture, or to seek for fame from the refuse scraps of French and Italian speech. But as real taste is the quality only of the few, and the major part of mankind are imitators of each other, from fashion, vanity, or other idleness, we must be content to submit to a certain amount of this foible, as long as our intercourse with the continent remains on its present footing.

Before closing an article in which it has been our object to point out and correct what we deem to be abuses in the travelling and residence of Englishmen abroad, we feel it, in some sort, incumbent upon us to suggest an equivalent for the subtraction we are proposing. Upon the absentee proprietor we have already urged the duty and the happiness of giving more of his time to residence on his estates; and this even in cases where his means are so far abridged, as to compel him to contract his general mode of living into a narrower compass. We would further indicate to him, and yet more especially and strongly to our English youth, the equivalent they might find for foreign tours in the more complete and careful survey of their own country. If the question be broadly stated, how to employ the years between college and active life, we answer as distinctly—Let the continent be seen, but let England be seen and studied. We cannot

* Wilson's *Art of Rhetorique*.

understand that person to have seen England, who is merely transported from place to place by four fleet horses, gaining thereby a competent knowledge of country-houses, watering places, race-courses, and the best manors for game. All this is good in its way, but our meaning goes beyond it. We desire that England should be seen in that which constitutes her greatness and effective power; in her vast and numerous works of industry, art, and genius; of which we are persuaded that few, even of our most intelligent countrymen, have really an adequate idea. Elsewhere such works, being for the most part the creation of governments, are made the theme of public reports and official commendation. In Great Britain, they have witnessed the silent, though rapid and vigorous growth of individual enterprise and ability; or of private associations, combining capital to enlarge the scope of its employment. Hence it is, that, although occupying every part and corner of the kingdom, these works are comparatively little known to public observation; and trophies of human art, which would call the English traveller, as a spectator, from one extremity of the Continent to the other, are passed unheeded within the limits of our own island. Instances of this ignorance often occur, where the condition of life might seem to render knowledge scarcely less than a positive duty. We do not hesitate to assert, that any young Englishman of intelligence and education would find ample resources in his own country, for occupying at least as much time as can be beneficially employed in foreign travelling; and with results, at least as favourable to the culture of his understanding. The two objects, however, are generally not incompatible, and we are far from seeking to inculcate any exclusive preference. What we contend for is, that such preference should be given where both are not attainable; and that, under all circumstances, a befitting proportion of time and attention should be devoted to the survey of all that England so largely furnishes to the eye of intelligent curiosity.

This latter topic is one upon which we might easily dilate; and the temptation is greater to do so from the want of some work which might serve as an adequate guide to the traveller in Great Britain. We should find pleasure, did our limits allow of it, in suggesting some form of outline for such a work. But as this would engage us too far on a new ground, we must be content to indicate merely a few of the greater objects of research to an English traveller in his own country.*

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* It is remarkable enough that there should not exist, at this time, one tolerable Guide Book to our own country. We have itineraries, indeed, which give faithful re-
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To the geologist, Great Britain offers an epitome of the world. With the exception of actual volcanic formations, and certain subordinate members in the series of rocks, few points of geological illustration are wanting to us; and some, as in the case of the coal, oolitic, and chalk formations, are more abundantly afforded than in almost any other country. Our mining districts are remarkable for their number, and the variety of their products. Within the limits of the island, nearly twenty separate coal districts are known, and in actual working. The vast, we might almost say, vital importance of these mines to the prosperity of England, is too well known to need remark. Our mines of copper, iron, lead, tin and rock-salt have also an extent and value in the national economy, which render them well worthy of observation: and we may further add, that no country has contributed more to enrich with the animal organic remains of former worlds, that great field of discovery, first brought to the character of a science by Cuvier, and since so zealously and successfully cultivated by British geologists.

To those interested in the mechanical sciences, and their application to manufactures and the arts, England offers larger scope of observation than any other country in the world. Throughout the vast establishments of our cotton, woollen, linen, silk, and hardware manufactures, there is even less to create astonishment in the multitude and variety of the products, than in the exquisite perfection of the machinery employed—machinery, such in kind, that it seems almost to usurp the functions of human in-

cord of miles and furlongs, of market towns and country seats, and sundry neat volumes, which treat of the wells, and other wonders, of each of our many watering places; but a fair index to England, in its present state, we do not yet possess; although more objects, worthy of note and research, present themselves on this small surface, than on any equal extent in the world. If a young Englishman desire to see thoroughly his native country (a desire we would fain render more frequent), or an intelligent foreigner arrive with the same intent, we know no single work, scarcely any set of works, to which we could conveniently refer them, as aiding their object. The many volumes of tours, English, Scotch, and Irish, which appeared during our exclusion from the continent, even if possessing more original merit than they generally did, are already antiquated and useless. The growth of England in arts, manufactures, agriculture, and public works, has been far too rapidly to be kept within the compass of these ephemeral writings: which, indeed, had chiefly concern with the natural beauties of the country. The works of an eminent foreigner, M. Dupin, which we have had occasion formerly to recommend to our readers, form, in fact, the best modern guide to the scientific traveller in England; limited, it is true, by the particular purposes of the author; but still affording a body of useful information, accurate for the most part and well arranged, such as cannot readily be found elsewhere—This reproach ought, on every account, to be removed from us. Not, however, by a mere bookseller's compilation, the *crambe recolta* of obsolete volumes, but by an enlightened and scientific work, the fruit of intelligent observation, and collected from the best sources. We should desire to see a book, having the same excellence as a general English Guide, which Conybeare and Philips's *Geology of England* possesses in its particular department.

telligence.

telligence. No one can conceive its completeness, who has not witnessed the workings of the power-loom, or seen the mechanism by which the brute power of steam is made to effect the most minute and delicate processes of tambouring. Nor can any one adequately comprehend the mighty agency of the steam-engine, who has not viewed the machinery of some of our mining districts, where it is employed on a scale of magnitude and power unequalled elsewhere. In Cornwall, especially, steam-engines may be seen working with a thousand horse power, and capable (according to a usual mode of estimating their perfection as machinery) of raising nearly 50,000,000 pounds of water through the space of a foot, by the combustion of a single bushel of coals.* No Englishman, especially if destined to public life, can fitly be ignorant of these great works and operations of art which are going on around him; and if time can be afforded in general education for Paris, Rome, and Florence, time is also fairly due to Glasgow, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and Sheffield.

Nor, speaking of the manufactures of England, can those be neglected, which depend chiefly or exclusively on chemical processes. It may be conceded, that the French chemists have had their share in the suggestion of these processes; but the extent, variety, and success with which they have been brought into practical operation in England, far surpass the competition of any other country. These are, perhaps, from their nature, and from the frequent need of secrecy, the least accessible of our manufactures to common observation; yet they nevertheless offer much that is attainable and valuable in research to the intelligent traveller.

Connected with our manufactures, are the great works of the civil engineer, which cover every part of England; the canals, roads, docks, bridges, piers, &c.; works which attest more obviously than any others the activity, power, and resources of the country. Amidst their multitude it would be impossible to pursue even the slight sketch we are now giving; and the less needful from the greater familiarity of the objects themselves. Yet even these, though more familiar to observation, are much less generally known than they merit to be. They are for the most part seen rather as matter of chance, than studied as monuments of

* It is a remarkable proof of the amount of improvement effected in some of the Cornish steam-engines, that the result obtained from a given quantity of coal, estimated in the manner alluded to above, is nearly three times as great now as it was twenty years ago. Nor will the spectator find more cause for astonishment in the magnitude of these engines, than in the order, or even beauty, of every minute part pertaining to them. The furniture of a drawing-room is not more scrupulously arranged, or preserved in a state of higher polish, than are those huge representatives of human power.

art, or as ministering largely to public utility. Our system of canal navigation, with all its great works of reservoirs, tunnels, aqueducts, locks, and embankments, might alone form the subject of long and interesting study, and has, in fact, been made so by M. Dupin, whose writings have done so much to illustrate the superiority of England in this and all other modes of internal intercourse. If called upon to propose any summer's journey for a young English traveller, (and it is a call often made with reference to continental tours,) we might reasonably suggest the coasts of Great Britain, as affording every kind of various interest which ~~any~~ possibility be desired. Such a scheme would include the ports and vast commercial establishments of Liverpool, Bristol, Greenock, Leith, Newcastle, and Hull, the great naval stations of Plymouth, Portsmouth, Chatham, and Milford, the magnificent astuaries of the Clyde and Forth, and of the Bristol Channel, not surpassed by any in Europe, the wild and romantic coasts of the Hebrides and Western Highlands, the bold shore of North Wales, the Menai, Conway, and Sunderland bridges, the gigantic works of the Caledonian Canal and Plymouth Breakwater, and numerous other objects, which it is beyond our purpose and power to enumerate. It cannot surely be too much to advise, that Englishmen, who have only slightly and partially seen these things, should subtract something from the length or frequency of their continental journeys, and give the time so gained to a survey of their own country's wonders of nature and art.

To the agriculturist, and to the lover of rural scenery, England offers much that is remarkable. The rich alluvial plains of continents may throw out a more profuse exuberance and succession of crops, but we doubt whether agriculture, as an art, has anywhere (except in Flanders and Tuscany alone) reached the same perfection as in the less fertile soils of the Lothians, Northumberland, and Norfolk. Still more peculiar is the rural scenery of England, in the various and beautiful landscape it affords—in the undulating surface—the greenness of the inclosures—the hamlets and country churches—and the farm-houses and cottages dispersed over the face of the country, instead of being congregated into villages, as in France and Italy. We might select Devonshire, Somersetshire, Herefordshire, and others of the midland counties, as pre-eminent in this character of beauty, which, however, is too familiar to our daily observation to make it needful to expatiate upon it.

Nor will our limits allow us to dwell upon that bolder form of natural scenery which we possess in the Highlands of Scotland, in Wales, Cumberland, and Derbyshire, and which entitles us to speak of this island as rich in landscape of the higher class. In the scale of objects, it is true that no comparison can exist between

tween the mountain scenery of Britain, and that of many parts of the continent of Europe. But it must be remembered, that magnitude is not essential to beauty; and that even sublimity is not always to be measured by yards and feet. A mountain may be loftier, or a lake longer and wider, without any gain to that picturesque effect, which mainly depends on form, combination, and colouring. Still we do not mean to claim in these points any sort of equality with the Alps, Apennines, or Pyrenees; or to do more than assert that, with the exception of these, the more magnificent memorials of nature's workings on the globe, our own country possesses as large a proportion of fine scenery as any part of the continent of Europe.

We have entered thus far into detail on these subjects, because we feel solicitous to revive the taste for travelling in our own country; and to call back from the continent that excess of time which is so often idly and superfluously spent there. We might, however, be fairly charged with neglect on our own part, were we to omit including Ireland in the recommendation we have been earnest to give. It is unhappily true, that many of the arguments we have used, in reference to England, are not equally applicable to that country; but other and not less powerful reasons might be given why Ireland ought not to be so much neglected, as it actually is, by the English traveller. In a country so important as an integral part of the British empire, presenting such striking peculiarities, physical and moral, in the condition of its people, and offering at this moment so many difficult and disputed questions in legislation, it is the duty of every man actually engaged in, or rising into public life, to become himself a personal observer, as far as circumstances make it possible. The direct good that might accrue to Ireland from such more intimate intercourse, would stand in some account. The indirect results of a more general and correct knowledge of this country may be estimated as of much higher value. Not is it on public considerations merely, that we strenuously urge the fitness of including Ireland among the various schemes of travel, which the fashion of the time is calling forth. The island, in almost every part of its circumference, abounds in objects of natural grandeur or beauty; and though the interior is comparatively tame and uninviting in landscape, the peculiar character and situation of the people in these districts must deeply excite the interest of an intelligent observer. It is true, that various inconveniences attend the present state of Irish travelling. These, however, are such, for the most part, as would be lessened or removed, were the country more habitually visited by strangers, and better tenanted by its own native proprietors; and that time may eventually produce such changes, is our fervent desire, and, we trust, not unreasonable hope.

• We

We must now hasten to bring this article to a close. The subject on which we have been engaged, might have been handled with ridicule, had we thought fit to do so. But we have designedly preferred, at the risk of being more tedious, to treat it with seriousness and candour, on the fair presumption that we should in this way gain more effectually upon those whom it is our object to persuade. Our intent has been, to point out and reprehend certain abuses of a custom, in itself laudable. It has been our especial object to show, that the man who makes his native soil his chief home, brings to himself more dignity and respect—to his family more peace and virtue—to his dependents more happiness—and to his country more usefulness, than he who, with his family, becomes an absentee on a foreign soil, and squanders in a vague and idle life elsewhere the time and the talents which might have been employed well and honourably here.

‘Plus habet hic vitæ, plus habet ille viæ.’

ART. VII.—*Historical Outline of the Establishment of the Turks in Europe.* London. 8vo., 1828.

THIS Outline, which is clearly and elegantly written, and which is commonly ascribed to the pen of Lord John Russell, may be recommended to the attention of readers who want leisure or opportunity for referring to the bulky works from which the author has drawn his statements. The subject is one, we need not say, of special interest at the present moment.

Fifteen years have nearly elapsed since the great conflict which terminated the struggles of the revolutionary war, and the federal interests of Europe are yet in a condition in which it is impossible that they should continue, destitute of any orderly combination, and, in many particulars, portending considerable changes. For an orderly combination of federal interests, which should afford security to the independence of the several states, it would be necessary that alliances should have been formed, the distinct object of which should be the protection of that independence against some specific danger, and that these alliances should be strengthened by a community of concern in some common arrangement. In the federative system which has perished, the Barrier Treaty constituted such a combination; and the situation of the Netherlands, as determined by that treaty, afforded the common concern, which connected the Empire with the two maritime governments of Great Britain and the Dutch provinces, in opposition to the ambition of France. In the present state of Europe no arrangement of this kind is discoverable; the several states are connected

connected by treaties, but in these treaties there is not any combination directed to the attainment of a common object. Every man, moreover, may see, that the Spanish peninsula must shortly pay the grievous penalty of despotism and bigotry in suffering all the calamities of revolution. The Turkish empire, too, is tottering to its base, and cannot long maintain itself against the pressure of a superior civilization, to which it will not, and cannot, assimilate itself. The situation, also, of Germany, no longer an empire, but a loose and scarcely connected confederacy, cannot be considered as ascertained; and Italy, pressed as it is by the power of Austria, and destitute of strength and combination, presents an ample subject of contemplation to the speculative politician.

In such a state of things, a subject of the British government is naturally prompted to meditate on the probable tendencies towards an orderly arrangement of political interests; and, with this view, to consider what has hitherto been done for effecting such an adjustment, since the former system of balanced policy was destroyed. England is too powerful to be a timorous spectator of passing events; too deeply interested in the general concerns of the world to be indifferent to their issues.

Almost forty years have elapsed since the monarchy of France, the mother-government of the principal states of Europe, yielded to the agency of causes which had long been undermining its institutions, and at length accomplished their overthrow. Such a revolution could not be effected without the aid of a wild spirit of democracy which, when encouraged by its own success, menaced with subversion and ruin the establishments of other governments, though in themselves not ill accommodated to the interests of nations, and not fitted, by the grossness of prevailing abuses, to provoke the spirit of innovation by which they were assailed. To the violence of French democracy the British empire became, almost necessarily, an object of early hostility. The ancient rivalry of the two countries, inflamed in the struggle of the separation of America, generated animosity. The very freedom of the British government which, by satisfying every reasonable desire of liberty, should have protected it against a mischievous desire of change, exposed it to the dangerous influence of a democratic revolution; because, under a free government there must always be found persons, disposed to push to excess the principles of freedom, and such persons cannot, under such a government, be debarred from opportunities of propagating their opinions. It became, therefore, indispensably necessary, that England should oppose herself early and perseveringly to the revolutionary frenzy of France, as to a principle of disorder and ruin, which could not otherwise be restrained from extending its operation over Europe, and,

and, especially, from breaking down and destroying the very asylum of interior liberty, and of free and independent policy.

Long and desperate was the contest thus waged by a government of regulated freedom against a great people convulsed by internal agitations, and eager to spread among other nations the misery of their own disorders. The spirit of democracy was, indeed, after a few years, subdued by its own excesses. A military despotism, however, the natural progeny of an unrestrained licentiousness of liberty, while it suppressed the interior struggles of the revolution, poured upon other countries, in a more concentrated and potent form, the malignant violence which was no longer directed to the excitement of domestic disturbance. The rage of conquest, accordingly, succeeded in the minds of the French to the fury of democracy; the glare of military triumph so dazzled a vain people, that the miseries by which it was purchased were not regarded; and, strange to say, there were still persons to be found, even among ourselves, who could imagine that the despot of France might be a useful ally to the friends of freedom.

While the British empire continued to maintain, with unshaken constancy, the sacred cause of independence, the states of the continent yielded, one after another, to the violence of France. The day of retribution, however, at length arrived. The thirst of dominion, rendered insatiable by gratification, provoked the independent spirit of the Spanish peninsula on the one part, and, on the other, would compel the nobles of Russia to sacrifice their own revenues, by entering into a combination for excluding Great Britain from the commerce of the continent. Aided by the popular feeling in the south, the Duke of Wellington taught the ablest of Buonaparte's lieutenants, that they were no longer, as they had vainly imagined, invincible: assisted by the severities of an inhospitable climate, Russia utterly ruined a most formidable army, led on to their destruction by Napoleon himself; and the field of Waterloo, in which at length the British general encountered our great adversary, finally decided the contest, and reduced France to the humiliation of submitting to be occupied for years by the armies of her enemies.

In this manner was concluded the struggle, immediately preceding the period of time which is the subject of our inquiry. In this struggle, all the efforts of our government were necessarily hostile; our confederacies were coalitions for combining military operations, not adjustments of the interfering interests of states for the maintenance of security and peace. It was followed by a period of adjustment, in the commencement of which were concluded the treaties of Vienna and of Paris.

When the great struggle had reached its termination, it became the

the duty of the powers confederated in resisting the violences of French ambition, to collect together the shattered members of the European system, and to endeavour to form them into a combined arrangement, by which the general security of nations might thenceforward be maintained. This, however, no treaties then concluded could adequately accomplish. At the close of a war which had raged, with little interruption, more than twenty years, the states of Europe could not be restored to the condition in which they had been before the commencement of the struggle. Many establishments had, in that long and disastrous interval, been wholly overthrown; many boundaries of nations had been removed in the ravages of hostile aggression; many urgent claims of compensation for past suffering had been created in the arduous contest. The negotiators, therefore, while they laboured to re-establish, as much as possible, the former relations of states, were compelled to introduce various changes, that their arrangements might be accommodated to the existing circumstances of Europe.

It is the best praise of the negotiators employed in this most important adjustment, that they should have departed as little from the ancient order of governments as the necessity of present circumstances would permit. The ardently speculative may complain, that they did not at once establish a system of political relations, which might ensure the long continuance of general tranquillity, by providing for the future exigencies of Europe.—We believe, however, this to have been a problem, the solution of which far transcended the ability of human wisdom; for, to the gradual changes which time alone must have wrought in the system of Europe, had been superadded the various revolutions effected in the violence of a tremendous and protracted struggle. It is a just observation of Mr. Burke, that no nation ever came out of a war precisely as it had engaged in the contest. What then must have been the changes, when all the nations of Europe had been engaged for years in a struggle of various success, in which all their energies were exerted, and the object was universal empire or national independence!

The French revolution had early overwhelmed the Netherlands and destroyed the independence of the Dutch; it had next crushed the Empire of Germany, establishing in its place the Confederacy of the Rhine, as a dependency of France, and the instrument of ulterior aggressions; and out of the spoils of Poland it had constituted, not a restored kingdom, but a Duchy of Warsaw, to be a frontier-post for watching the movements of Russia. These changes it was impossible wholly to undo; and all that negotiation could then accomplish, was to accommodate them, in the best possible manner, to the future tranquillity of Europe. The physician

sician cannot frame the constitution which demands to be rescued from the ravages of disease; neither can the statesman, at his pleasure, create the political establishments which he would combine in an arrangement favourable to the security and the happiness of nations.

For remedying the mischief done in the subjugation of the Netherlands and of the Dutch provinces, a kingdom of the Netherlands was constituted, in which these should be comprehended under a common sovereignty, and compose a monarchy of sufficient stability. The time had passed away in which these countries had ~~formed~~ the link, connecting the interests of Austria and of Great Britain; for the system itself, which was held together by that link, had perished. All, therefore, which the actual policy of Europe required, or admitted, was to give those provinces such a combination and solidity as might enable them to maintain themselves in any new arrangement of the general interests of Europe. Neither did any reason exist why the commercial interests of the other Netherlands should continue to be sacrificed to those of the Dutch states, for the Barrier Treaty, of which that sacrifice had been a main stipulation, had long ceased to exist, and would not, indeed, have been accommodated to any actual policy. To Austria, the final loss of these distant provinces was of small importance, and was satisfactorily compensated by cessions of other territories.

The Germanic empire it was quite impracticable to re-establish with any efficiency; and to make the attempt would have been a mere waste of diplomatic effort. That empire had long so entirely lost all its combination that, as a community, it had been but a name. Among its members, besides several states of considerable strength, were two powerful monarchies, one of which, on the suppression of the Germanic empire, had even assumed to itself the imperial dignity; and all that policy could suggest in a case of so great embarrassment, was to establish a Germanic confederacy for present regulation, leaving to future events to develop some new arrangement which might possess more union and efficiency. The efficiency of the federative constitution of the empire had, indeed, belonged to a period of time preceding the stipulations of the barrier treaty; for it had consisted in furnishing to the independent governments of Europe those relations of federal combination which, from the interior policy of Germany, had been previously transferred into the international policy of states.

Russia, which had suffered so much, and had done so much, in resisting and overpowering the domination of France, had, in the hour of triumph, a fair claim to considerable advantages, which were accordingly bestowed. Finland, which blockaded its capital, was, above all things, important even to its security. This territory

territory was accordingly transferred to it from Sweden, an abundant compensation being provided for the latter, by transferring Norway to its dominion, and thus uniting, under one monarchy, the whole of the Scandinavian peninsula. The Duchy of Warsaw, too, was offensive to this great empire, as obstructing its communication with the southern governments, and, in truth, a barrier erected against its power. The purpose of its formation had, indeed, ceased with the overthrow of the French power, of which it had been a dependency. With the change of political circumstances, it accordingly changed its political relation, and became a dependency of Russia, instead of looking to France for protection. That Russia should thus have been brought into an immediate contact with Austria, has been objected to the arrangements of the year 1815; but, if Russia is to be the state, the dread of which should furnish a principle of combination to the new system of Europe, she ought assuredly to be placed in contact with some powerful state, that the apprehension of encroachment may be immediately excited, and a resistance promptly opposed.

As the formation of the Duchy of Warsaw had taken from Prussia almost all its portion of the territory which had once been Poland, that state was to seek its compensation in another quarter. Hanover was, however, to be restored to the King of England, and the compensation could be found only in transferring to Prussia the half of Saxony, which was also a more desirable acquisition, as it served to connect the parts of a much scattered dominion. Denmark and Saxony were thus the scapegoats of the revolutionary war, the former having been deprived of Norway to satisfy the claim of Sweden. Austria, for the loss of her portion of Poland, found compensation in acquisitions of Italian territory; and both Austria and Prussia were strengthened by the accession of various districts, which were placed at the disposal of the Congress in the final reduction of the French territory, and might be exchanged for others more suited to their convenience.

In this arrangement, imperfect as it unavoidably is, some indications of a future system of federative policy appear to be already discoverable. It seems, for example, to be sufficiently plain, that the predominance to be apprehended,—(and no system, it is conceived, can exist without the predominance of some one great state exciting the apprehensions and generating a combination of the rest,)—is not now that of France, but of Russia; this, indeed, an extended arrangement, comprehending the whole of Europe, would naturally require. When the relations of a federative policy were not properly extended beyond the middle and southern governments of Europe, those of the north being but indirectly and

occasionally concerned in them, France was the grand object of apprehension ; but, in a larger combination, in which the interests of all should be directly included, Russia must claim the pre-eminence ; for this great empire possesses at once the singular advantage of being itself unassailable, and resources abundantly sufficient for enabling it to make formidable impressions on the central and southern states.

Perhaps we may look yet further into the future development of the new system of Europe, in regard to the part which may belong to the British empire among its combinations. The restoration of Hanover has renewed that connexion with the interior interests of the continent, which Hume, in his *Essay on the Balance of Power*, has long ago pronounced to be, in his judgment, the least objectionable and inconvenient. Germany, it may be remarked, is placed in the same relation of vicinity to Russia, as to France ; and, therefore, a connexion with it must have a similar bearing upon a system, in which the former country, instead of the latter, should be the principal object. The cession of the republic of the Ionian islands on the other hand, together with the possession of Malta, already obtained, has given to the same empire an intimate connexion with the commercial interests of the Mediterranean, the other, and probably hereafter the primary scene of the exertions and influence of Russia. Our insular empire, therefore, appears to occupy positions, in which it is specially concerned to watch over the independence of Europe, being, on the one side, interested in maintaining the independence of Germany, the first bulwark of the new system against Russia, and, on the other, so posted in the Mediterranean, as to be enabled, as well as interested, to control every movement, which might in that quarter menace its security.

But, though we may perceive these tendencies towards the formation of a future system of political relations, we cannot but perceive, that no system can yet be said to be actually formed. Such a system cannot be said to be formed, when several considerable governments are either menaced with speedy revolution, or, at least, destitute of the necessary consistency, and when no settled arrangement of political relations has yet determined, what states should be considered as specially connected by common interests. The two kingdoms of the Spanish peninsula are manifestly on the verge of revolution, being driven to it in the struggle between a growing desire of freedom, and the dominion of a despotic church. Turkey also is a state anomalous to the general order of European society, incapable of advancing with the advancing improvement of the adjacent nations, and liable to be, at any time, overwhelmed by the hostility of the great empire of the north,

north. In the centre of Europe, too, we see a great confederacy destitute of combination and utility, a mere *casus omissus* in the federative arrangements of its policy. It seems as if, in the new Germanic confederacy, we find another Poland, the weak part of the new combination of states; and it is even remarkable, that the treaty of Vienna has established in it the *liberum veto* of the Polish diets, by directing that no change affecting the constitution shall be ordained except with the unanimous concurrence of the thirty-eight members of the confederacy. The condition of Italy may be considered as receiving some degree of stability from the influence of the church of Rome; but we find a restless desire of change pervading the greater part of the peninsula, and we perceive Austria watching an opportunity of extending her acquisitions. The governments of Europe, too, though bound together by numerous treaties, have not yet found their places in an orderly combination; the relations of a system are yet to be determined by the influences of events.

From this review of the actual state of Europe, it appears that it may be compared to that of an embryo, in which some of the principal parts of a future organization are already perceptible; but the general conformation is not yet apparent, and little can be discovered of the less important members. Still the vital principle actuates the mass; and, however imperfect and unshapely that mass may be at present, we may hope that the figure of the animal will be gradually developed, and that it shall at length be fitted to discharge its proper functions, with the efficiency belonging to its kind.

In the formation of that league, which assumed the title of the Holy Alliance, an attempt appears to have been made to introduce, among the states of Europe, a new principle of combination. The ostensible principle of this confederacy was one, against which no other objection could be urged, than that it announced an idle endeavour to strengthen, by a human convention, the obligation by which Christian princes were already bound to govern agreeably to their Christian duties. The real object, however, was soon discovered in the efforts exerted by the four confederating potentates, the emperors of Russia and Austria, and the kings of France and Prussia, to repress the tendency towards the establishment of representative governments, which had been generated among their subjects, and even encouraged by themselves, when the popular sentiment was to be excited against the overwhelming domination of Napoleon. Such an alliance, far from assisting in the development of a system of federative policy, was directly repugnant to the principle of such a system; for it was a combination of the strong, instead of being a league of the weaker, to resist some state

formidable by superior power; and, moreover, it was a combination for mutual interference, instead of having for its object the maintenance of national independence. In such an alliance, the free government of Great Britain could not participate, because it was itself the model of that representative system, to repress which was the object of this new alliance. It was saved from the contamination by the very form of the treaty, for the confederating monarchs, in the true spirit of arbitrary rulers, chose to hold communication without the intervention of ministers, and the Sovereign of the British empire had only to reply to their overture, that he was precluded from such a negotiation by an essential principle of the government over which he presided, requiring the responsibility of ministers for the acts of the monarch.

The Holy Alliance was, in truth, an irregular re-action, excited by the popular efforts, which had been drawn forth in the great struggle for the independence of Europe. To this re-action, it was rather the part of the British empire to oppose itself,—in so far, at least, as might be done without unduly interfering in the interior concerns of other states. For such an opposition, the affairs of the Spanish peninsula soon afforded a fit occasion, nor did the British government shrink from the discharge of the honourable duty. The French government, supported by the credit of the Holy Alliance, opposed itself to the establishment of a free constitution in Spain, and gave so effectual assistance to the party which was favourable to the ancient institutions, that Spain has continued to be subjected to the double yoke of political and ecclesiastical despotism. No claim, however, was made on the British government for support against the interference of France; and England contented herself with watching the course of events. But the case was different, when the re-established despotism of Spain lent its aid to overthrow a liberal government newly established in Portugal, and the ancient ally of Great Britain called on our government to assist in repelling the unwarrantable aggression. Under all the disadvantage of a greatly reduced establishment, a sufficient force was despatched with an unhesitating promptness; the ruffianly rabble, which had been excited and armed by the ecclesiastics of Spain, were speedily driven to the boundary which they had violated; and Portugal has, by that seasonable and honourable interference, been left free to determine, whether she would adopt the institutions of liberty, or, by rejecting them, prove herself to be not yet prepared for the choice.

The Holy Alliance, it may be hoped, has already passed away. We do not now hear its unbecoming title pretended as a sanction of union for political purposes, and we may believe that the several

veral interests of distinct states will henceforth guide their operations, as if no such league had ever been concluded. Thus far we are unable to discover any distinct combination of political interests for the maintenance of the balance of power. The arrangements of peace have, indeed, been all completed; but no systematic order has yet been established among them—the single attempt to form a federative combination having been made without reference to a balance of power, and even in contradiction to its principle. It remains to be considered, in the third place, whether the actual circumstances of Europe present any indications of a tendency towards such a combination; and, if any such indications should present themselves, what may be the part becoming the British government, as concerned in maintaining, at all times, a balance of interests, and the independence of Europe.

In the consideration of this part of our subject, it seems to be important to begin with remarking, that it cannot be the part of the British government to support establishments merely because they are old. When peace had been at length restored, after a long struggle against violent innovation, it was natural and expedient that the friends of order should look around them for the remnants of the demolished system, and endeavour to collect these into some arrangement, as nearly as possible agreeing with their former relations. But, when this had been done, it was quite another question to determine, how far it might be expedient to maintain against future changes the arrangement which had thus been formed. It is manifest, that the fragments of the shattered system of Europe could not at once be reduced to a combination fitted to maintain the independence of states, far less could they be arranged in such a manner as to renew the relations by which they had been previously connected. Many changes of territory had been made, which could not be annulled; many others had become necessary for satisfying claims, which could not be disregarded; and, in these changes, the interests and the resources of states had experienced alterations which required new arrangements. The cry of legitimacy was natural in the first re-establishment of peace, as opposed to the wild spirit of innovation, by which Europe had been so long and so violently agitated; but in a changed world the most strenuous friend of order must accommodate his mind to the changes by which he is surrounded, and content himself with adhering to ancient institutions only in so far as they may not be inconsistent with existing circumstances.

From this consideration we collect the satisfactory conclusion, that it cannot be the proper office of the British government to
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be the champion of establishments, which have ceased to be suitable to the spirit and circumstances of the age. It is, indeed, on the contrary, the high function of the most improved government of the time to foster in others the principles of a liberal constitution, by exhibiting to them its various advantages, in the vast augmentation of the public resources, and in the increased dignity and happiness of all the classes of society. Such a government, therefore, ought not to lend its aid for maintaining establishments which would obstruct the progress of improvement among other states; and, happily, we may infer from the consideration of the actual circumstances of Europe, that there is not anything sufficiently settled in its present condition to justify an interposition which might have such a tendency. The despotisms of Spain and Portugal may be left to pursue their headlong course of revolution, without any interference in support of these ill-constituted, though long-established governments.

A yet more urgent reason for a cautious moderation of foreign policy is this, that the general relations of Europe appear to be in a crisis of transition from one federative combination to another, so that at present the statesman could not guide his conduct by any acknowledged principle of international policy. If the arrangement of a federative system is yet to be formed, the statesman must be directed by a consideration of that which is yet to be, rather than of that which actually exists; and his counsels should, therefore, be controuled with the caution which befits our uncertainty concerning events possibly yet distant, and certainly not yet commenced.

In the first period of the federative policy of Europe, Austria was the object of apprehension, and against the overbearing power of the German emperor every effort of independence was directed. In the wars of Louis XIV. a new system of policy was constituted in Europe, France beginning at that time to be the object of general alarm, and of adverse confederation. The war, which attended the fall of the French monarchy, has plainly given occasion to a new order of things, in which Russia, not France, is to hold the predominance. The government, therefore, which should now seek to restore those relations of international policy, which had subsisted before the revolution of France, would act with as little sagacity as if William III., the antagonist of Louis XIV., had sought the alliance of the French King, for repressing the inordinate ambition of the German Emperor. But though Russia should now become the main object of political apprehension, the several governments of Europe are yet so far from being prepared for entering into the necessary arrangements, that the principal among them have been recently engaged, perhaps
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are still engaged, with that government in the connexion of the Holy Alliance. Europe does not, therefore, at this time present an opportunity for forming the combinations of a system of federative policy. The several governments have not yet discovered their places in the new arrangement, and any present attempt to unite a number of them in a federative alliance, would be premature and unavailing.

What then is the conduct which political prudence would prescribe to the British empire in such a state of things ?—to adhere to the faith of existing treaties, and to be cautious in committing itself in new engagements, which might at no long interval be found inconsistent with its interests, and, we will add, with its duties. Without fidelity in the observance of treaties no government can maintain that influence which should belong to a state seeking to protect, by a confederacy, the general independence. Fidelity is to such a state, not merely a moral obligation, but a direct and positive interest, as essential to its political position in the republic of Europe, as the faithful discharge of its pecuniary engagements is indispensable to its commercial credit. The British empire is, indeed, in its domestic institutions the grand exemplar of an imitating world, and it would ill become such a state to adopt, in its foreign policy, a shifting and insidious conduct, which could be referred only to the mean craft of self-interest. But while existing engagements are inviolably maintained, prudence forbids to contract any others in an unsettled state of things, which might be repugnant to our best interests in some new combination of circumstances, possibly very soon to be developed. Europe appears to be at present destitute of a federative system, the old system having been crushed and broken, and a new system not having yet been formed. It even appears that Europe is actually in a transition to a new combination of foreign policy, in which the political positions of its principal states may be entirely reversed, the apprehensions and the confederations of its governments being directed towards a different object. In such a transition it must be the wisdom of the British government to observe with a vigilant caution the course of events, to interpose only so far as its own obligations or interests may indispensably require, and to postpone every effort of federative policy, until some movement, plainly tending towards the formation of a federative system, shall appear to have actually occurred.

This conduct, we have the gratification of remarking, has, in fact, been hitherto observed by the British government in regard to the two kingdoms of the Spanish peninsula. Even the occupation of Spain by a French force, however glaring the violation of national independence, did not provoke the interposition of
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our government. No federative system had been combined, which the British government would have been bound in policy to maintain, and no demand of its assistance was made, in right of an existing treaty. The case of Portugal was different, and so was the conduct of the British government. No system of federative policy, indeed, had yet been formed, but an ancient alliance, strengthened by recent services, subsisted, which bound us to assist that state against aggression. The assistance was accordingly afforded, with a promptness honourable to the fidelity and to the spirit of our government—it has been withdrawn since external hostility ceased to be apprehended. If any man ask, what has been gained by the interposition, we reply, that we have gained the inestimable praise of being zealously faithful to our engagements.

A crisis, however, appears to have at length arrived, in which the federative policy of Europe may be expected to assume a determinate and consistent form. The condition of Turkey promises to bring into collision the interests of Russia, and of most of the other considerable governments; and, since Russia seems to be the power, which, in the new arrangement of the federative policy of Europe will, probably, hold the pre-eminence, such a collision can scarcely fail to generate a combination, in which the relations of the several government shall be mutually adjusted. It is a favourable characteristic of the present crisis, that this, its bearing, may be with so much probability foreseen and anticipated; for the governments to be involved in the combination may be thereby enabled to determine coolly and deliberately on their plans of action, instead of being merely hurried onward by the current of events.

In deliberating concerning the policy at this time to be observed in regard to Turkey, the consideration first presenting itself to an educated mind is, that the occasion of contest is afforded by the misgovernment of a territory, with which all our notions of intellectual culture are intimately associated. That Greece, the land of literature, of philosophy, and of independence, should be at this day trampled under the feet of ignorant barbarians, her people so crushed by oppression that the iron has entered even into the soul, and has destroyed the lineaments of a once noble character, is most painful to every man who is sensible of the benefits anciently conferred on the human race by its illustrious inhabitants. But policy is a cold and passionless principle, which must not be affected even by generous emotions. True policy is, indeed, the universal justice of nations; for, as ordinary justice would prescribe to an individual the conduct which might best promote his own interest, without violating the

rights of others, so genuine policy would direct the statesman to seek the advantage of the state which he administers, only so far as might not infringe the fair pretensions of other states with which it is connected. To the determination of the present question it, in reality, avails as little that the former inhabitants of Greece established a strong claim on the gratitude of posterity, as on an inquest concerning the death of an individual it would be important to urge, that his ancestor had been distinguished as a benefactor of his species.

Laying aside, therefore, as irrelevant, every consideration of the ancient glory of these unhappy provinces, we must now coolly and dispassionately inquire, what is the true policy of our government in regard to a people situated as the Greeks are at the present day, subject to a barbarous and oppressive dominion, but a dominion connected with our own, and with other governments, by existing and acknowledged treaties.

The government of Turkey, however alien from the Christian states of Europe in its civil institutions, and yet more, in its religion, had entered into connexion with one of those states, even before any system of federative policy was yet combined among them. Francis I., of France, in his anxiety to procure assistance against the Emperor Charles V., first overcame the repugnance generally felt to entering into alliance with infidels, and concluded a treaty of mutual support with the court of Constantinople. From that time the Turkish empire continued to act as a check on the empire of Germany until the close of the seventeenth century, or during a hundred and sixty-three years; the peace of Carlowitz, concluded in the year 1699, having first humbled the pride of the Ottomans. The connexions formed with the Turkish empire by Christian states were, however, yet but occasional, and that empire could not, during all this time, be considered as actually admitted into the federative policy of Europe. But when Turkey, at the peace of Carlowitz, had ceased to be formidable, the states of Christendom, as Koch observes, became desirous of retaining the Turks in Europe, rather than expelling them from it. It was perceived that some advantage redounded to the good order of Europe from their occupancy of a European territory; ambassadors from Christian governments accordingly resided at the Turkish court, to manage the interests of their respective countries; and thus an empire of unbelievers and barbarians became, though in a qualified sense, a member of that general combination of European states, by which they were formed into a sort of federative republic.

The influence of the admission of the Porte into the federative combination of Europe, was most sensibly felt in the great struggle

struggle of the Russian government with the invading army of France, when a peace, critically concluded by Turkey, disengaged an army of Russians, which had been employed on the Danube, and enabled that people to complete the destruction of the French host. The separate interest of Turkey would have prompted the government of that country to persevere in a contest, in which the enemy was at the same time embarrassed by a most formidable invasion of another power. It must, therefore, have been under the influence of the relations of a federative policy that, at that most important moment, the court of Turkey was induced to conclude a peace, which sent an additional army from the south to hang upon the flank of the invaders of Russia, and to complete the work of their ruin.

The question, therefore, to be discussed, concerning Greece, is simply this: have any events occurred which should subject a government, recognised as a member of the federative system of Europe, to an interference of other members of that confederacy in its domestic concerns? It has been well stated by the Duke of Wellington, that non-interference is the rule, and interference the exception. Has, then, a fair case of the exception actually occurred, or have other governments interposed, without sufficient cause, in the domestic interests of Turkey?

When the distractions of Greece had continued many years, the three governments of Russia, France, and Great Britain, concluded a treaty, the object of which was to procure tranquillity for Greece, on the condition of paying a tribute to the Turkish government, as a state in other respects independent. The *visible* result of this treaty has been the battle of Navarino, in which the united squadrons of the three allied powers destroyed the fleet of the Turks. With *this* result we are at present concerned,—for it is not necessary to consider the treaty, except in so far as it has been executed by actual interference. By the despatches of the British admiral we are told, that the immediate occasion of this act of hostility was a brutal war of extermination, which Ibrahim Pacha was then waging in the Morea. Our inquiry is, therefore, (assuming the Admiral's statement to be correct,) limited to this consideration, whether a war of extermination, waged by a government against any portion of its own subjects, be a sufficient justification of the interference of an allied power.

The question of the right of interference is one which could not escape the observation of the writers of the law of nations. It has, accordingly, been stated by Grotius (lib. ii. cap. 25. § 8.) that in a case of extreme injustice the right of human society shall not be precluded. 'At non etiam,' says the founder of the law of nations, when he had maintained the right of a sovereign over his

his subjects, 'si manifesta sit injuria, si quis Busiris, Phalaris, &c., ea in subditos exerceat, quæ æquo nulli probentur, ideo præclusum erit jus humanæ societatis.' The opinion of Grotius is adopted and sanctioned by Puffendorf, who refers his readers to it for the solution of the question. To limit the application of the principle this writer confines it to those cases in which the subjects of a foreign state may lawfully take arms, for repressing the insupportable tyranny and cruelties of their own governors (book viii. ch. 6. § 14.) Neither of these writers appears to have thought it important to consider, whether the interfering state were, or were not, connected by any treaty, with the government of the other. No treaty concluded with a foreign state can be supposed to have such a case in contemplation; neither can the positive conventions of governments be conceived to supersede the obligation of that more general right of human society, on which their own authority must depend for all its validity.

The right of interfering, in cases of extreme injustice and oppression, being thus established, no hesitation can be felt in applying it to such a case of brutal extermination, as has been alleged, by the British admiral, as the occasion of his recent interference in behalf of the Greeks. But there certainly are some things in his statement that must be further explained. Though he has represented the Ottoman fleet as having committed an act of aggression in firing the first shot, it seems manifest to common sense, that the entrance of an armed fleet into a port, already occupied by the Turks, was the real aggression; and the justification of the admiral, and of the allied powers, must be made good, not by the fact of waiting to receive the first shot, but by the necessity of entering the port in an abrupt manner, if a just purpose could not otherwise have been effected. The same necessity, which justified the interference, would justify, also, the method in which it was exercised, if that method were indispensably necessary to its success.

It was 'untoward' that we should, in any circumstances, have been forced into a conflict with a power with which we were actually connected by treaty; but still the occasion (if it has been correctly stated) was one which we could not contemplate with cold indifference: who could witness, unmoved, the butchery of a people desirous to be free? If the course of events has been fairly represented, we must consider as 'untoward,' not the occurrence only, but the inefficiency of the conflict; in other words, lament that the destruction of the Turkish fleet was not effectual to the deliverance of the Greeks from the extreme violence to which they had been subjected, and that the remnant of the ships of the enemy had found means and opportunity to carry away into slavery a considerable number.

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There is, however, another and a larger view in which many are disposed to regard the conflict of Navarino as unsatisfactory and embarrassing, considering it as having tended to the undue aggrandisement of Russia, and, consequently, to the disturbance of the equilibrium of Europe. This is a consideration which well deserves to be examined. If that conflict did, indeed, tend to disturb the equilibrium of Europe, and thereby to endanger the general independence, it was mischievous in its ultimate operation, however justifiable in regard to its immediate occasion and principle.

Before, however, it can be shown that the victory of Navarino has disturbed, or has tended to disturb, the general equilibrium of Europe, it must be shown that there is actually existing a federative system liable to be so disturbed. The contrary may, we apprehend, be clearly established. A federative system supposes, not merely a number of states mutually connected by treaties, but a number of states, a considerable part of which is bound by a common interest to resist the encroachments of some one more powerful than the rest. Russia may be considered as from this time the predominant state, but we nowhere discover an association of other states combined in some common principle of resistance. There is, therefore, at present no systematic distribution of states, by which a balance of power may be maintained. Even the principle of such a distribution is non-existent, for we do not see any common interest acknowledged among governments, unless it be that of the Holy Alliance, which would be subversive of external independence, as of internal freedom.

The world has as yet witnessed but one perfect example of a system of federative policy; for the combination opposed to the ambition of the house of Austria was blended with the interior constitution of the German empire, from which it had emanated. The single example of a federative system supporting itself by its own inherent energy, is that which was constituted by William III., in opposition to the ambition of Louis XIV. From this alone, therefore, we must form our judgment in framing a conjecture concerning the future policy of Europe. We must consider what was the essential nature of that arrangement, and then reflect in what manner a corresponding arrangement may now be effected.

In that system, Great Britain, Germany, and the Dutch provinces were confederated to resist the power of France; and, in this confederacy, they were finally bound together by the barrier treaty, which constituted the Spanish Netherlands the bond of their political union. Here we see a number of states closely combined for a specific purpose, and a particular territory placed in circumstances so peculiar, that each of the confederating powers had a special interest in maintaining the existing arrangement, while that territory

territory was, beyond others, exposed to the encroachments of the common enemy. By this treaty, the emperor acquired the dominion of the Spanish Netherlands, which were, however, to be maintained as a barrier for the Dutch states, Great Britain being bound to afford assistance in the case of a war; and, by the same treaty, the commercial interest of these provinces was sacrificed to the two maritime governments, so that the three confederating powers were all interested in supporting the convention. We perceive, therefore, that, in the only perfect example of a federative policy, there was not merely a confederacy of a number of states to restrain the encroachments of one more powerful and more ambitious than the rest, but also a special bond of union formed by so connecting these states in the maintenance of a common arrangement, that each should find its own separate interest, either of territory, of security, or of commerce, in defending that part of the political order which was immediately exposed to aggression.

In the present state of Europe, no arrangement of this kind is yet discoverable. The several governments are connected by treaties, but they are not combined in any determinate order of political interests. They resemble a number of individuals who have met together in a state of nature, and have agreed to live in peace and amity, but have not yet entered into the relations of any common government. In such a situation, the governments of Europe have yet to learn what is that general order which confederating states should have an interest in maintaining, and what is the precise interest by which each should be concerned in maintaining a league for their common protection. Where these things are not determined, there can be no federative system.

The operations begun in Greece seem to us, far from menacing the destruction of the equilibrium of Europe, to be the very commencement of the process by which it may eventually be adjusted. The governments of Europe cannot long continue to be connected only by treaties, without any orderly combination of political interests, any more than a multitude of individuals, not united under the restraint of civil government, could continue to live together in the relation of general amity. Some predominant state must arise among governments, as some powerful and ambitious man would arise among individuals; and fixed combinations of policy must be formed and established among governments, as the interests of individuals would require to be protected by civil institutions. To us it seems, that the Turkish empire may, in the new order of things, be found to hold the same place which the Spanish Netherlands held in the old; and, instead of menacing Europe with disorder and calamity, to be the very state in which its interests shall find the means of their adjustment and combination,

Russia has long looked to the dismemberment of Turkey, as affording the opportunity of her own most valuable aggrandisement; Austria is eager to obtain possession of the Sclavonian provinces bordering her own territories, and adjacent to Italy, her favourite object; France, connected with the Mediterranean, and desirous of acquiring the advantages of commerce, looks with hope and expectation to the independence of Greece; and Great Britain, interested, generally, in the protection of commerce, and, specially, in the maintenance of her own maritime importance, must regard, with anxious apprehension, every power which should seek to obtain a predominance in a country so favourably situated for maritime purposes. Here, then, is a country, in which Russia seeks to magnify her already vast dominion, and where Austria, France, and Great Britain, have each a direct and urgent interest in restraining and moderating her encroachments. Here, therefore, we may conclude, the political interests of these great powers will, in some manner or other, be brought to an adjustment, and a regular and efficient combination of federative policy be at length constituted.

In the succession of a new confederacy of policy to that which perished in the wars of the French revolution, and, indeed, had even previously lost the principles of its combination, it might be expected by those who believe in the improvement of mankind, that something more perfect should be discoverable. This, at least, we may perceive in the case which we are contemplating. By the barrier treaty, the Spanish Netherlands served, indeed, as a connecting link to bind together the interests of the powers confederated against France, but to this combination the interest of those provinces themselves was sacrificed, for they were by that treaty precluded from maritime commerce. If, in the new political order, the independence and consequent prosperity of Greece should be the political bond, no such sacrifice would be made, but Europe would find its common advantage in the highest improvement of the very country to which it should be indebted for the combination of its international policy. Another important advantage, also, might perhaps result from such an arrangement. The country of adjustment, if the expression may be allowed, would not in this case be placed in the centre of the system, as in the arrangement constituted by the barrier treaty, but would be an exterior state, so that the agitations, to which the adjustment might occasionally be exposed, would not necessarily convulse the entire system. An invasion of the Netherlands, in the former system, would unavoidably have produced a general commotion throughout Europe; but hostilities commenced by any power in Greece, however destructive of the general equilibrium, would not be felt by any of the confederating powers

powers as a blow struck at its own security and separate independence.

Let it not then be imagined, that the interest of Great Britain requires her to maintain at all events the dominion of Turkey, and thus to link her fortune with the permanence of Ottoman barbarism. It is the true interest of Great Britain, that an orderly combination of governments should be formed which should guarantee the independence of all. This is the honourable object for which she has struggled in the conflicts of war; this is likewise the object for which she should struggle in the negotiations of peace, or the long struggle of war would have been maintained in vain. But this object is not attained by the governments of Europe in their present state of incoherence, in which no two states can be said to have any common interest, or any determinate relation. The purpose, for which the dominion of France was overthrown, is not yet accomplished. Europe is independent, but that independence has no guarantee of its continuance. The deliverance of Greece, by giving occasion to a combination of three great powers for its protection, may furnish this guarantee, and thus complete the arrangement of the policy of Europe.

We have not, therefore, any reason to consider the aggrandisement of Russia, which might be the result of interference in the concerns of Turkey, as necessarily prejudicial to the interests of the British empire. If this aggrandisement should be balanced by a reciprocal adjustment of interests, why should it be prejudicial to any one state? The interest of Great Britain, in particular, is that other nations should be independent and prosperous; and the independence and prosperity of nations are best protected by the reciprocal adjustments of a balanced policy, which secure to each the prompt assistance of others, as they are connected by a common interest in some collective arrangement. In the present state of Europe, no state can be said to have any certain means of defence beyond its own separate power, because there is not any combined system of political interests on which it can rely for assistance; it may form an alliance, as an emergency may render it necessary, but it is not previously assured of receiving support, in virtue of an existing confederacy of nations, actuated by a sense of a common interest, and forward to avert any danger by which any of them might be menaced. By entering into a new arrangement, of which the independence of Greece should be the object, the British empire would receive advantage, first, as a commercial nation, from this augmentation of the general prosperity of Europe; and, secondly, as the guardian of the general security, in a combined adjustment of the political interests of the great governments of Europe.

No reflecting man can believe that, amidst the general progress of

of human improvement, the fine countries of Europe, which are comprehended in the Turkish empire, can long remain in their present barbarism and wretchedness. Let not a subject of the British government believe that this empire has a real interest in the perpetuation of abuses so grievous. It seems to be the high function of our government to present to other nations the model of their political improvement, as it had previously maintained for them that independence without which improvement must be sought in vain. The faith of treaties should, indeed, be respected, but this is a distinct consideration. The question now considered is, not whether we should disregard the obligation of existing treaties, but whether we should so firmly attach ourselves to the present order of things, that we should see no safety in a change which might raise up a people of Christians into the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. It is not the duty of our government to agitate other countries by instigating them to speculative changes; but neither can it be our duty, or our interest, to link our fortune with abuses because they exist, and to oppose ourselves to a progressive improvement, which seems to be the characteristic of the moral government of God. For ourselves, if the independence of Greece were secured by a confederacy of Austria, France, and Great Britain, we should not entertain any apprehension on account of any aggrandisement which political events might confer upon Russia in another part of the Turkish empire.

It most fortunately happens, that the question concerning Greece may probably be settled without involving the Christian governments of Europe in any considerable hostilities. The sanguinary and protracted struggle with France is too recent in recollection, and the burdens, which it has imposed, are still too heavily oppressive, to suffer those governments to be forward in committing their interests to the dread arbitrement of war. In such circumstances, it may well be hoped that their relative pretensions may be peaceably adjusted by negotiation; and that a new and more perfect system of federative policy may be quietly constructed—more perfect, as comprehending, in a single combination, the interests of all the great governments of Europe, without sacrificing the prosperity of any territory to the advantage of others, and, also as, on that very account, less liable to be destroyed by the operation of those changes which time must introduce into all the combinations of human wisdom. Nor can it fail to inspire general hope and confidence of a favourable termination for the impending or incipient crisis, both here and elsewhere, that the interests of England are placed, on such a momentous occasion, under the guidance of such an eye and arm as we now see at the helm of the state.

ART. VIII.—*Chronological History of the West Indies.* By Capt. Thomas Southey, Commander, Royal Navy. 3 vols. 1827.

THIS is the unpretending work of a seaman, collected, as he tells us, ‘out of authors both ancient and modern, with great care and diligence,’ and arranged in the manner best suited to so broken a subject—the plan comprehending ‘the whole of the Columbian islands; for, as they belong to different European powers, and as some even of those, which are subject to the same crown, have little or no connexion with each other, there is no other natural or convenient order, wherein their history can be composed, than that which a chronological series offers.’ They are chronicles which, it might be thought, neither Spaniard, nor French, nor Englishman, could contemplate without some emotions of shame for his country, and humiliation for his kind: so much violence, so much cruelty, so much injustice are recorded there, with so little to relieve the melancholy register. Were the history of Spain, and France, and Great Britain to perish, as that of the great early monarchies of the world has perished, and only these colonial annals, for these three centuries which have elapsed since the discovery of the islands, to be saved from the wreck, what opinion could posterity form of the three nations, as to the degree of civilization which they had attained, their policy, their religion, and their arts! But, however little there may be to ennoble this portion of history, the subject is not without an interest of its own, and more especially at this time.

The discovery of America was an event of which the great importance was immediately apprehended. A new world was opened to imagination and enterprise; the ambitious looked thither to the conquest of kingdoms, and the rapacious to their plunder; science, imperfect as it was, had its votaries then as well as now, who cheerfully encountered any difficulties and dangers in the pursuit of knowledge; and if, among the ministers of religion, there were some who made their profession a cloak for cupidity and cruelty, there were others who went and laboured faithfully in the Lord’s vineyard, with a Christian temper and a Christian heroism which might more than compensate for the errors of their corrupted faith. Thoughtful men who, from their quiet studies, regarded the affairs of the world with a deeper interest than is felt by those that are actively engaged in it, were moved to tears * when they looked to the indefinite prospects that seemed opening upon mankind.

* Peter Martyr, writing to Pomponius Lætus, says: ‘*Præ lætitiâ proviliisse te, virque à lachrymis præ gaudio temperasse, quando literas adspexisti meas, quibus de antipodum urbe*

kind. Indefinite they might well appear, for it was a world of wonders that had been found, where veteran soldiers went in search of a fountain which should restore them to youth, and Columbus himself believed that he had approached the terrestrial paradise—that the body of fresh water in which he found himself, when in the Bocas del Dragon, came from the garden of Eden (the river Pison, he would suppose it to be, ‘which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good’); and, although he despaired of ascending so high, was perhaps not without a hope that he might come within sight of the cherubim’s flaming sword.

A very able and eloquent writer,* whose work we have already recommended to the notice of our readers, has recently argued, that the ‘work of planting the nations was not performed when the earth was full of inhabitants, but, on the contrary, when it was a comparative void; not by nations whose numbers were the greatest, but the fewest and most scattered: in ages of ignorance or in times of strife and oppression; and that, as the population of the different nations has increased, the necessity of these wanderings has diminished.’ There is some confusion here, both with regard to Scriptural and later history. It is true that the earth was comparatively a void, when it was divided in the days of Peleg; but that was not an age of ignorance, for primal truths retained the freshness of their impress upon the heart of man, and the righteous lived in the light and sunshine of a visible dispensation. ‘The visible characters of this great book of nature,’ says Jackson of Newcastle, ‘were of old more legible, the external significations of Divine Power more sensible and apter to imprint their meaning—both purposely fitted to the disposition of the world’s non-age.’ And, in later times, the author seems not to distinguish between the migratory movements of barbarian hordes, or armed nations, and the colonial settlements of civilized states. Whether Egypt sent out colonies to India, or was itself colonized from thence, is a question which there seems little hope that M. Champollion or Dr. Young will be enabled to decide; but, in either case, the colonizers were not an ignorant race. In a later age, when the history of colonization begins, colonies

orbe latentis hactenus, te certiores feci mi suavisime Pomponi, insinuasti. Ex tuis ipse literis colligo quod senseris. Sensisti autem, tantique rem fecisti, quanti virum summæ doctrinæ insignitum deceat. Quis namque cibis sublimibus præstari potest ingenio isto suavis? quod condimentum gratius? à me facio conjecturam. Beati sentio spiritus meos, quando accitos alloquor prudentes aliquos ex his qui ubi eâ redeunt provinciâ. Implicent animos pecuniarum cumulis augendis miseri avari; libidinis obscæni; nostras nos mentes, postquam Deo pleni aliquandiu fuerimus, contemplando, hujuscemodi rerum notitiâ demulcemus — Epist. clii.

* Mr. Sadler, in his treatise upon ‘Ireland: its Evils and their Remedies.’

are found, as might be expected, to have proceeded from the most flourishing, and enterprising, and intelligent people—the Phœnicians and the Greeks. So, too, when the appointed time for the discovery of America was come, it was not by Scandinavian or Norman sea-rovers that the way was opened, but by the Spaniards, in the age of their greatest prosperity and highest civilization—the only people in whom heart, and will, and power, could have been found for the work which was to be done, and during the only age in which they were thus qualified, by their virtues, their vices, and their political station.

No person, who contemplates history with a religious mind, can fail to remark the striking resemblance between the condition of the more civilized American nations at the time of the discovery, and of the Canaanites when, in like manner, the measure of their iniquities was full. The enormities to which the Spaniards put an end in Mexico, and those other states wherein the Aztec mythology prevailed, were such, that even the victories of Cortes may be regarded, with complacence, as a dispensation of mercy to the people themselves. The superstitions which existed in the hierarchical despotisms of South America were not, at first sight, so revolting to humanity, because they did not exhibit a regular course of human butchery upon so extensive a scale; but there was the same root of evil there, bringing forth fruits of death. Systems as degrading to human nature as those of the great Asiatic kingdoms had been firmly established there, and were rapidly increasing in extent and power; and all these were connected with schemes of priestcraft more or less inhuman. And throughout the whole continent, in every grade of society, from the rudest tribes on the Orinoco to the highly artificial fabrics of polity under the Zippas, the Zaques, and the Incas, such abominations were practised, not as acts of individual wickedness, but as belonging to the laws or customs of the people and of the state, that even the Quesadas and the Pizarros appear, when these things are considered, to have been ministers of divine justice, while they themselves were monsters of cruelty, deserving the execration of mankind. This is no extenuation of their guilt. As regards human suffering, the remedy, while it continued, was worse than the disease; the tyranny which they substituted was more cruel than that which they subverted—it inflicted wider misery, and implied a greater degree of guilt in the agents; for they sinned against knowledge. Long ere this, indeed, the good would have immeasurably preponderated, if, in the great struggle between good and evil at the time of the Reformation, Spain had chosen the better part. But from the time when its civil and religious liberties were destroyed, the root of its strength began to decay, and the canker was felt in the remotest ramifications.

There are some historians (M. Guizot may be instanced as the ablest of the class) who carry the influence of general causes too far, considering men as entirely the creatures of the circumstances wherein they are placed, and regarding them rather as the puppets of a fatal necessity, than as accountable beings, to whom it has been free to choose between good and evil. Hopeless, as well as helpless, would be the condition of humanity if this were true; and one consequence of a philosophy as false as it is injurious, would be to render history useless for all purposes of example. But blessings and curses are set before us, and nations, like individuals, are judged according to their ways.

In the first age of their colonial history, the Spaniards appear in their worst character, and the Spanish government in its best. Neither good intentions, nor good laws, were wanting on its part: both were frustrated by the rapacity of its agents, and by its own insane pretensions to universal dominion—a scheme in which, for half a century, it was zealously seconded by the most active, most influential, most intriguing, and most mischievous order of men in the Romish church. They served it thus, because it was to the shaven and shorn head, and the triple crown, as much as to Castille and Leon, that Columbus had given a new world. When he said to the Catholic kings that there could not be a richer country, nor a more cowardly people than he had discovered for them, and that they were as much masters of it as they were of Xeres or Toledo, and that the fountain of gold was there, he told them that, whoever had gold might do with it whatever he wished in this world, and open with it the gates of Paradise in the other :*—a passage which the modern editor of his papers assures us, is in conformity with many texts of Scripture. This most rich empire of the Indies, God, says Oviedo, had reserved for our fortunate emperor Charles V., that its wealth might be employed in his Catholic designs and armies, and that his holy intentions and aims against infidels and heretics might be carried into effect; and that the flag of Spain might be celebrated for the most victorious, respected for the most glorious, feared for the most powerful, and loved as the most worthy to be loved in the universe.

‘Such power and majesty in any Christian prince as is now manifest in him, has never till now been seen under heaven. And, therefore, it is to be expected that, in a short time, we shall see brought under the sceptre of our Cæsar all that is wanting for attaining to the height of universal monarchy. And that there shall be no kingdom, nor sect, nor kind of false belief, which will not be humbled, and brought under obedience to his yoke. And I say not this concerning unbelievers only,

* *El oro es excelentísimo; del oro se hace tesoro; y con el quien lo tiene, hace quanto quiere en el mundo, y llega á que echa las animas al paraíso.* Navarrete, Colección de los Viajes, l. 299.

but of those also who call themselves Christians, for they will not refuse to acknowledge our Cæsar for their superior, as they ought, and as God has ordained, seeing that he has valiant soldiers and people in abundance, and wealth enough to distribute among them.'

Acting upon these pretensions, the Spaniards brought a host of enemies against the colonies, and weakened their hold upon the New World by extending it. In consequence of the latter cause, the decline of their first colony was as rapid as its progress had been:

Next to the paramount object of introducing the Romish faith, the government was intent upon establishing in the colonies, without delay, the laws and municipal institutions of the mother country. When a city was to be founded, the first form prescribed was, with all solemnity, to erect a gallows, as the first thing needful; and, in laying out the ground, a site was marked for the prison as well as for the church. Ample provision was made for churches and convents; and monks and friars, in the first age of the conquests, were some of the best colonists who could be sent out, going to take up their permanent abode there, and, therefore, making more provision for future comfort, than those who were looking eagerly to return with their wealth to Europe. It is surprising how soon St. Domingo was stocked with European animals, and with produce designed for the European market.

'In what land,' says Oviedo, 'has it ever been known or heard of, that in so short a time, and in countries so distant from our Europe, so many cattle, and so many goods of the earth, should be produced, and in such great abundance, as we with our own eyes have seen in these Indies, brought hither over such wide seas! The which this land hath not received as a stepmother, but even more like a true mother than that which sent them forth; for some of them are produced in greater quantities, and of better kind, than in Spain itself, as well animals useful for the service of man, as corn and pulse, and fruits and sugar, and canafistola. The beginning of these things came from Spain in my days; and, in a little time, they have multiplied so greatly, that ships return to Europe laden with sugar, and canafistola, and hides.'

This led him to observe, seeing the natural advantages of the country, that a king of Hispaniola might soon have greatly the advantage over a king of Sicily or of England! The first cargoes that the ships carried back to Spain consisted of sugar. In the year 1535, there had been, within three and twenty years, twenty eight sugar mills erected, exceeding any thing that was then known of the kind in 'any island or kingdom, whether of Christians or unbelievers.' The cane was introduced from the Canaries, whither the Spaniards had carried it, probably from their own country, for it was cultivated in Granada and Valencia. The Canaries contributed not a little to the discovery of the West Indies in the first instance,

instance, and afterwards to their settlement. The plantain was taken to St. Domingo from thence in 1516, by Fr. Tomas de Berlanga, a Dominican; and it was found of such great utility, that it was soon cultivated upon every Spanish property. Berlanga is said to have been an excellent man; and, for his merits, was made Bishop of Castilla del Oro, without having solicited, or expected, and perhaps, also, without desiring, any such promotion.

The Spaniards also introduced some Indian plants into their own country. Indian corn was raised near Madrid, and in many parts of Andalusia, and a few years after the discovery, potatoes were carried to Spain at first as sweetmeats and delicacies. They were held there, *por muy singular y buena fruta*; and Oviedo says, *de qualquier forma son buena fruta, y se puede presentar a la Catholica Magestad por muy preciado manjar*, which is, being interpreted, that they were a dainty dish to set before the king.

‘I take it,’ says the physician Monardus, in the words of his old translator, ‘for a vittail of much substance, and that they are in the midst between flesh and fruit. Truth it is that they be windy, but that is taken from them by roasting, chiefly if they be put into fine wine. There is made of them conserva very excellent, as marmolade, and small morselles; and they make potages and broths, and cakes of them, very excellent. They are subject that there be made of them any manner of conserva, and any manner of meat. There be so many in Spain, that they bring from Velez Malaga, every year to Seville, ten or twelve caravels laden with them.’ *

Having been so successfully cultivated, and, as appears, in considerable request, the question naturally occurs, wherefore so valuable a root should have fallen into disuse in that country; perhaps, because properties were ascribed to it which must have made it forbidden food for certain classes of the community, and disputable for others. It is amusing to find Labat describing potatoes a hundred years ago, as cultivated in Western Africa, and saying of them, ‘*Il y en a en Irlande, et en Angleterre*,’ and that he had seen very good ones at Rochelle.

‘The Spaniards,’ says this writer, ‘are infinitely more careful than French, and other nations, in planting trees, and in taking care of the them; for it rarely happens, when a Spaniard eats fruit in a wood, or in the open country, that he does not set the stones or the pips; and thus, in the whole of their country, an infinite number of fruit trees, of all kinds, are found, whereas, in the French quarters, you meet with none.’

There is a pleasing example of this practice in the very interesting History of Bernal Diaz; and it is valuable also, because it shows the Mexican priests in their best point of view.

* Joyful News out of the New-found World, translated out of Spanish, by John Frampton. 1777. p. 104.

‘I will relate also,’ says this brave and simple-hearted old soldier, ‘how I set some orange pips near the idol-houses, (in Grijalva’s expedition,) and it was in this manner. Because there were many mosquitoes by that river, I went to sleep in a lofty idol-house; and, by that house, I set seven or eight pips of oranges, which I had brought from Cuba; and they came up well; and it seems that the *papas* (or priests) of those idols, took care of them, when they perceived that the plants were unlike any of their own, and protected them from the ants, and watered them, and kept the ground clean. I have delivered this to remembrance, in order that it may be known these were the first oranges which were planted in New Spain; for, after Mexico was conquered, and the people subject to Guacacualco were pacified, this was held to be the best province, and in the best estimation of all in New Spain, by reason of its mines, and for its good port, the land also being rich with gold, and pasture for flocks: and, therefore, it was settled by the principal conquerors of Mexico, and I was one; and then I went for my orange trees, and transplanted them, and they thrive well.’

It is the more remarkable that the Spaniards, who so carefully introduced the products of their own country, and of the Canaries, into the new-found world, should not have attempted to naturalize the American fruits in Spain, because this branch of horticulture was pursued with great ardour at that time, and highly patronized, both in Italy and Flanders, countries with which Spain was closely connected. Ferdinand the First, of Naples, prided himself upon the variety and excellence of the fruit produced in his royal gardens, one of which was called Paradise. Duke Hercules, of Ferrara, had a garden celebrated for its fruits in one of the islands of the Po. The Duke of Milan, Lodovico, carried this kind of luxury so far, that he had a travelling fruit-garden; and the trees were brought to his table, or into his chamber, that he might with his own hands gather the living fruit. The members of our horticultural society have not refined so far as this.

Oviedo extols the pine-apple above all the fruits which grew in these, the famous gardens of his time, and above all that he had tasted in his travels in Spain, France, England, Germany, the whole of Italy, Sicily, the Tyrol, and the whole of the Low Countries.

‘No fruit,’ says he, ‘have I known or seen in all these parts, nor do I think that in the world there is one better than it, or equal to it, in all those points which I shall now mention, and which are, beauty of appearance, sweetness of smell, taste of excellent savour; so that there being three senses out of the five which can be gratified by fruit, such is its excellence above all other fruits or dainties in the world, that it gratifies those three, and even the fourth also; to wit the touch. As for the fifth, that is to say, the hearing, fruit, indeed, can neither hear nor listen, but in its place the reader may hear and attend to what is said

said of this fruit, and he will perceive that I do not deceive myself in what I shall say of it. For albeit fruit can as little be said to possess any of the other four senses, in relation to the which I have, as above, spoken, of these I am to be understood in the exercise and person of him who eats, not of the fruit itself, which hath no life, save the vegetative one, and wants both the sensitive and rational, all three of which exist in man. And he, looking at these pines, and smelling to them, and tasting them, and feeling them, will justly, considering these four parts or particularities, attribute to it the principality above all other fruits.'

This is as whimsical, in its way, as what Christoval Acosta says of the same fruit, in his *Tratado* de las Drogas y Medicinas de las Indias Orientales*; he says, that no medicinal virtues have been discovered in it, and it is good for nothing but to eat. Our countryman, Ligon, expatiates upon this plant with great delight.

'To close up all that can be said of fruits,' he says, 'I must name the pine, for in that single name all that is excellent, in a superlative degree, for beauty and taste, is totally and summarily included; and, if it were here to speak for itself, it would save me much labour, and do itself much right. Nothing of rare taste can be thought on, that is not there, nor is it imaginable that so full a harmony of tastes can be raised out of so many parts, and all distinguishable.'

Then, after describing the plant and its fruit, like a painter whose eye was conversant with forms, and delighted in the colouring of nature, he says,

'When we gather them, we leave some of the stalk to take hold by; and, when we come to eat them, we first cut off the crown, and send that out to be planted; and then, with a knife, pare off the rind, which is so beautiful, as it grieves us to rob the fruit of such an ornament: nor would we do it, but to enjoy the precious substance it contains,—like a thief that breaks a beautiful cabinet, which he would forbear to do, but for the treasure he expects to find within. The rind being taken off, we lay the fruit in a dish, and cut it in slices, half an inch thick; and, as the knife goes in, there issues out of the pores of the fruit, a liquor clear as rock water, near about six spoonfulls, which is eaten with a spoon; and, as you taste it, you find it in a high degree delicious, but so mild, as you can distinguish no taste at all: but when you bite a piece of the fruit, it is so violently sharp as you would think it would fetch all the skin off your mouth; but, before your tongue have made a second trial upon your palate, you shall perceive such a sweetness to follow, as perfectly to cure that vigorous sharpness, and between these two extremes of sharp and sweet, lies the relish and flavour of all fruits that are excellent; and those tastes will change and flow so fast upon your palate, as your fancy can hardly keep way with

* Burgos, 1578.

them to distinguish the one from the other, and that at least to a tenth examination, for so long the echo will last.'

Oviedo was not successful in his attempts to carry this fruit to Spain; and it is related by some other writer, that when one had been brought, with great care, in good condition, to Charles V., the emperor, to the confusion of Oviedo's theory, did not like its looks, or its odour, and would not be persuaded to try its effect upon the palate. This fruit might be raised in the south of Spain, and of Portugal, with as little care as is required in this country for melons and cucumbers; but this has not yet been attempted there. The banana was introduced into Algarve about five and thirty years, by Mr. Lempriere, the English Consul at Faro, at that time. In his *quinta*, near that city, we saw it flourishing, and he expected that its culture would soon become general; but evil days have intervened, and thrown back all improvements of every kind in the ill-fated kingdoms of the peninsula.

But the first fruit that ever found its way from the tropics to Europe was eaten—before the voyage of Columbus, here in England, and on a 'Christmas-day in the morning,' according to Master Olchod. That grave author of odd-looking name has, it appears, related the fact in a treatise upon the sphere—and thus it was: A certain holy man, in this kingdom, had caught a devil, and kept him in durance. In what sort of trap he was taken, and in what sort of cage or prison kept, are points concerning which, curious as they are and worthy of inquiry, no information is given. It appears only that the devil was uneasy in durance, and that being a spirit, a writ of Habeas Corpus could not have delivered him; so he bargained with the holy man, who, holy as he was, had a licorish tooth, and engaged, as the price of his deliverance, to bring him that night, being the night of Cock Mass, fresh figs from the Indies. The holy mouth watered at this proposal; the prisoner was enlarged upon his parole, and keeping it better than General Simon, or General Lefévre Desnouettes, (for he was an honourable devil,) back he came in what is Hiberno-poetically called, no time at all, with figs fresh from the tree. 'Whereat that holy man greatly marvelled, and meditating upon the great mildness of temperature in the region where that fruit had grown, and comparing it with the rigorous cold which at that time prevailed in England, of which country he was a native, he concluded that a land which was so temperate at that season of the year, must needs be near the terrestrial paradise;'—coming thus to the same conclusion as Columbus.

Tobacco found its way slowly into use in Europe; the intoxicating effect of its smoke must have been accidentally discovered,
and

and the same use was made of that discovery as of the deleterious exhalations from the chasm at Delphi. 'As the devil,' says Monardus, 'is a deceiver, and hath the knowledge of the virtue of herbs, so he did show the virtue of this herb, that by the means thereof they might see their imaginations and visions that he hath represented unto them.' But this was not a secret which the priests could keep to themselves; what they did for their craft, the chiefs and people did for their gratification; they smoked to pass away time—to abate pain—to take away the sense of hunger—to refresh themselves after fatigue—and as much, perhaps, as for any or all these reasons, to make themselves drunk withal, and to see visions and things that represent themselves, 'wherein they do delight,'—a sort of intellectual sensualization. The manner of taking the smoke was equally unlike the oriental method, which is the most refined, and that which the Thracians are said to have used, which is the crudest,—for the Thracians threw such seeds and leaves into the fire as produced an intoxicating smoke, and held their heads near enough to inhale the intoxication. In Hayti, a sort of pastil was formed of the leaves; the instrument for inhaling, from which the herb derived its name, was called *tabaco*,—it was made of wood, forked, and tubular, the shape being that of the letter Y; the single end was applied to the burning pastil, the other two inserted up the nostrils, till the smoker was stupified to his heart's desire. The negroes were the first to learn the practice, and they, like the Indians, made plantations of the herb. Their masters, also, took to it, those more especially who were perishing piecemeal under that loathsome disease, which, if they did not find it in the island, assumed there a new and more deadly virulence. They did not feel their misery, they said, while the tobacco affected them; which, as it did not heal them, says Oviedo, I hold for a worse thing than the pain which it suspended. Oviedo had a wholesome and cleanly dislike to the practice; and he reckoned it among the vices of the Indians.

But after Oviedo's time, it appears to have fallen into disuse. The negroes were forbidden to smoke, for some unexplained reason, but probably because it was regarded as intended to produce intoxication, and, therefore, sinful; they were punished if detected in it, and their plantations of the herb were destroyed. Still, however, they smoked in secret places. Perhaps the many and extraordinary medicinal virtues which were ascribed to the herb, and its real utility as a specific (which it seems to have been) against the poison of the Carib arrows, made the Spaniards regard it as having been intended for other purposes than those of mere gratification; for such a feeling was in the spirit of those times. Beckman says, the seeds were brought to Portugal in 1599; this

is probably an error* of the press here, for it obtained its once well-known appellation of the Nicotian herb long before that time, Nicot, the French ambassador at Lisbon, having carried it from Portugal to France in 1561. 'Within these few years,' says Monardus, 'there hath been brought into Spain of it, more to adornate gardens with the fairness thereof, and to give a pleasant sight, than that it was thought to have the marvellous medicinable virtues which it hath; but now we do use it more for his virtues than for his fairness.' He calls it an herb of much antiquity; meaning that its use, or abuse, had been known of old time among the Indians. According to Beekman, it began to be cultivated in the East Indies early in the sixteenth century. But there is a curious fact stated in the very curious travels of Ewlia Effendi; he says, that in cutting through the wall of a Grecian building at Constantinople, built before the birth of Mohammed, a tobacco pipe was found between the stones; it still retained the smell of the smoke, and in the Effendi's opinion, incontestably proved the antiquity of that practice. The translator conjectures upon this, that smoking having at first been prohibited to the Mohammedans as an innovation, and contrary to the principle of their law, the pipe had probably been inserted in the wall by some lover of tobacco, in order to furnish an argument for the antiquity of the custom; and, therefore, of its lawfulness. The probability of this conjecture depends upon the circumstances of the alleged discovery, and of these Ewlia has said nothing; the fact, however, is worthy of notice, though, even if there were no deception in it, it stands singly and unsupported.

The best, and at the same time, the worst anecdote concerning this Indian weed, is what Franklin has related of the Attorney-General Seymour, in William and Mary's reign, who opposed a grant of 2000*l.* for a college in Virginia; and when he was requested to consider that it was to educate young men for the ministry of the Gospel, and that the people of Virginia had souls to be saved as well as the people of England, replied, 'Souls! d—n your souls! make tobacco.' An attorney-general worthy to have been initiated in the modern science of meta-politics, and in that jurisprudence which ought, in honour of its egregious founder, to be called *Jerry*sprudence! worthy also to have delivered lectures to the Utilitarians! Tobacco *quasi τω Βαρχω*, Josuah Sylvester calls it, when he thundered his volley of holy shot from Mount Helicon, and shattered the pipes about the ears of those 'that idly idolized so base and barbarous a weed.' In his days

'—Don Tobacco had an ampler reign,
Than Don Philipppo, the great king of Spain.'

* In the English translation.

And he himself had once been 'demi-captive to his puffing pride.' He questioned whether the devil had done more harm in latter ages by means of fire and smoke, through the invention of guns, or of tobacco-pipes; and he conjecture that Satan introduced the fashion, as a preparatory course of smoking for those who were to be matriculated in his own college,

'As roguing gipsies tan their little elves,
To make them tann'd and ugly, like themselves.'

Josuah propounds in this poem the query, whether more hurt or good had resulted from the discovery of America: and he delivers his opinion, that both to the new world and to the old the hurt had preponderated. We had taken out vice and brought home disease: the whole returns which he could enumerate were gold, tobacco, scurvie, (first known in the first long voyages,) and another worse evil, the name of which, in his days, was not un-presentable, 'in prose or rhyme.' Potatoes, which more than balanced the account, had not come into use. Chocolate recommended itself sooner; being found peculiarly convenient on a fast-day, in places where that fine fish, called the Solan Goose, was not procurable. The hammock, also, had probably been by that time adopted on shipboard. Oviedo recommended it for soldiers; and innumerable are the lives which might have been saved, if his advice had received the attention which it merited. Sylvester noticed none of the incommunities which had been introduced from the old world into the new, in the first interchange of good and evil. At the head of the last, small-pox is to be placed. The Europeans carried with them their vermin as well as their vices: rats and mice have been imported wherever ships have touched; the common-fly, which, in many parts of America is one of the greatest pests of man and beast, was carried from Spain to Hispaniola, and so was the cock-roach, which the West Indies have returned to us with increase. But as it was only known in Andalusia at the time of the discovery, it had, probably been brought from some other country by the Moors: the worst importation was that of the negroes.

When the Spaniards introduced a black race into the islands to supply the place of the red people, whom they were extirpating, they prepared the way for all the evils which have arisen from the slave trade, the horrors which have taken place, and the fearful consequences which may yet be apprehended. Las Casas has been inconsiderately condemned upon this score, as if, in his earnest desire of mitigating the sufferings which he witnessed, and rescuing from destruction the poor remnant of the islanders, he acted without foresight, and merely substituted victims of a different colour. But the slave trade was not so nefarious in its origin

origin as this would represent it. Las Casas was not introducing a new evil; he was accustomed to it in his own country, where it had grown imperceptibly out of the established usages of war. During the long struggle between the Moors and Christians in the peninsula, all prisoners who were unable to ransom themselves became slaves. When the Portuguese first, and the Spaniards afterwards, in pursuit of that hereditary warfare, became invaders in their turn, and assailed the Moors on the opposite coast of Africa, the same system was, of course, observed; and as the Portuguese, in the progress of their discoveries, advanced along the coast of West Africa, the negroes were subjected to the same chance and condition of war. Nicolas Clenard, writing in the lifetime of Las Casas, says, that when he first entered Evora, he could have imagined himself in a city of cacodemons, so great was the number of negroes there; and he describes Lisbon as swarming with slaves. '*Mancipiorum plena sunt omnia. Æthiopes et Mauri captivi omnia obeunt munera, quo genere hominum tam est referta Lusitania, ut credam Ulyssipona plures esse hujusmodi servos et servas, quam sint liberi Lusitani.*' There were many menial offices which no white person would condescend to perform; when, therefore, Las Casas proposed that black slaves should be introduced into the islands, he thought it no greater evil to employ them in America than in Europe, where their bondage was not severe; and he might reasonably have expected that, being recognized as property by the laws, and having been purchased by their owners, they would be more considerately treated than the miserable Indians, for whom no price was paid, and in whose death no loss was sustained.

But even if Las Casas had not recommended this substitution, it would certainly have taken place in the natural course of events. No Europeans went out to the conquest to earn a livelihood there as labourers, and in the short space of one generation scarcely any Indians were left. The introduction, in fact, began before it was thought of as a substitution by this enthusiastic but sincere philanthropist. The year after his first voyage to Hispaniola, and within ten years after the discovery, so many negroes had been imported into that island, that any further importation was prohibited at Ovando's solicitation, the danger being evident. It is remarkable how soon that danger was apprehended, how clearly it was perceived, and how distinctly acknowledged; yet the importation was continued, so great was the necessity for labourers: the restrictions were sometimes lessened, and sometimes suspended, or they were eluded. Terrible as the Spaniards everywhere were to the conquered people, they nowhere appear to have been cruel to their negroes; and even, if the introduction of that race

race into the islands had been wholly the work of Las Casas, it would be most unreasonable to condemn him for not having foreseen the enormous extension of the slave trade, which the commercial system would one day occasion, and the consequent aggravation of slavery. It should be remembered, too, for his honour in this age, as it so often was for his reproach in his own, that he tried the experiment of establishing a peaceful colony on the main land, taking out husbandmen instead of soldiers. The experiment was ill-planned, ill-placed, and ill-timed; it exposed him to obloquy and derision, but it made him a sadder and a wiser man, and he has left on earth one of those good names which will retain their fragrance through all time. History presents few such, and of all histories that of these islands the fewest.

Captain Southey has resisted the temptation which his subject, in its earlier parts, threw in his way, and when he was led to the very borders of heroic history, has, with commendable self-denial, abstained from passing beyond his prescribed limits. He fits out the expeditions from Hispaniola and Cuba, accompanies them to the main land, and leaves them to pursue their marvellous fortunes, while he keeps to his faithful task as annalist of the islands. The series of events is, for the most part, such as there is little pleasure in tracing; yet amid much that is revolting, much that is bloody, and more that is base, sometimes a romantic incident occurs, sometimes a generous one, to relieve the details, and redeem human nature from the opprobrium to which such a history might otherwise expose it. These are the more valuable, when they relate to men who, if they were judged of by some of their other actions, might be deemed monsters of barbarity. There was a certain Diego de Salazar, among the first conquerors and settlers of the island of Boriquen, now called Puerto Rico; the people of that island were a warlike race; the Caribs, by their frequent invasions, had made them so; and they were a generous race also, of which remarkable proof was given with regard to this Salazar. They had taken a young Spaniard, Nuarez by name, and left him bound hand and foot in one of their dwellings, while a game at ball was played between two parties, to decide which should have the pleasure of slaughtering him, and the honour of giving the feast at which he was to be eaten. An Indian slave had been taken with him, and finding means to escape before the game began, came weeping to Salazar, and lamenting for the fate of his master. Salazar, who is introduced to the reader as a person of good life and conversation, remarkable for strength and courage, and for his devotion to the blessed Virgin, resolved at once singly to adventure his life for the deliverance of the poor youth; though the Indian thought the attempt so desperate, that he refused

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to guide him, till Salazar, by the threat of immediate death, compelled his obedience. To the place accordingly they went, and while the party were eagerly engaged in their game, Salazar entered the dwelling unperceived, cut the cords with which Nuarez was bound, and bidding him follow his example like a man, advanced toward the Indians with sword and buckler, and cut his way through them. They were about three hundred, but they were taken by surprise; the two Spaniards laid on manfully to right and left, smiting them, for 'the love of charity,' with such hearty good-will, that they cleared the way, and presently got to a safe distance on their return. One of the Indian chiefs was badly wounded in this attack, and this man sent a messenger to request that Salazar would turn back, because he admired him, and wished to become acquainted with so brave a man, and to do him any pleasure or service in his power. The story would tell well in Homeric times, or in chivalrous romance; for Salazar at once declared that he would accept the invitation. Nuarez, having before his eyes the fear of that dinner, at which he was to have been the principal dish, besought him on his knees, for the love of God, to think better of it, and not to tempt Providence, which had so wonderfully preserved them thus far,—for it was not possible that they could escape if they perilled themselves again, being no more than two against so many. 'Look you, Nuarez,' said Diego de Salazar, 'if it like you not to turn back with me, go your way in good hour, as you can now safely: but I shall go see what these Indians would have with me, for they shall never think that I am afraid of them!' Nuarez was, too honourable a youth to forsake the man who had delivered him at such imminent risk of his own life, and, therefore, with better heart than inclination, turned back with him. The chief, whom they found very ill-wounded, inquired Salazar's name, and requested that he might be allowed to take that name himself, in token of esteem and friendship; the permission was readily accorded, and immediately his countrymen saluted him with acclamations by his new name, as if he were at the same time invested with the resolution and good fortune which so remarkably distinguished his namesake. In further pledge and proof of the friendship thus gallantly contracted, the Indian presented him with four slaves, and with ornaments, valuable in Salazar's eyes as well as in his own, gold being the material of which they were made: and then the two Spaniards took their leave and returned in peace.

On which side the greater gallantry was shown in this singular adventure is a question worthy to have been debated between king Meliadus and the good knight *sans paour*, or between Gyron the Courteous and Red Danayn. Yet will it be believed, that this

this very Diego de Salazar, who adventured his life so generously for a countryman, who is extolled for the general benevolence of his character, and for his especial devotion to the blessed Virgin, should have had no more compunction in setting dogs upon the Indians, to devour them alive, than is felt by huntsmen when the hare is found, and the hounds are laid on ! The fact appears incidentally in an anecdote, which may place beast nature in a better point of view than human nature. The hero of the story figures in Captain Southey's history with great propriety among the conquerors of Puerto Rico, for, though only a dog, the full pay of a cross-bowman and half as much more was received by his owner for his services, and he was thought to have done as much towards what is called the *pacification* of that island, as a third of all the Spaniards who were employed in it. Bezerrillo was his name: it is somewhat remarkable, that the most noted dog in history, and the most famous horse should have derived their names, the one from his likeness to a bull, the other to a calf. Bezerrillo was of a reddish colour, with a black face, not large of his kind, nor finely made, 'but of great understanding and courage, and, indeed, what he did was such, that sans doubt the Christians believed God had sent him for their succour.' He would 'select among two hundred Indians one who had escaped from the Christians, or who should have been pointed out to him, and would seize him by the arm, and make him come back with him to the camp, or wherever the Christians might be ; and if he attempted to resist, or would not come, he tore him to pieces, and did other things which were very remarkable, and worthy of admiration.' At midnight, if a prisoner got loose, and were a league distant, it was but to say, 'the Indian is gone,' or 'fetch him,' and away Bezerrillo went upon the scent and brought him back. The tame Indians he knew as well as a man could know them, and never did them hurt, and among many tame ones, he could distinguish one wild one. It seemed as if he had the judgment and intelligence of a man, and that not of a foolish one.

Salazar had one day taken an old Indian woman, among other prisoners, after a defeat of the natives, and for no assigned, or assignable reason, but in mere wantonness of cruelty, he determined to set this dog upon the poor wretch. But it was to be made a sport of, a spectacle for the Spaniards, or the Christians, as their contemporary historian and fellow-Christian calls them, even while he is relating this story. The reader will judge what the state of natural and general feeling must have been, when a man of his extraordinary acquirements and talents, and who gives evident proofs in his book of a sincere religious belief, could relate these circumstances, without the slightest expression of horror, and, undoubtedly,

undoubtedly, without the slightest feeling that there was anything unusual, anything unfitting, still less, that there was anything devilish and damnable related. Salazar gave the woman an old letter, and told her to go with it to the governor at Aynaco. The poor creature went her way joyfully, expecting to be set at liberty when she had performed her errand. The intent was merely to get her away from the rest, that the dog might have a fair field, and the beholders a full sight. Accordingly, when she had proceeded little farther than a stone's throw, Bezerrillo was set at her! Hearing him come, the woman threw herself on the ground; and her simple faith in Salazar's intention, and in the animal's sagacity, saved her; for she held out the letter to the dog, and said, 'O sir dog, sir dog! I am carrying a letter to the lord governor—don't hurt me, sir dog.' The dog seemed to understand her; and did understand her, in fact, sufficiently to know that she did not look upon herself as a condemned person, and that she implored his mercy: and he came up to her gently, and did her no harm.*

'The Christians held this for a thing of much mystery, knowing the fierceness of the dog, and the captain, also, seeing the clemency which the dog had shown, ordered him to be tied up; and they called back the poor Indian woman, and she came back to the Christians in dismay, thinking that they had sent the dog to bring her, and trembling with fear, she sate herself down. And after a little while the governor Juan Ponce arrived, and being informed of what had happened, he would not be less compassionate with the woman than the dog had been, and he gave orders that she should be set at liberty, and allowed to go whither she would; and accordingly so it was done.'

Bezerrillo was shot with a poisoned arrow by a Carib, when swimming after an Indian. The Spaniards could not have suffered a greater loss. He left a numerous progeny, who are said to have proved *muy excelentes perros*, and many of them to have imitated him in his great and good qualities. Only one of them obtained a name in history, and this was Leoncico; he was as good a dog as his sire, and received even larger pay, even the double pay of a man at arms; but in this, perhaps, some little favour may have been shown to his master, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the well-known and ill-requited Spaniard, who first set eyes upon the South Sea. Leoncico's share of booty sometimes amounted to more than five hundred *castellanos*: *pero era muy especial*.

What Bezerrillo was among dogs in the conquest of Puerto

* *El perro se paro como la oyo hablar; y muy manso se llevo a ella, y alzo una pierna, y la meo, como los perros lo suelen hazer en una esquina, o quando quieren orinar, sin le hazer ningun mal.*—Oviedo, ff. 126.

Rico, Salazar was among men. The first thing which the Indians endeavoured to ascertain when they intended or expected an attack was, whether Salazar was with the Spaniards; if he were, they gave up all hope of success. So greatly did this opinion act upon his own countrymen as well as the Indians, that he was carried to the field, when all strength and power of exertion were gone, and he was dying piecemeal, by that dreadful disease which avenged the Indians upon so many of their oppressors. 'In truth,' says Oviedo, 'he was a man to be thought much of; not only by reason of his great strength and courage, but because he was right courteous in all his doings, and well-bred, and a person to be esteemed wherever there are men; and every one praised him for being singularly devoted to Our Lady. He died of that terrible complaint which I have mentioned, having manifested signal and patient repentance under his sufferings.' These men did not account their injustice, their rapacity, and their cruelty among their crimes! It is one great advantage to be derived from perusing the original historians of any age, that you learn from them in what degree the spirit of the age operated upon the community: later writers are equally in danger of allowing too little for it and too much; but when any portion of history has been carefully and extensively examined, the just and natural effect of such a course of reading should be to make us more tolerant concerning individuals, and less tolerant of those institutions and usages which corrupt the dispositions and pervert the consciences of men.

There was another hero (a biped) among the conquerors of Puerto Rico, who, like Salazar, was as remarkable for gallantry and generosity as for bodily strength. Sebastian Alonso de Niebla was his name—a labouring man—who, in Spain, had never done any thing but follow the plough, and dig, and perform other such works of husbandry; but he was bold, brave, active, robust, and, moreover, a tractable person, and of good conversation. He proved an excellent soldier for the Indian wars, having a tact in discovering paths and passes, whereby he was enabled to accomplish expeditions which others would have deemed it hopeless to undertake. His bodily strength was such, that no Indian could escape from his grasp. This Sebastian was on ill terms with his neighbour Martin de Guiluz, a Biscayan hidalgo, one of the chief settlers in Puerto Rico. One day he was told that, in his neighbour's absence, the Caribs had landed upon a farm of his, and were driving away his cattle, and plundering it. Sebastian exclaimed, 'God forbid it should be said that, because I was on bad terms with Martin de Guiluz, I suffered his property to be spoiled!' And calling incontinently for his horse, off he set to the rescue, with only two or three negroes, and one Christian, on foot,

foot, in his company. The spoil was presently recovered; but Sebastian, confiding in his prodigious strength, chose rather to take prisoners, than to kill, such Caribs as he could close with. His way was to seize one by the hair, and, standing in his stirrups, lift him from the ground and deliver him over to the negroes to be secured. He had taken four in this manner; the fifth, whom he seized and suspended in the air, stabbed him in the groin with a poisoned arrow. Sebastian took vengeance for his inevitable death by slaying him and some seven or eight others whom he overtook. He lived long enough to see that his neighbour's property was restored, and to dispose of the whole of his own in charitable and pious works; and he left behind him a name which, if the old vein of Spanish verse had not been worn out, might have taken its place with 'the Infantes of Lara,' and 'My Cid the Campeador.'

The Spaniards planted their own institutions in their conquests as carefully as the Romans. They were, in that age, an industrious and a splendid people; and the city of St. Domingo is described, a few years after its foundation; as being better built than any city in Spain, Barcelona excepted. There is, probably, no other instance in colonial history of so rapid a growth. Francisco de Garay was the first person who built a house there of stone, after the Spanish plan; and it is said, that Charles V. was often lodged in worse houses than might be found in this capital of the Spanish Indies. Its prosperity soon received a sudden check: the brilliant success of Cortes attracted to the continent not only those who had then fortunes to seek, but those also who might have been well content (if rapacity and ambition could ever be contented) with what they had obtained; and, by the year 1525, the population of the city had visibly diminished. The mistaken policy of the home government inflicted upon it a more lasting evil—its prohibition of all intercourse with Europeans of any other nation than their own, at once provoked and invited piracy. The enterprise and the capital which would have been engaged in fair mercantile adventures, had the way been open, took this injurious direction, and a predatory warfare was commenced by the French, and pursued by the English; and, long before the dreadful association of the Buccaneers was formed, the ports of the Spanish colonies were infested by enemies, as daring as the Scandinavian Vikings, and hardly less ferocious. The first conquerors founded their towns where a harbour or a navigable river afforded facilities for communicating with Europe; in the next generation, when a new settlement was to be formed, the Spaniards looked for a situation which should be out of reach of a maritime enemy; and, in the third, many sea-ports were abandoned by order of the government. By a system, as short-sighted as it was selfish, the

colouists were first precluded from the socialising and humanising effects of a liberal commerce with other nations, and that prohibition placed them in a state of hostility with all. This ill effect, also, followed—that, having no intercourse with any other country than Spain, the Spanish Americans were shut out from all the improvements which were going on in the rest of Europe.

No sooner had the age of enterprise passed away for the Spaniards, than the English began their career of maritime adventure, which at one time rendered their name as odious, and as deservedly so, to the Spanish Americans, as that of the Spaniards themselves was to the original natives of the land. Captain Southey enters into the details of these expeditions with the spirit of an English sailor, but with the feeling, also, of one who, living in happier days, has been trained in a better school of humanity, and in a more generous system of warfare. He follows Hawkins, Drake, Lancaster, and the other adventurers of that stamp, as far as is consistent with the limits of his subject: they were men in whom Rollo and Hastings might have recognised their true and undegenerate descendants. Of these adventurers, Drake has the most conspicuous place in popular obloquy abroad, and in popular renown at home, as well as in maritime history; but the person who made the greatest and most persevering efforts for breaking the power of Spain was the Earl of Cumberland:—

‘If,’ says his chaplain, ‘men will take into consideration his Lordship’s expenses in his several journies, his prosperous attempts in some of them, his breeding and employing men of worth and action, the many and great spoils committed upon the enemy, and the riches won from them, they will find his Lordship underwent about half the burden of the wars at sea; and that, the Queen’s actions excepted (and not many of them to be excepted), his employments, charges, spoils, and profits, did equal, or rather exceed, all other private actions undertaken and performed by all the rest of her subjects during these wars.’

Elizabeth, who had every other quality that becomes a queen, was wanting in generosity: therein she inherited the temper of the first Tudor, not of her father. * Relying confidently upon her people’s love, she did not rely upon their liberality so much as she was entitled to do and might have done; and, when the Earl of Cumberland embarked his property and person, she would not fairly risk her ships, in the fear of incurring expense. Upon his fifth voyage, ‘the Earl having many times heretofore (says his chaplain) had the choice of such of her Majesty’s ships as should be fitting for the performance of his intended voyages (though undertaken upon his own adventure), finding that her Majesty’s prohibition, in no wise to lay an enemy’s ship aboard with any of them, lest that both together might come to be destroyed by fire, did bring with it much inconvenience, in regard that he had observed and found, by experience, that the

the great and rich ships and carracks had taken to them more boldness and courage of resistance than accustomed—who, heretofore, upon the discharge of the first tyre of ordinance, did usually strike sail and yield—so as if he should encounter the said ships again his Lordship should be enforced to transgress her Majesty's command, or else to lose so great a purchase (by good fortune fallen into his hands), to his great grief and scorn; these things considered, his Lordship rather made election to refuse her Majesty's ships, and to seek forth, amongst the merchants and owners, some ships of war of the best choice for his hire and wages.'

This is a curious fact in the naval history of England, that our ships should ever have been forbidden to lay an enemy aboard! 'The Earl, rather than be fettered by such a prohibition, built for himself a ship of nine hundred tons at Deptford, 'who, for her greatness and goodness, was the best ship that was ever before built or employed by any subject.' The Queen was at her launching, and named her the Scourge of Malice. Elizabeth was, indeed, well pleased to encourage such a spirit—too much in that temper which lets the free horse work itself to death. And of this the Earl complained: 'I have been,' he says, in a narrative addressed to his sister, 'only a fire-maker for others to warm themselves at, when I was thrust out of doors to blow my fingers in the cold: and I think was born, like Wat of Greenwich, to die carrying the coal basket.'

Few enterprises, even in that age, were more boldly undertaken, or more successfully achieved, than the attack which this Earl made upon Puerto Rico, in his twelfth voyage. He describes the city as 'in circuit not so big as Oxford, but very much bigger than Portsmouth, with the fortifications, and in my sight, much fairer, whatsoever you respect.' An amusing example occurs in his Chaplain Aglionby's account of the different light in which opposite parties regard the same circumstance: speaking of the way which the Earl resolved to take when he proceeded to attack the town, he says, 'truly it was God that put this constancy of resolution into his mind, for he was not without apprehension of the difficulties; but this proved the very best course, insomuch that I have heard the Spaniards say, that except the devil had led us, we could never have found that way.' If Cumberland could have kept the island, as it was his intention to do, and an efficient government had been established there, (as it probably would, when English statesmen were forming colonial projects, and looking even as far as Madagascar,) many of the crimes and miseries of which these islands, during the next hundred years, were destined to become the theatre, might have been averted. But the climate, which has ever proved more destructive to the English than to
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the French or Spaniards, cut off, in the course of a few weeks, four hundred of his men, and disabled so many more, that it made it necessary for him to abandon his conquest. In twelve such expeditions he impaired his princely fortune, and past what should have been the best and happiest years of his life. But he had inherited the old, restless, unconquerable high spirit of the Cliffords, and, though deeming himself ill-requested for his services, looked with satisfaction upon the part which he had chosen, and believed that he had spent his life worthily and well. ‘Disgraces,’ said he, ‘have been too heavily laid upon me, and, perhaps, would have discouraged many from farther endeavouring; yet shall it, whilst I live, glad my heart, knowing that I have done unto her Majesty an excellent service, and discharged that duty which I owe unto my country so far as that, whensoever God shall call me out of this wretched world, I shall die with assurance that I have discharged a good part I was born for.’

When Daniel addrest that fine epistle to the widow, this Earl’s wife, he had probably the course of his restless and undomestic life in mind. The following lines seem plainly to have this reference, in which he reminds her how well she understands,—

‘ — that unless above himself he can
 Erect himself, how poor a thing is man !
 And how turmoiled they are that level lie
 With earth, and cannot lift themselves from thence;
 That never are at peace with their desires,
 But work beyond their years; and even deny
 Dotage her rest, and hardly will dispense
 With death. That when ability expires,
 Desire lives still,—so much delight they have
 To carry toil and travel to the grave.
 Whose ends you see, and what can be the best
 They reach unto, when they have cast the sum
 And reckonings of their glory. And you know
 This floating life hath but this port of rest,
A heart prepared, that fears no ills to come;
 And that man’s greatness rests but in his show,
 The best of all whose days consumed are
 Either in war, or peace, conceiving war.’

James’s pacific system of policy put an end, for a time, to a system of warfare from the barbarizing effects of which the Spanish colonies never recovered. In his reign Sir George Somers took possession of the Bermudas, gave his own name to them, and died there of a death which he might have escaped had he been either Jew or Mahomedan,—for Captain Southey tells us it was ‘a surfeit after eating pork.’ Five of the settlers, be-
 coming

coming impatient of that tyrannical abuse of power which has been the curse of all modern colonies in their infancy, and too often throughout their growth, built a decked boat of two or three tons, under pretence that it was for fishing in rough weather; in this they made sail for England, and though plundered on the way by a French picaroon, who 'left them without a cross staff to observe,' they were fortunate enough to arrive safe in Ireland. The Earl of Thomond honourably entertained them there, 'and caused the boat to be hung up for a monument; and well she might, for she had sailed more than three thousand three hundred miles, in a right line, through the main sea.' One of the crew was born under a lucky planet; after this marvellous escape he went to the East Indies, and there, for three or four shillings, bought an old chest; after a while, not liking his bargain, he broke it up, and found concealed in it a thousand gold pieces, with which he returned to England, and purchased an estate. Whether he was ever disturbed in the enjoyment of it, by a visit from the land of spirits, is not related,—but the ghost of the hoarder, if he had any regard for his heirs, was certainly in duty bound to walk.

Thus far in his history Captain Southey has found rich materials in the early Spanish historians, and in Hakluyt and Purchas; not, however, neglecting other sources, for he has searched widely, and compiled diligently. For the next period his authorities are chiefly French. P. F. Jean Baptiste Du Tertre is the first of these in order of time, a Dominican Missionary in the French islands. His work consists of four volumes, in small quarto, the two first published in 1667, the two latter in 1671. It is a woeeful falling off in American history when the Spanish relations end, and those of any other nations, French, English, or Dutch, begin! The manner as well as the subject sinks at once. In passing even from Purchas to Du Tertre there is a loss; for there is a quaintness, and liveliness, and frequently a poetical feeling in old Purchas, who loved a pun as dearly as Fuller, and Cotton Mather, and Admiral Burney. Nevertheless Du Tertre is an authentic and valuable writer, who has preserved many original papers, and given a full and faithful account of the French colonies in their miserable beginnings. Our own began at the same time, in these islands, and their beginning was not better. Milton compared the wars of our Saxon ancestors, during the Heptarchy, to the battles of kites and crows; if he had referred to the early ones of the French and English, in this part of the world, he must have found some comparison that would have represented contests less noble and more ferocious. Adventurers of the two nations settled upon St. Kitts, so nearly at the same time, that if occupancy of an island, on which there were native inhabitants, might be admitted

to confer a right of possession, it would be difficult to determine in which that right was vested. Mr., afterwards Sir Thomas Warner, was the English commander, M. D'Enambuc, the French one; they stood in need of each other's aid against the natives, who not having invited such visitors, and being perfectly aware that no better treatment was to be expected from them than the Indians had experienced in those other islands from which the race had been extirpated, formed a secret confederacy against them with the neighbouring islanders. The plot, as so many others of the same kind had been, was revealed by an Indian woman; the Europeans lost no time in prevention, but fell upon the natives that night, and killed one hundred and twenty of them, reserving only some of the women for slaves. They prepared then for the concealed invasion at the next full moon, and losing an hundred men themselves, who were wounded with poisoned arrows, defeated the Caribs, with the loss of two thousand. 'The bodies were piled up in a square mound.' Warner and D'Enambuc then divided the island between them; and both went to Europe for reinforcements. D'Enambuc sailed from France with three vessels, and more than five hundred men. The ships were badly equipped, they were ten weeks upon the passage, and never since the islands were discovered has there been, before or since, so miserable a voyage. Of seventy men, who were embarked in one of the ships, only sixteen survived when they reached their destination; the rest were in such a condition that more than half of those who landed died in the course of a few days. Warner had arrived not long before, with four hundred men, well provided, and in good health, and he received his allies with hospitality and charitable kindness.

The French appear to have been singularly deficient in their arrangements for bringing out colonists, and providing either for their subsistence, or health upon the voyage. In the ensuing year, one hundred and fifty men were sent out in one ship, the greater part died on the way, and the survivors were helpless when they were landed. A more miserable fate befell part of another detachment who came out the same year: one hundred and twenty had sailed from France; thirty of these poor wretches reached St. Kitts in such a state that they were not able to move when they were landed. Their comrades, with a recklessness which is but too characteristic of that people, left them there, taking no further thought for them; and *personne ne s'estant mis en peine de les aller querir le soir*, the land-crabs came down at night, and devoured them alive! They came in such number, as to stand in heaps upon the bodies, as high as the huts of the settlers: '*Huit jours après il n'y eut personne qui ne fut saisi d'horreur en voyant leurs*

leurs os sur le sable, tellement nets, que les crabbes n'y avoient pas laissé un seul morceau de chair !'

It was not likely that the French and English should long continue to inhabit the same little island in peace. The English were the more numerous, but they were regarded with great contempt by their less industrious neighbours, as chiefly consisting of male and female servants, bound for seven years, fitter, says Du Tertre, to weed gardens, to clean cotton, and to tie up tobacco, than to handle arms. The Friar Predicant had forgotten that cultivation was the proper business of a colonist, and that these were the services for which they were brought out. 'The French always went armed with four or five pistols, and a fusée, and spread such terror among their more industrious and prosperous neighbours, that they declared they would rather have two devils than one Frenchman for a neighbour.' In such circumstances, to be weak, is indeed to be miserable. There was a dispute concerning the boundary, the line of which was to be drawn from a large fig-tree to the mountain: of all landmarks a worse could not have been chosen, for the branches of this tree take root till one single tree becomes a grove. This unhappy landmark continually extended itself on the French side, and the English were so unwise as to alter their reckoning as it grew, 'still drawing their line from its western extremity.' They committed the greater folly of building upon this debateable ground, so that they had two hundred and fifty houses within what would have been the acknowledged French limits, if the line had been drawn from a fixed point. No lawyer could have pleaded in their behalf, unless he thought himself justified in defending any cause, however palpably unjust. But D'Eumabuc took the shortest course of redress; and, as soon as he had received sufficient reinforcements for enabling him to dictate the law, enforced his rights at once by the *ultima ratio*. He sent some five hundred negroes, under French officers, round by the mountain to surprise the English, set fire to their houses, and put the inhabitants to the sword, while he attacked them on the other side. The negroes were to be rewarded with their freedom, if they performed this service well. They were armed with a torch in one hand, and a cutlass in the other. They looked terrible as demons, says Du Tertre, with their glittering cutlasses and their blazing flambeaus; but, in the same breath, the reverend Friar tells us, that the Capuchines would not abandon their dear flock; they marched with the troops, one carrying a great cross, and others animating them to fight bravely against the heretics, who hated them only out of antipathy to their religion!

The English, according to the French account, would not have submitted, as they did, to let D'Eumabuc draw his own line of separation,

separation, and take in more than he had pretended to claim, if the cries of women, and the dread of the negroes, had not compelled them to accept of peace upon any terms. But the English statement is, that the negroes obeyed their instructions, and that women and young girls were seized, dragged into the French quarters, and there violated. Father Du Tertre, being professionally acquainted with all the gradations and qualifications of wickedness, endeavours to divide the sin which followed between both parties. Union being restored, he says, the French and English began to trade together again, to intervisit, and communicate so familiarly, that our French, who had at that time very few women in their quarters, carried thither freely the women of the English. '*On a parlé fort différemment de ce détestable commerce.*' Some affirm that the French employed violence; that they went armed to carry off the wives and daughters of their neighbours, and sent them back when they had satiated their brutal passions. Others, says the Friar, have assured me, that the English were so base as to let out their wives and women servants, for a good meal, or for a price in goods; my own opinion is, that there was as much fault on one side as on the other; the ardent disposition of the French made them sometimes use force, but the scandalous lubricity of the English women was the principal cause of this irregularity: they came with effrontery to the French, and, after remaining some fortnight or three weeks with the officer, returned home with impunity, impudently declaring that their husbands were mean fellows, and would be too happy to receive them again, without daring to reproach them. That morals were in the worst state among the English settlers, may be believed,—indeed, they were so bad, that they prevented an English clergyman, who went to the island with the intention of settling, from remaining there. But Father Du Tertre has himself produced a sufficient refutation of his own foul slander. These disorders, he says, would undoubtedly have brought on another war, if D'Enambuc, on the representations of the Capuchines, to whom the English complained, had not forbidden any Frenchman to seize or detain an English woman in his house, on pain of death.

The French commenced their settlements in Guadaloupe with the same kind of improvidence. Richelieu procured a brief from pope Urban VIII. to authorise this expedition; thus tacitly revoking that part of pope Alexander's famous bull which assigned the whole of these regions to the Spanish crown, and excommunicated all interlopers. Twenty-five hundred settlers were taken out; in less than two months they were put upon short allowance; their flour was consumed, and more than half died. Insufficient relief was obtained from St. Kitts.

‘The allowance was now five ounces of dough every day, but this was not served out till after mid-day; they were to work till then before it was distributed. Some sought refuge among the savages, who received them with great kindness; those who remained devoured the most loathsome substances—the surgeons’ ointments; their own belts boiled down to a glue; excrement; and the graves were in the morning found open, and the carcasses dismembered; others desperately sought death, rather than endure their misery. One who had been twice burnt on the shoulders with the fleur-de-lis, and reprieved from the gallows by the intercession of Father Raymond, preferred stealing a fifth time that he might be promptly hung, to living any longer exposed to such insupportable famine.’—vol. i., pp. 274, 275.

Five years later Du Tertre formed part of the spiritual succours who were sent to this island: all the insolvent debtors of St. Kitts had been a little before declared free from their engagements, on condition of going to serve there against the Caribs, and three-fourths of them had died in consequence of the climate, destitution, and despair. Du Tertre found about an hundred of these wretched men in the house of their commander, lying on the ground, or, those who were best accommodated, upon some reeds—many of them in the last stage of disease, in filth indescribable, and without assistance from any one. ‘I had hardly finished with one,’ says he, ‘when I was obliged to hurry to another. Sometimes when I was burying one, rolled up in banana leaves (for there was no talking of a winding-sheet then), I heard nothing from all parts of the house but dying voices, which said, “Stay a moment, father—do not fill up the grave; you will not have more trouble for two or three than for one;” and for the most part so it proved, for I commonly buried two or three in the same grave!’ The history is an unrelieved series of miseries and crimes. The French government, at a time when it endeavoured to lay the moral and religious foundations of society, according to its own views, carefully, and it may even be said conscientiously, in Canada, allowed its settlements in the West Indies to be managed by any men, in any manner, and supported by any means. From Du Tertre’s account of these settlements it is that Southern has drawn his picture of colonial society in the tragedy of Oroonoko. Different as was the condition of the European settlers, the free Caribs, and the negro slaves—white, copper-coloured, and black were subject to the same caprices of absolute and insolent tyranny. We read of murders, domestic assassinations, and executions with or without the form of law, and sometimes almost without the pretext of a crime. The Caribs were exterminated from most of the islands by a merciless system of warfare, in which, when other means of destruction seemed too slow, poison was employed. The people

people appear to have been as bad as their ruler; their treatment of the *engagés*, or bond-servants, was indeed so inhuman, that even such governors found it necessary to interfere; and some masters were, for their notorious cruelty, prohibited from purchasing the services of the poor wretches who had been entrapped from their own country. 'I knew one person at Guadeloupe,' says Du Tertre, 'who buried more than fifty upon his plantation, whom he had killed by hard work, or by neglect when they were sick. This cruelty proceeded from their having them for three years only, which made them spare the negroes rather than these poor creatures.'

A set of freebooters, many of whom were the outcasts of these outcasts, the outlaws of this lawless society, desperadoes who could live in no country where there were gibbets or wheels, had taken possession of Tortuga, expelling from thence a handful of Spaniards who had been placed there to garrison it, and considered themselves as in a kind of banishment from which they rejoiced to be thus set free. A colony grew up thus, composed of four sorts of persons, buccaneers, who employed themselves in hunting; freebooters, or pirates, who plundered by sea; the inhabitants, who cultivated the ground—some of whom raised tobacco; and bond-servants, a class of persons for whom, in latter times, the barbarous appellation of *Redemptioners* has been used. They lived together upon very good terms, under a sort of democratic government, which Captain Southey happily describes as one wherein 'every free person had despotic power in his house, and every captain on board his vessel.' After a few years, the Spaniards of St. Domingo, disliking this neighbourhood, and annoyed by those buccaneers, who were leading a worse than savage life in St. Domingo itself, hoped to rid themselves of the latter by taking Tortuga, which they looked upon as their nest. Timing their expedition well, when the freebooters were at sea, and the hunters had crossed to the larger island, they made their attack, put to the sword all whom they could seize, and hung those who surrendered in vain hope of mercy. Then they attempted to clear St. Domingo of its unwelcome visitors: these ruffians, finding themselves hotly pursued, chose an Englishman, by name Willis, for their captain, and he took possession again of Tortuga. There were about three hundred adventurers with him; the French accused him of being partial to his countrymen, and finding themselves too weak to set him aside and to appoint another captain in St. Kitts, applied to the French governor-general at St. Kitts to aid them. Accordingly a Huguenot, whose name was Le Vasseur, received a commission as governor of Tortuga, with orders to expel the English—which he had no difficulty in doing; for, as soon as he landed, the French in Willis's company revolted.

Willis,

Willis, in consequence, consented to withdraw immediately with all his countrymen, and Le Vasseur established himself in the island.

‘ At five or six hundred paces from the sea, there is a mountain, the summit of which is level, and in the centre of this platform a rock rises thirty-feet high, and steep all round ; at the foot of this rock issues a clear spring of sweet water, of the size of a man’s arm, which spring could not be cut off. Round the summit of the mountain, Le Vasseur made a terrace, with lodging-rooms for four hundred soldiers, and he had steps cut half-way up the rock, that rose in the middle of the platform, and an iron ladder to mount the rest, which ladder was drawn up when the governor retired to the rock ; he had also a tunnel cut, by which, with a rope ladder, they might descend to the platform. Upon this rock Le Vasseur had his magazine, and several pieces of cannon, and upon the platform a great number more.

‘ He soon established good order in the colony. The Buccaneers were received with attention, and the freebooters brought their prizes there, and got their commissions from the governor, by paying a tenth of their profits : these plundered the Spaniards both by sea and land ; and the Spaniards, in return, put them to cruel deaths, whenever they caught them. The port was open to all nations, and it became the depôt from whence the Buccaneers and freebooters got their arms, ammunition, brandy, and clothes, in exchange for their hides and fish.’ —vol. i., pp. 287, 288.

Le Vasseur obtained great reputation by defeating the Spaniards in a formidable attack which they made upon the island. Some proof of ability, also, he gave in baffling a scheme which the governor-general had laid for entrapping him to St. Kitts, and then dispossessing him of his command—partly for jealousy, and partly in fear of being reprimanded for having given such a commission to a Huguenot, and by a secret article granted liberty of conscience to him and all of his persuasion. But this treatment provoked Le Vasseur to exercise intolerance toward an intolerant religion ; he burnt the Romish chapel, and shipped off a capuchin, who was the only Romish priest upon the island. Then, also, he began to play the tyrant : and, in the worst mood of tyranny, to be mirthful in his cruelties. A dungeon in the fort he called his purgatory, and he had an iron cap made which he called his hell, into which he put the criminal’s head, arms, and legs, and thus kept him constantly bent. Hitherto he had manifested no disobedience to the governor-general ; but, having taken a silver image of the Virgin in a Spanish vessel, the governor applied for it, saying ; that it would more properly be in possession of a Roman Catholic and a knight of Malta than of a Huguenot : Le Vasseur sent him a copy in wood, saying, he admired the workmanship of the original too much to part with it, and that the Roman Catholics were too spiritual

spiritual to regard the materials of which their images were made. The conclusion of this man's history is characteristic of the state of manners and morals. Being unmarried, and without children, he adopted two nephews and named them as his heirs. Thibault, the one, had a handsome woman for his mistress: Le Vasseur was not too old to rival his nephew in this woman's favour. The intrigue was discovered, and Thibault consulted with Martin his brother how to be revenged. Murder was so little regarded in their accursed state of society, that they made no attempt to conceal their vengeance, but executed it openly: the one brother firing at him, and the other despatching him with a dagger. They then took possession of the government. An expedition soon arrived which had been sent from St. Kitts against the uncle; and the two assassins, finding themselves unsupported by the people, surrendered, on condition of indemnity, and security for their property. Attempting afterwards to recover the island from the Spaniards, who had again taken it, they were lost at sea, with some three hundred followers; most, or all of them, no doubt well nigh as deserving as themselves of a drier death.

Yet, from such men and such beginnings the French colony of St. Domingo arose; in its commencement, perhaps, the most flagitious of all these colonies; in its prosperity certainly the most flourishing; and in its catastrophe, it may be hoped, the most disastrous. But even the buccaneers, wicked and inhuman above all men as they were, laid the same kind of unction to their souls as the Spaniards had done, and persuaded themselves that, in their career of cruelty, they were exacting vengeance for the wrongs of the Indians. This is curiously shown in the engraved title-page to their history, in the original Dutch; on the one side, a Spaniard is represented treading on an Indian, on the other, a buccaneer treading on a Spaniard; *Innocenter* is written under the first compartment—*Pro peccatis* under the other.

The Spaniards, after keeping possession of Tortuga about eighteen months, blew up the fort, burnt all the buildings, laid the plantations waste, and withdrew their garrison, in consequence of the alarm occasioned in St. Domingo by the appearance of an English fleet. This was the expedition under Penn and Venables which Cromwell had sent out: it failed disgracefully in its main object; the Spaniards routed half the army before the rest could come up, slew six hundred, drove two hundred more into the woods, where they were hunted down and slaughtered by the negroes, and wounded three hundred, most of them in the back—so shameful was the panic. General Haines, endeavouring in vain to rally his men, begged for God's sake that only ten would stay by him and make a stand—but not one was found; and he, preferring

ferring death to disgrace, fell like a brave man, selling his life dearly. Venables imputed this villainous behaviour not to the men who were brought from England, some three thousand in number, but to the five thousand adventurers whom he collected from Barbadoes and St. Kitts; and who, he says, were 'found most fearful, being only bold to do mischief; not to be commanded as soldiers, not to be kept in any civil order, being the most profane, debauched persons that he ever saw—scorners of religion, and, indeed, so loose as not to be kept under discipline, and so cowardly as not to be made to fight; so that, had we known what they would have proved, we should rather have chose to have gone ourselves, as we came from England, than to have such for our assistants, who, we fear, with some others put upon us in England, have drawn heavy afflictions upon us, dishonour upon our nation and religion.' It is said that the Spaniards, by whom they were thus scandalously routed, did not exceed fifty men, exclusive of negroes and mulattoes, and, by this handful of enemies, seven English colours were carried to the city of St. Domingo as sure trophies of victory. Another extraordinary memorial of the preservation of the island, at that time, was preserved in the cathedral there till our own days. The troops were so thoroughly intimidated that, when they were seeking food, the very apprehension of an enemy put them to flight; 'and, at some times, when neither men nor beasts were near, only the leaves of trees making some little noise, and the sound of crabs stirring in the woods, possessed them with such eminent fears, that they, leaving their weapons behind, ran over clefts into the sea.' The Spaniards, retaining only traditional accounts of the expedition, believe that the clattering of the land-crabs, over the dry leaves, was mistaken by the English for the march of cavalry, and that, under that belief, they hastily re-embarked, and abandoned their disastrous enterprise. In remembrance of this they had the image of a land-crab wrought in solid gold, the size of a drum-head, and appointed an anniversary festival, on which day the crab was carried in procession. When the French took possession of the city, they transferred the crab from the cathedral to the crucible, and from the crucible—those in authority among them best know where.

Sailing from St. Domingo with the loss of seventeen hundred men, they appointed a day of humiliation; and, 'in consequence of the great cowardice which had been shown, it was proclaimed to the whole army, that whosoever should be found to turn his back to the enemy and run away, the next officer should immediately run him through, which, if he failed to perform, himself was to suffer death without mercy.' An Englishman, in these days,
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can scarcely believe that what he thus reads can have related to his own countrymen, and in an age, too, when the name of Englishman was never more respected throughout Christendom. To this very force, however, Jamaica was surrendered without resistance. The expedition had been undertaken upon the information given respecting the Spanish colonies by Thomas Gage, an unprincipled and worthless fellow, who having been a Dominican friar in New Spain, had thrown off his frock, and designated himself at this time as ‘preacher of the Word of God at Deal, in the county of Kent.’ This man published what he called a ‘New Survey of the West Indies, or the English American his travels by sea and land;’ in which, without acknowledgment, he transcribed largely from the old translation of Gomara. In a second edition of this book, published after the Restoration, its dedication to Fairfax was altered into an address to the reader, and the concluding chapter was omitted; a circumstance noticed by that good, honest, blunder-headed, thorough-paced bigot, Thomas Hollis: ‘that chapter,’ he said, ‘contained several particulars concerning the hopes the papalins had of Laud’s favourable intentions toward them.’ It contains an assertion that the unfortunate service-book, which was composed for the church of Scotland, had been sent by Laud to Rome, ‘to be first viewed and approved of by the pope and cardinals. This Gage says he heard at Rome, from father Fitzherbert, rector of the English college there, and this most true relation he had often spoken of in private discourse, and publicly preached it at the lectures of Wingham in Kent; and when he printed his book, he says, “I could not in my conscience omit it here, both to vindicate the just censure of Death, which the now sitting parliament have formerly given against him for such like practices and compliances with Rome; and, secondly, to reprove the ungrounded opinion and error of some ignorant and malignant spirits who, to my knowledge, have since his death highly exalted him, and cried him up for a martyr.”’

This impudent and absurd falsehood made the first edition of Gage’s book precious in the eyes of Thomas Hollis, who could believe any thing, except what was good, of an archbishop or a king; and forgive any thing, even Christianity itself, in a republican or a usurper! Gage accompanied the expedition, and fell in it—receiving from the Spaniards his death, but not exactly that which, as a traitor to them, he had deserved.

A book, relating to the West Indies, in the same small, thin folio form, but of a very different character, was published two years after Gage’s rascally compilation by Richard Ligon. To this book it is that we are beholden for the sad story of Yarico in the *Spectator*, and for the pleasant comedy which the younger Colman

Colman has built upon that foundation. Few books have ever been written with a kindlier spirit, or in a livelier and more characteristic manner, than his 'True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes.' By history, he means simply an account. It was drawn up, because his conversation upon the subject had interested Bishop Duppa, whom he addresses as his most honoured and highly esteemed friend; and that he should have been so permitted to address such a person, is sufficient proof that Ligon was himself the simple-hearted, right-minded, good, amiable man that he appears to be in his book. In better times, poor Ligon would have found, from this excellent prelate, the patronage which he deserved.

'You can best tell,' said the bishop to him in a letter written after he had perused the book, and before it was published, 'You can best tell with what pleasure you past over your voyage to the Barbadoes. But, whatsoever it was, your dangers at sea, and your long sickness on land, had been enough to sour it, had not the condition of the times made any place more acceptable than your native country. But the pleasure which you have given me in reading this narrative is without all these mixtures: for, without any hardship at all, I have in a few days gone the same voyage, viewed the island, weighed all the commodities and incommunities of it, and all this with so much pleasure that I cannot, without great injustice, forbear telling you, that though I have read formerly many relations of other parts of the world, I never yet met with so exact a piece as this of yours. Your diligence hath been great in so short a time to make these observations; but your expressions of them are such as show that no ingenuous art hath escap't you. You say that, in your younger time, you acquainted yourself with music and painting; and, had you not said so, the reading of this book would have made me say it for you; for it is so musically made up, and all the descriptions so drawn to the life, that I know no painting beyond it. And for the question you put to me, whether you should publish it or no, I desire you would make no doubt of it; for, first, I know none that hath written of this argument before; and, next, I am persuaded that, having read this description of yours, none that come after will venture upon it. Only, I have one request to you, that your kindness to me (who, without any design, gave you the occasion of doing it) may not lead you into such an insufferable error as to choose me out as a fit person to inscribe it to, who am so much in the shade, that I must not own myself. I am willing to believe, that, though honour be at this time at a very low ebb, and, by the iniquity of the times, is much fallen within the banks, yet the channel is not so dry but you may meet there with some noble person that may, with more advantage, take you and your book into the same cock-boat with him, and keep you this winter both from cold and hunger. And, therefore, in great earnestness, I desire you to look over your catalogue of friends; and, though you cannot find one that loves you better, yet make choice of him that can protect you better. And so

with my prayers for you, that your afflictions here may be so managed by you as to lead you to joys hereafter, I rest your most affectionate friend,

BR. SAR.

Ligon, though confined to what was then called the *Upper Bench Prison*, when he received the letter, was not so poor in spirit as in fortune, and the book appeared accordingly with the epistle dedicatory to Duppa as Lord Bishop of Salisbury. Lovelace's noble prison-verses are not written in a more cheerful spirit. Throughout the book the good old man never utters a complaint, nor expresses the slightest feeling of discontent; and though this resignation to misfortune, brought upon him by the general misery which the civil war occasioned, must have been common to him with thousands and tens of thousands of his fellow-sufferers, the elasticity and cheerfulness of mind which he discovered were his own. He had intended, he said, to have painted 'a piece of landscape, and one of story, wherein to express the postures of the negroes in their several kinds of sports and labours, and with it the beauties of the vegetables that do adorn that place, in the best perfection he could;' but presently after, (says he,) 'being cast into prison, I was deprived both of light and loneliness—two main helpers in that art: and so, being disabled to discern or judge of colours, I was compelled to express my design in black and white.' He makes no more complaint than this, and expresses a confident hope that God, who had delivered him from sickness and death on land, and from shipwrecks and hazards at sea, would also deliver him 'from that uncircumcised Philistine, the Upper Bench; than which neither the burning fire of a fever, nor the raging waves of the sea are more formidable.' 'But (said he) we have seen and suffered greater things—and when the great leveller of the world, Death, shall run his progress, all estates will be laid even. *Mors sceptru Ligonibus æquat.*' With this pun the happy-minded old man concludes his volume.

Barbadoes was in a state of great prosperity during Ligon's residence there—using the word prosperity in the sense attached to it by political economists. Property was rapidly increasing in value, and the planters were making great, even ambitious fortunes, according to the precept in Horace, *quocunque modo*. This was owing to the sugar plantations. They had brought canes from Pernambuco, then in possession of the Dutch, and had gone thither to learn the whole process of extracting and refining the sugar; and this with such success, that 7000*l.* were paid for the moiety of a plantation, consisting of five hundred acres, the whole of which, a very few years before, might have been purchased
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for 400*l.* The purchaser, who went out with Ligon, had resolved not to return to England, till he should have realised 100,000*l.*, 'all by the sugar-plant;' and Colonel Drax, who began with 300*l.*, had raised his fortune to such a height, that he expected in a few years to purchase, in his own country, an estate of 10,000*l.* a-year, with less than which he would not be contented. He was not able, he said, to say of the planters half what they deserved. They were men of great abilities and parts, 'otherwise they would not go through with such great works as they undertook,'—a plantation being a work of such latitude as required 'a very good head-piece to put in order and continue so. 'He found them,' he says, 'as to their nature and disposition, compliable in a high degree to all virtues that those of the best sort of gentlemen call excellent. They were kind and hospitable to strangers, and upon the best terms with each other.' Different persuasions were not allowed to occasion any dissensions there: the words Roundhead and Cavalier were by common consent prohibited; whoever used either, was to give to all who heard him 'a shot and a turkey to be eaten at his house.' In this respect, Little England, as it was afterwards called, was happier than the mother-country; but he tells us, that after he left the island it was otherwise. Prosperous, however, as the settlers were, he thought there were few of them that would not gladly 'sell good pennyworths, to settle themselves quietly in England.' Sickneses were more grievous there; there was a 'plentiful want' of such remedies as were to be found in their own country, and the mortality was of course far greater. Indeed, among the articles which he recommends to be taken out for sale, is black ribbon for mourning, as being much worn there, by reason of frequent death. When he arrived there, the sickness was so prevalent and fatal, that the living could hardly bury the dead; they threw the bodies (i. e., of the slaves and bond-servants no doubt) into the morass close to Bridgetown, and thus infected the water, so that many were supposed to have died in consequence of drinking it.

The climate was not the only discomfort to which they were subjected. The state of domestic insecurity in which they lived was a greater evil; their houses were always stored with water, 'to serve for drink in case they should be besieged either by Christian servants or negro slaves, and also to throw down upon the naked bodies of the negroes scalding hot, which is as good a defence against the undermining as any other weapons.' The danger was greater from the bondsmen than from the negroes, because they were worse treated, for the same reason which Du Tertre assigns for the same wickedness in the French islands. 'The slaves and their posterity (says Ligon) being subject to their masters for ever,

are kept and preserved with greater care than the servants who are there but for five years, according to the law of the island; so that, for the time, the servants have the worse lives, for they are put to very hard labour, ill-lodging, and their diet very slight. 'Truly I have seen such cruelty there done to servants, as I did not think one Christian could have done to another.' This had occasioned a plot for murdering the planters; it was discovered; and eighteen of the persons concerned in it were found 'so haughty in their resolutions and so incorrigible,' that it was deemed necessary to put them to death, lest they should become actors in a second plot. The value that was set upon the bond-servants is curiously exemplified in an anecdote, which has not escaped Captain Southey:—

'There was a planter in the island that came to his neighbour, and said to him, "Neighbour, I hear you have lately brought good store of servants out of the last ship that came from England; and I hear withal that you want provisions. I have great want of a woman-servant, and would be glad to make an exchange. If you will let me have some of your woman's flesh, you shall have some of my hog's flesh." So the price was set, a groat a-pound for the hog's flesh and sixpence for the woman's. The scales were set up, and the planter had a maid that was extremely fat, lazy, and good for nothing; her name was Honour. The man brought a great fat sow, and put it in one scale, and Honour was put in the other. But when he saw how much the maid outweighed his sow, he broke off the bargain and would not go on.'

A kinder treatment began to prevail as discreeter and better-natured men had come to rule there. A certain Colonel Walrond, by merely providing his bond-servants with rug gowns, such as poor people wear in hospitals, that they might sleep in these instead of lying down in their hammocks, in shirt and drawers, (which was their only clothing,) when soaked in perspiration, 'got such love of his servants, as they thought all too little they could do for him.' Thirty pounds was the price of a good negro, from twenty-five to twenty-seven of a negress; and care was then taken that the sexes might be equal. Indeed, the planters, who in some things discovered a great tendency to 'liberal opinions,' denied not a slave, who was 'a brave fellow and had extraordinary qualities, two or three wives. But no woman was allowed above one husband.' Ligon, whose good nature led him always to regard all men and everything in the most favourable point of view, thought well of the negroes, and says that there were men among them 'as morally honest, as conscionable, as humble, as loving to their friends, and as loyal to their masters, as any that live under the sun.' The description of a negro-mother, at work in the field with

with her child, is worthy of a painter :—‘ Time (he says) they have of suckling their children in the fields, and refreshing themselves; and good reason, for they carry burdens on their backs and yet work too. Some women, whose pickaninnies are three years old, will, as they work at weeding, which is a stooping work, suffer the little pickaninnie to sit astride upon their backs, like St. George a-horseback, and there spur his mother with his heels, and sing and crow on her back, clapping his hands as if he meant to fly; which the mother is so pleased with, as she continues her painful stooping posture, longer than she would do, rather than discompose her jovial pickaninnie of his pleasure, so glad she is to see him merry.’ This subject might tempt a painter, if painting could express the moral feeling which is so happily brought out in the lively language of this simple-hearted happy old man.

There was one poor fellow, who, having had the compass explained to him, as well as Ligon could explain the cause of its movement, requested that he might be made a Christian, ‘for he thought to be a Christian was to be endued with all those knowledges he wanted.’ The story is what our old writers would have called considerable. ‘I promised (says Ligon) to do my best endeavours, and when I came home, spoke to the master of the plantation, and told him that poor Sambo desired much to be a Christian; but his answer was, that the people of that island were governed by the laws of England, and by those laws we could not make a Christian a slave. I told him my request was far different from that, for I desired him to make a slave a Christian. His answer was, that it was true, there was a great difference in that; but being once a Christian, he could no more account him a slave, and so should lose the hold they had of them as slaves, by making them Christians; and by that means should open such a gap, as all the planters in the island would curse him. So I was struck mute, and poor Sambo kept out of the church, as ingenious, as honest, and as good-a-natured poor soul as ever wore black or eat green.’ This was in the days of Mayhew, and Elliot, and Roger Williams; and the difference between Barbadoes and New England well shows the difference between commercial colonies, and those to which the adventurers have gone with an intention of taking up their rest;—in a word, the difference between planters and settlers. Cotton Mather gave too lofty a title to his most curious and characteristic history of New England, when he called it *Magnalia Christi*; for the people, of whom he treats, must be regarded, *κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστεροι*. But for the early annals of the Spanish conquests, *Magnaliu Martis* would be a fitting title, and for those of the sugar islands, *Magnaliu Mammonis*.

Barbadoes soon became the most flourishing of the English islands. More capital was invested there, and with more confidence, because the English had it to themselves. Du Tertre described it, in 1656, as having two regular cities, and in each more than an hundred taverns, as well furnished as in Europe; but this was most certainly an exaggerated report; for elsewhere he has remarked the difference between the French, and English, and Spanish islands. In the latter, there were regular cities, well-built and well-fortified, and populous enough to contain cathedral churches, and convents belonging to different orders as in Europe; whereas in none of the former, Barbadoes alone excepted, was there, as yet, either town or village, not even, he says, among the English at St. Christopher, Antigua, Nevis, or Montserrat, though their islands were incomparably better peopled than those of his own countrymen. No money had at that time been introduced into the French islands, all business being by barter, at a fixed value. In those islands, no person might marry without a license from the governor. Among the few circumstances which are found to relieve the dark picture of this early colonial society, the administration of justice, when there was any, may be instanced. Once a week, the French governors heard causes under the great fig-tree at Basse Terre, in the island of Guadaloupe, and under a calabash-tree, at Fort St. Pierre, at Martinico; and the parties were never dismissed till they had come to an agreement, and been reconciled with each other. The picture would lose something of its patriarchal character, if a negro were introduced in it, nailed by the ear to one of these trees, or the ear without the negro, after the man had been released by cutting it off! This was the ordinary mode of punishment for certain offences. A poor fellow, who had previously left one of his ears as a fixture upon the fig-tree, was condemned to lose the other in like manner. He declared that he would not submit to the sentence, till he was permitted to see the governor, M. De Poincy, and intreat from him a remission of the punishment. With some humanity, this was allowed; he threw himself at the governor's feet, and begged that his ear might be spared, because it was his only one, and if it were cut off, he should not know where to put his cigar. The plea was successful for its oddity, like a more memorable one, somewhat of the same kind, which the reader will recollect as having been advanced on the side of mercy, by the Duke of Lauderdale—who was not the most merciful of men.

The council of state, in England, on the conquest of Jamaica, voted that a thousand girls should be enlisted in Ireland, and sent thither, with an equal number of young men. At the same time, Cromwell ordered the Scotch government to apprehend all known, idle,

idle, masterless robbers, and vagabonds, male and female, and without judge or jury, transport them to the same place. For the women, it is probable that this was a beneficial measure. Of those who went out in the ship with Ligon, the greater number were 'taken from Bridewell, Turnbull-street, and such like places of education.' If wretchedness and the desire of turning from a miserable and sinful course of life might be considered as entitling such women to the benefit of transportation, without the commission of a statutable offence, there could be no truer act of compassion than in supplying, at this time, by such means, the want of women in New South Wales. The disproportion of the sexes which exists there, at present, as it is above all other causes destructive to the morals of the colony, so is it the most extraordinary proof of thoughtless, reckless, senseless, scandalous mismanagement in the whole annals of colonial history, abounding as such history does, above all others, in examples of error, folly, and disregard of all that ought to be regarded. Such wives as could be enlisted in Ireland, or recruited from Bridewell and Turnbull-street, were good enough for the settlers whom Sedgwick, the governor of Jamaica, describes in a despatch to Thurlow:—'I believe, (said he,) they are not to be paralleled in the whole world, a people so lazy and idle, as it cannot enter into the heart of any Englishman that such blood should run in the veins of any born in England, so unworthy, slothful, and basely secure.'

Where the great body of settlers were of such a description, it may seem strange that, from the beginning the pride of caste and colour should have prevailed—a pride which has been the curse of all colonies, where variety of colour exists, the Portuguese alone excepted; and their exception has been owing, not to any sounder and more enlarged views of policy than their neighbours possessed, but to the comparative paucity of their own population. The consequence of this feeling was manifested in the family of Sir Thomas Warner, the first English governor of St. Kitts. He had a Carib mistress, a native of Dominica, remarkable in youth for her beauty, and for the extraordinary age which she attained. Labat saw her when she was, in his opinion, one of the oldest creatures in the world; she was then bald, entirely naked, and her skin resembling old parchment shrivelled and smoked; but she had still most of her teeth, and bright and lively eyes. Madam Warner was still the name by which she was known, and she was mistress of a very large *carbet*, or human hive, which was thickly peopled with her descendants to the third and fourth generation. She was a slave when Warner, though a married man, took her for his mistress; and one of the sons whom she bore him, he called by his own name, and educated with his legitimate children in his own house,

house, treating him, in all respects, upon the same footing. The boy had been remarkably favoured by nature, having nothing of the Indian in his outward appearance, except his complexion, and perhaps a certain gravity, which gave a strength and dignity of character to his European features; he was of middle stature, finely formed: just as he was growing up, his father died, and the widow, Lady Warner, who had till then behaved towards him according to her husband's pleasure, degraded him to the condition of a slave, and compelled him to work with other slaves in the field. The youth was of too high a spirit to brook this. The Carib blood rose in him, and he joined a party of Maroons; but he was caught, heavily ironed by this hard-hearted woman, and made to work in his irons. In this condition he was found by one of his half-brothers, then Governor of Montserrat, who, coming to St. Kitts, interfered, as it became him; had him released from his fetters; and prevailed on Lady Warner to give him some office of authority and trust over her other servants. This better treatment continued only till the governor departed; and young Warner, as the only means of escaping from this woman's tyranny, listened to the advice of his mother, who had been sent back to her countrymen in Dominica, made his way thither, and, for his mother's sake, was received by the Caribs as one of their own nation. They were then at war with the English; he brought about a peace, and soon acquired by his abilities and intrepidity an ascendancy over them, which made him a considerable person in the estimation both of the French and English; but with the English it was that he thought himself naturally allied. According to Du Tertre, he proposed to himself no meaner object of ambition than that of making himself king of all the savages, though, at the same time, he spoke of them as *des bestes, des coquins, des gueux, et des misérables, indignes de luy*. He accuses him also of instigating the Caribs to exercise the greatest cruelties upon the French; they could not have needed much instigation, some of the governors having used, by Du Tertre's own statement, to give themselves '*le divertissement de les faire battre en duel à coups de flèches en leur présence*.' Lord Willoughby, the better to engage this Warner in the English interest, took him to England, where he was introduced at court, and mingled in society like one who had been educated in civilized and Christian habits; but on his return, he threw off his cloak, and resumed the savage costume and way of life, confining himself, however, always to one wife. He received, at this time, a nomination from Lord Willoughby, appointing him Governor of Dominica, and giving him the title of captain—thus recognising him for a British subject and as in the British service.

It is not likely that Warner ever entertained the ambitious project

ject for which Du Tertre has given him credit: he must have understood the instability of the Carib character, and the infinite superiority of the French and English too well, to have dreamt of erecting an independent sovereignty with such materials and between such neighbours. The Caribs, like the other native islanders, were a people ripe for destruction: their greater courage and more adventurous spirit delayed their extinction for some generations, but could not finally avert it; and their destruction, like that of every American nation, was facilitated by their international enmity. Those who were in the French interest mortally hated Warner and his people. The latter are accused of eating their enemies; and, by some of those enemies, Warner would certainly, says Du Tertre, have been roasted, buccaneered, and eaten himself, if he had not escaped on board an English vessel. That ship was taken by the French; and F. Beaumont, a friar predicant, and, like his brethren, militant also, recognised Warner on board, as the bird of whom they were in pursuit. They returned, therefore, to Guadeloupe joyfully with their prize, where the French governor, M. du Leon accommodated him, in the friar-like phrase of the reverend father and apostolical missionary, Jean Baptiste du Tertre, 'with his best pair of fetters, and a heavy pair of handcuffs for bracelets;' then threw him into a dungeon from which it was not possible for him to escape unless by a miracle; and miracles, says he, *ne se font point pour de telles gens*. Shortly afterwards a party of French Caribs arrived there, after a successful expedition against Antigua, where they had killed, roasted, and eaten many of the English. They brought with them, as memorials of their success, a pair of English hands, dried and hardened on the boucan; and, visiting Warner in his prison for the sake of exulting over him, one of the savages struck him so violent a blow on the head with one of these hands, that the blood gushed forth. 'There,' said he, 'take that token from the hand of one of your friends.' Du Tertre here renders justice to the man whom he elsewhere vilifies. Warner, he says, received the blow like a stoic; and looking disdainfully at the Carib, said to him, 'You are a base wretch; if you have any quarrel with me, you should seek me in my own carbet, not strike me in the condition in which I now am.' Then it was that he expressed to a Frenchman his sense of superiority over the Caribs, saying, that he had retired among them, only because he had been driven to that course by the persecution of Lady Warner: '*Au reste*,' he continued, 'I am a governor—I have a commission; and M. du Leon is not justified in using me thus, who am a prisoner of war.' He was asked, from no compassionate motives, if his irons did not incommode him: to which he replied, 'I am used to them; here I have worn them, and for a long time at St. Kitts:

Kitts ; but I shall soon be out of them, and shall then know how to revenge myself.' M. du Leon lived in fear of this. *Ce drole-là, di-t'il, est cause que je ne dors pas un bon sommeil* ; and he wished to send him to France, there to be sent to the galleys for life. But another governor arrived, and at the end of the war, Warner being claimed by the English, was released, on condition that he should live like an Englishman and not as a Carib. He fell at last by English hands, and by fraternal treachery. There was some dispute with the Caribs, and one of Sir Thomas Warner's sons (not the one, it may be hoped, who had formerly interfered with proper feeling in his behalf) went with an expedition to suppress them. The Carib Warner received him as a brother, and entertained him—during the repast a signal was given, and he and all the Indians were massacred.

The lawless license, for which such scope is given in all countries that are governed from a distance, was favoured in this part of the world, during the middle of the seventeenth century, by the troubles in France and England ; for, if either government had been at leisure to attend to their colonies, it is not credible that they should have suffered the buccaneering system to have proceeded so long without a check. The exclusive pretensions of the Spaniards, at the very commencement of their discoveries, provoked that sort of contraband trade which wants only opportunity to associate itself with piracy. Drake, and Cavendish, and the Earl of Cumberland, and the adventurers of their times, were under some restraint of responsibility and honour ; they were in the Queen's service, and sailed under the national flag ; but the buccaneers were men of all countries, who had broken loose from all ties of allegiance, religion, honour, conscience, and humanity ; and, during their career, the Spanish settlements suffered as much as Flanders, France, and England had formerly done from the Danes. Writers upon the West Indies have observed, that the French and English colonies were benefited doubly by the course which these ruffians pursued : first, by being rid of them ; secondly, by the wealth which, when disposing of their booty, they put in circulation. For a West Indian, this might be a consolatory consideration, not to those who, being unconcerned in the good or evil of the transfer, perceive that the guilt and misery was removed from one place only to be brought into action, with aggravated effect, in others. Nations, like individuals, are but too willing to suppose that they throw off their inheritance of national guilt, when they can show that other nations have incurred guilt of the same kind, and in the same degree. Now, there is no mode of defence which so surely betrays the consciousness of weakness, as that which rests upon recriminative accusation. But it is just as well
and

and as charitable to bear in mind, that no European nation is entitled to reproach another on the score of its colonial history, each having incurred a fearful share of sin : the consolation is, that in all cases it has proceeded less from the national character than from the character of the times. And, in the case of the buccaneers, all nations—except, perhaps, the Spanish Americans, who were the objects of their enmity—have their full share. If the bulk of them were French and English, Dutch and Flemings in great numbers, and not a few Spaniards and Portuguese, are found among them : the ruffians and outcasts, and the unfortunates and the castaways, also, of all nations.

In that singular book of the Robinson Crusoe class, Penrose's Journal, (the history of which, or rather of its author, is and is likely to remain a mystery,) there is a frightful superstition imputed to the buccaneers, which is more likely to have been actually known to the author, than imagined by him. It was an old custom among them, he says, when chance threw any large booty in the way, to hide it, till a convenient occasion, on islands, quays, and secret places along the coasts, using a most diabolical ceremony at the interment of their riches; for such men stuck at no cruelty which they fancied necessary to their purpose. After signing a round-robin, and administering an oath of secrecy, they buried the treasure, and near it some unfortunate Spaniard, negro, or mulatto, whom they put to death, under a superstitious notion that his spirit would be compelled to watch over the treasure, and keep it safely till they could remove it; a paper was generally deposited in a bottle near, containing, in words and hieroglyphics, intelligible only to those whom it concerned, instructions in what direction to dig. There is the representation of such a paper in the book, bearing with it strong marks of authenticity. The superstition itself is likely to have been of negro origin.

As the buccaneers rivalled the Spanish conquerors in intrepidity and in cruelty, they resembled them, also, in having among them individuals who, though engaged in such fellowship and involved in such pursuits, retained their sense of right and wrong, and their love of better things. It is remarkable that their hateful history is chiefly derived from themselves; and in their school it was that Dampier was trained—one of our best seamen, and most observant as well as faithful travellers. Captain Southey has not pursued their adventures beyond the limits of his own subject: within those limits they have afforded him much curious matter, but, perhaps, nothing more singular than what was once the well-known story of Anne Bonny and Mary Read. Where Du Tertre and the buccaneers fail, Father Labat supplies materials. Labat, like Du Tertre, was a Dominican, and reminds you himself that he was a
missionnaire

missionnaire apostolique, when he gives a receipt for making fowls tender by skinning them alive ! But no one, after seeing his portrait, can be surprised either at the receipt or the remark that accompanies it. It is prefixed to his *Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique*, the most valuable of his numerous publications ; a negro is represented kneeling and holding it in a frame, and underneath are these verses :

‘ *Ecrivain curieux des pàis, des mœurs,
Il crue ses écrits des graces de son stile ;
Corrige en amusant l'homme de ses erreurs
Et sait mêler partout l'agréable et utile.*

The praise is not overcharged ; but Labat's character is as truly set forth in his portrait as in his writings. The face is so much that of a satyr that, if the cowl were up, it might surely be supposed there were horns under it, as well as a goat's tail and goatish feet below ; but then it is the face of a French satyr, and of an educated one,—intelligent, clever, lively, mirthful, malicious, selfish, sensual, unfeeling. A more entertaining and instructive book concerning the West Indies has not been written. The matter is always good—the manner always agreeable. He never fails to amuse the reader ; and as little does he fail to disgust him whenever his own character appears. There is good sense everywhere in the volumes, good feeling nowhere. His intellectual nature seems never to have slumbered, and his moral sense never to have been awakened. He was a jovial friar, a pleasant companion, a tolerable engineer, an able politician, a good writer, an excellent cook, and a true Frenchman. He had the interest of France always in view ; and when he was hospitably entertained at Barbadoes, contrived to bring away a plan of the island and of its fortifications, for use when opportunity might offer.

He found the island very much improved since Ligon's time : excellent roads had been made ; for want of which, half a century before, camels had been used as beasts of burden ; sixteen hundred weight was not too great a burden for one, and hogsheds, whether of sugar or of liquor, could then be conveyed in no other manner ; but they soon died, which Ligon supposed to be because there were few who knew how to diet them. Labat might have found, in the necessity for good roads, a sufficient reason for making them ; but, according to him, they were rendered necessary by the jovial habits of the people, who considered it a point of honour that no guest should depart sober from a dinner party. The dinner hour, he says, was very late, for they did not sit down at table till two o'clock ; but then they remained there far into the night. The friars, who were great authorities in such matters, pronounced a most favourable opinion upon their way of life in this respect—

‘ *leurs*

' leurs tables sont très bien servies, ils ont d'assez bons cuisiniers, de très beau linge, beaucoup d'ordre et de propreté.' Partridges had been brought from England, and were reared as poultry there—and, indeed, no cost was spared in bringing delicacies for the table from all parts of the world. Labat gives them credit, also, for excelling other nations in the preparation of delicious drink—*' parceque s'étant fait une étude particulière de ce qui regarde une chose qui les touche de si près, ils ont acquis là-dessus des connoissances merveilleuses et d'une étendue infinie.'* As one of these discoveries, he communicates to his countrymen the receipt for making what he calls *salibolé*, which is, being interpreted, a syllabub. He describes punch, also; but the mixture to which he gives that name is altogether unlike the 'beloved beverage' of our fathers; for there was neither lime nor lemon juice in it; the proportions were two parts of spirit to one of water or of milk, and it was thickened with yolk of eggs to the consistence of porridge. His own countrymen used to measure time, in their common speech, not by the clock, or the sun, or, as in old books, by the hour of prayers, but by eau-de-vie time, and chocolate time; and distance they estimated as the Dutch used to flog their slaves—by pipes of tobacco. He speaks of corking wine as if the practice were new to him and his countrymen. The English had also taught the French to mix eggs and Madeira with their chocolate; a mode of preparation which induced Labat to maintain, contrary to the prevailing practice and opinion, that chocolate was not allowable on the meagre days, and that no one could take it without breaking his fast.

Labat may be suspected of opining upon this point according to his taste, inasmuch as he made no scruple of eating upon fast days the bird which the French call *Diabie* or *Diablotin*, from its colour and its nocturnal habits. These devilets are of the size of a full-grown pullet, and when dressed as the friar tells you they should be, they were dainty food. The Sieur Thuillier, a merchant captain, who had settled at Guadaloupe, and whom Labat describes as *' bon Huguenot, homme de bien et fort sage,'* used to rally him upon this subject—which he might safely do there, and with perfect confidence, knowing the man. They had eaten these birds together, and Thuillier insisted that the Romanists could not consistently regard it as a crime in the Protestants to eat meat every day without distinction, when they made no scruple themselves of dining upon devilets even in Lent. To this the friar replied, 'that the ecclesiastical superior in the islands had after consultation with physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, decided that these birds were *viandes maigres*, not properly flesh, but partaking of fish nature; and, therefore, food for fast days, which might be eaten with a safe conscience.' This did not satisfy the Huguenot — 'Birds,

—‘ Birds, (he said,) which paired, laid eggs, sat upon their eggs, and hatched them, were certainly not fish; it could not be more allowable to eat them as meagre food, than on the same pretext to dine upon goose, duck, widgeon, teal, and other birds of this class, who were far more aquatic in their habits; for, though the devils preyed upon fish, they lived in dry places, burrowing in the ground.’ ‘ But (said Labat) they are more fishy in smell and flavour than the birds you mention, and, therefore, they ought to be classed among fish.’ ‘ Nay, (replied the Huguenot) that proceeds entirely from their food, and they are not to be deemed fish because they resent of their diet. For, if we reason thus, look at the consequences. There are the Friar Minims, who feed upon fish and oil, never touching flesh; their skins are continually covered with a fishy and unctuous excretion; the older they grow, and the less care they take to keep themselves clean, the stronger do they smell of fish; yet I am sure you would argue vehemently against my conclusion, were I to insist that the friars are actually fish, and ought to be accounted so.’ Labat was then driven to take the Solan goose for an argument; but his antagonist, though he also believed what was then the received notion of their vegetable origin, insists that the Barnacle was neither fish, flesh, nor fowl, but a certain sport of nature. And the merry Dominican, laughing at the weakness of his own cause, continued to eat devils on fast days, and no doubt to take care that they were dressed according to rule—the organ of cookery being magnificently developed upon his shaven and shorn head.

Labat, who observed everything, witnessed a fact relating to electricity, which is remarkable enough to be noticed here. There were about twenty pounds of gunpowder in his chamber, in several packets of paper, and in each of these packets, the powder, during a violent thunder-storm which broke over the convent, and did considerable damage to the building, was formed into a mass, such, he says, as might be made of pounded charcoal and gun-water. It was like a black stone, dry, hard, not easily broken, retaining very little smell of sulphur, and not kindling more readily than a lump of furnace-coal.

Even in the lifetime of Columbus, the evil which in our own days has been experienced in St. Domingo, was apprehended by the Spaniards, from the multiplication of the negroes. A like evil was feared from the multiplication of mulattos in Du Tertre’s time; and the dreadful tragedies, of which St. Domingo has been the scene, may be traced for one of its causes to an edict which was issued by Louis XIV. in the vain intent of checking the growth of the mixed race. At first, by the law or custom of the French islands, mulattos became free at the age of twenty-four,

four, provided they had continued till that age to live with the owner of the mother; the service of the last eight years being deemed an adequate return for their support in infancy and childhood. The human principle of the civil law, that *partus sequitur ventrem*, was now perverted to an inhuman end; a fine of two thousand pounds of sugar was exacted from any person upon whom a mulatto child should be filiated; and if he were the proprietor of the negress, in addition to that fine, he forfeited both mother and child, who were thereby escheated to the hospital, and not to be redeemed from that slavery. Labat, who relates the tragic, as well as some comic, consequences of such an edict, was too sagacious a man not to perceive its gross impolicy; but he touches lightly on the subject, and that too in his character of missionary, as if he thought some apology was necessary for the freedom of his remarks. He had known but two instances of marriage between white men and negresses; the one appears to have been forced upon a scrupulous man by an injudicious priest, under most improper circumstances, and it ended accordingly; the other was the effect of choice, gratitude, and a sense of duty. Had Labat allowed himself to pursue the subject, he would have seen that in those regions the only proper course of policy was indicated by the course of nature; that in the mixed breed, the European mind is engrafted upon the African constitution; and that if the French government had understood its own interest, it should have encouraged the growth of that race, capable by nature, as they are, of labouring under a tropical sky, and educated, as they might, and ought to have been, in those artificial wants, which are the wholesome and needful incentives to industry, and in those moral and religious principles, which are the only safeguard of society. Upon this subject and others connected with it, the author of this *Chronological History* manifests a strong feeling.

In the annals of the last century, military and naval operations occupy a large space; they are melancholy details of lives sacrificed by thousands to a fatal climate, and of expeditions, producing nothing but evil in their course, and with no other consequence in their results than that of making conquests, which at the next general peace were to be restored. If France and England had agreed at Utrecht or at Nimeguen upon a neutrality for these unfortunate islands, the fate of future wars would not have been in the slightest degree influenced by it—neither power would at this day have been in a worse condition, and all the intermediate expense to both countries, and all the misery to the colonies of both, might have been spared. A veteran statesman, who was himself distinguished for his capacity, once sadly remarked by how little wisdom the political affairs of the world were directed. It would be

be as mournful, as it is humiliating, to reflect by how little, even of that little, much of the evil that is under the sun, might have been averted, if there were not some consolation in the hope, that the days which speak will at length be heard, and the multitude of years bring wisdom.

New colonies are now rising in the remotest part of the world ; and under whatever form of government they may settle when the foundations are firmly laid, the language, at least, of England will be retained there. Great Britain, which may truly be called the hive of nations, is sending, and must continue to send, forth its swarms. Do what we will at home ; (our readers know that we entirely agree with Mr. Sadler—as in other momentous points—so also in the opinion, that there is much which may and ought to be done in providing employment for the able and industrious ;) let what may be done, new countries will always offer an inviting field for hope and enterprise ; and it is desirable that hope and enterprise should take that direction. Reasonable apprehensions must be felt concerning the future character of society in these colonies if they are to be formed only with the worst materials,—the refuse of the parent state,—its criminals, its runaways, and its paupers. Nor is the evil, which may be looked for from this cause, to be counteracted by the temporary abode of persons who go thither to pursue their commercial speculations, meaning to return to England with the fortune which they may accumulate. The best colonists are those who are influenced by the best motives ; who go with the intent of taking up their final abode in a new country, because they can there secure a certain independence in all respectability and comfort for their children to the third and fourth generation. To such a course, the settlers in New England were led by a principle of religious zeal ; and the contrast which New England at this day presents to the new States of the American Union, and to all colonies which have been founded either by conquerors or mere traders, may teach us that as the root is, so will the tree prove.

There are some things in which our Australian colonies have an advantage over all others in their beginning. The natives are so few that any danger arising from them is too trifling to be taken into the account of inconveniences ; our right in the land is that of occupancy, not of conquest. It is an open country—man has only to break the ground, not to clear it. It is a good climate, perhaps the best that could be named, though not as sanguine men were at one time ready from our short experience to infer, exempted from all febrile diseases : within these two years, it has suffered from what may be called a pestilence : still, in no other country, have new settlers been so free from sickness. The curse
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of slavery has not been carried thither, and at so great a distance from Europe, it may be hoped, that the evil of our wars will not be felt there. New England suffered severely from that cause. Founded upon better principles than any colonies, some of the American states alone excepted, and in a better age than those, it may be hoped that, after the expiration of three centuries, the annals of Australia may be more honourable to religion and human nature than those of the West Indies have proved during an equal course of time; that it may be the task of the annalist, instead of relating a melancholy series of crimes and sufferings, the desperate achievements of wicked men in guilty enterprises, or the unproductive exertions of honourable courage in lawful wars, to record the uninterrupted progress of improvement among a peaceful and happy people.

ART. IX.—1. *Present State of the Law.—The Speech of Henry Brougham, Esq., M.P., in the House of Commons, on Thursday, February 7, 1828.* (The only authentic edition.) London. 1828.

2. *A Letter to the Right Honourable Robert Peel on the Subject of some of the Legal Reforms proposed by Mr. Brougham.* By Charles Edward Dodd, Esq., Barrister at Law. London. 1828.

3. *Suggestions for some Alterations of the Law, on the Subject of Practice, Pleading, and Evidence.* By Edward Lawes, Sergeant at Law. London. 1827.

4. *The Mirror of Parliament.* Edited by John Henry Barrow, Esq. Part V. London. March 3, 1828.

‘**L**AW,’ says Roger North, ‘must be kept as a garden, with frequent digging, weeding, turning, &c., for that which was in one age convenient and, perhaps, necessary, becomes in another prejudicial;’ and how cordially we are disposed to lend our feeble aid to any judicious plans for the amendment of actual grievances and defects, whether caused by time or otherwise, is abundantly proved by observations in former Numbers of this Journal. But while reform of the law, to a certain extent, is advisable, every one who views the subject in all its bearings, and with that temperance which it demands, will admit that the utmost caution and judgment are requisite in selecting the points on which to apply it, in marking the limits to which it may wisely be carried, and fixing on the mode by which it may be most safely accomplished. Those who cannot appreciate—those who are indifferent to—the valuable properties belonging to the basis of our

laws, may feel careless as to the manner in which they set about their alterations. If their rude changes should shake or dilapidate the whole structure, to some it may be matter of apathy—‘*impavidos ferient ruinæ* ;’ but by the judicious and considerate reformer, and, we are convinced, by the bulk of the nation, the preservation and stability of the building will be consulted in all attempts at its improvement :—‘The law of this country will never be regarded by the people as a *tabula rasa*, on which the experiments of politicians may be tried. Above all, no judicious reformer will forget Lord Hale’s recommendation (in that essay which Mr. Brougham cites with praise) :—

‘It is of great importance, upon any alteration of the laws, to be sure :—1. That the change be demonstrable for the better, and such as cannot introduce any considerable inconvenience in the other end of the wallet. 2. That the change, though most clearly for the better, be not in foundations or principles, but in such things as may consist with the general frame and basis of the government or law. 3. That the changes be gradual, and not too much at once, or, at least, more than the exigence of things requires.’*

If cautious and delicate management be necessary in all reforms of settled institutions, it must be admitted that it is doubly so in alterations of the laws. All that the people at large can ever know of the laws must arise from observation of their practical enforcement ; how can they know rules which are subjected to perpetual change ? The efficacy of laws mainly depends on the sanction of the public opinion ; but nothing that has not a character of permanence can long retain popular respect. If an institution is to be changed to-day because a clever argument may be raised against it, a more subtle reasoner may show to-morrow that another alteration is desirable. In truth, it is not as master-pieces of abstract reason that laws or institutions ever did or ever can gain their hold on the public mind—it is by the force of custom—by the close connexion with other institutions,—and by the familiar sense of their practical utility felt during a long series of years. Ignorance of the law, distrust as to its regulations, uncertainty as to important rights and duties, a check and damp on all contracts and dealings of any kind, are the necessary evils attending a frequent change of the legal and judicial systems. Lord Bacon, who is perpetually quoted as a friend of reform, though in truth a not less strenuous respecter of existing systems, says, ‘it is good also not to try experiments in states, *except the necessity be urgent or the utility evident* ; and well to beware that it be reformation that draweth on the change, and *not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation.*’

* Considerations touching the Amendment of the Laws, cap. 1.

Next to the evil of tampering with the existing laws, by too frequent or injudicious alterations, is the inconvenience resulting from vivacious and popular discussions on the subject, and attacks upon the law, tending more to injure its general estimation than to advance its immediate improvement. To expose the sore without prescribing the balm, is, in legislation as in surgery, but an imperfect proceeding, of very doubtful utility. We confess we regard with no very favourable eye that mode of legal reform which consists in expatiations upon defects, rather than in sober inquiries for cures—in a rhetorical exhibition of those apparent anomalies from which no laws can be free, and in a studied emblazoning of those extreme cases where rules of law at first sight appear to work hardship,—those occasional inconveniences in practice which must arise in applying the wisest rules to the varied transactions of life—in throwing out general objections at some branches—doubts as to the utility of others—hints at maladministration of more. The reformers of our laws whom the country have to thank for the greatest real, though limited, improvements—Lord Somers, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Redesdale, Lord Eldon, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Peel—have adopted the safe, the practical, the unassuming course of seizing on some conspicuous mischief felt in practice, and providing for it a matured remedy by legislative enactment, wisely abstaining from assailing or throwing doubts upon other matters which did not fall within the immediate scope of their plan. If their schemes were not gigantic, their suggestions were matured and practical, and their results positive and complete. If their performances have been moderate, they have been at least as large as their promises; where they could not improve, they have had the wisdom not to disturb. Other legislators, who have not confined themselves to such reforms as they could effect by means of a single act of legislation, but who have found it expedient to proceed by a commission or parliamentary committee, have still concentrated their views upon some one particular branch of law or department of judicature. Even in instituting a protracted inquiry by a co-operation of able individuals, they have felt the indispensable necessity of defining its objects and limiting its scope.

If these temperate reformers have accomplished anything valuable in the work of improvement, we believe it has been principally because their plans have been of reasonable compass and tangible dimensions—because ‘they have heaved the lead every inch of way they have made,’—because they have pursued objects which the capacities of ordinary men, with ordinary application, could embrace at once, and could complete in a moderate time—and, above all, because they have themselves presided over, or

actively co-operated in the practical maturing and carrying into effect of those improvements which they have themselves suggested. We think it is to be regretted that Mr. Brougham, in directing his great talents, his inexhaustible industry, and his considerable legal knowledge towards the amendment of the law, has departed so widely from the path marked out by such judicious precursors. In making a long and inevitably a somewhat superficial speech upon law, he has only done that which many could do with equal knowledge, though certainly not with equal eloquence and piquancy. It is the *creative* part of the reformer's work which at once shows his skill and produces real fruit. The *negative* branch, the exposition of defects, is a cheaper and easier, and a far less useful office. No speech was necessary to explain to lawyers—that is, to those alone who really can understand the matter—those real grievances which are stated by Mr. Brougham. It is the sagacity to devise the scheme of amendment, it is the patience to prosecute it, the caution, the conciliation, the dexterity, the unwearied perseverance to carry it through all difficulties to a practical consummation; these are the qualities wanted for the safe and judicious reform of the law, much rather than the eloquence and point which can emblazon the subject to the public, and which generally, by their very embellishments, prejudice its sober and temperate consideration.

The vastness of the plan of Mr. Brougham has also, we think, in many ways diminished the efficacy of his speech. When he sought to obtain a 'Committee for Inquiry into the defects occasioned by time and otherwise in the laws of this realm, and into the measures necessary for removing the same,' however excellent a text such a motion might form for a popular speech upon all objections adducible against any branch of our laws and judicial establishments, he proposed an inquiry too immense, too varied, and too multifarious for any human commission to grapple with promptly and effectually. Had the commission issued in these unbounded terms, we believe that the utmost learning and diligence which the commissioners could have furnished would only have enabled them to produce, at least in any reasonable time, a report glancing over the surface of this vast field, and presenting little accurate information or matured suggestion, for practically amending any definite branches of the subject. Any reader who casts his eye over the contents of Mr. Brougham's speech, may judge whether the investigation of any four or five of its subjects would not occupy a commission a much longer time than the public or Mr. Brougham would choose to wait for its report. Any lawyer who considers the qualifications and knowledge requisite for the complete investigation

ntigation of such a mass of subjects, will instantly see that such a commission must needs be a representative assembly of delegates from every district of the legal world—some from the Courts of Chancery—some from the Courts of Common Law—some from the Conveyancers' Chambers—some from the practitioners before the Privy Council—some from the Bar of India—some from the Bar of Wales—each excellently informed on the portion of the law with which he is familiar, admirably ignorant of that which his associates profess; each qualified to report upon one province, none able to report upon the whole legal empire. Instead of five responsible and efficient commissioners, we are convinced fifteen or fifty would not have been sufficient for such an undertaking. If a body thus forced together could have ever agreed, it could only have been by separation. In order to act at all, it would have been necessary to act *separatim*—they must inevitably form sub-commissions, preparing separate reports on separate subjects, and with the sanction of only a portion of the body; and though the whole number might have set their names to the foot of the whole mass of paper, it would have been only as fifty underwriters at Lloyds subscribe the whole policy, but subscribe each in effect for his own particular share of the risk.

Mr. Brougham says, 'I must press upon the house the necessity of taking a general view of the whole system, in whatever inquiries may be instituted. Partial legislation on such a subject is pregnant with mischief. Timid men, but still more blind than timid, recommend taking a single branch at a time, and imagine they are consulting the safety of the whole mass.' (p. 114, *Speech*.) Now, if by 'partial legislation' Mr. Brougham means legislation on every minute matter of detail connected with any branch of the legal system, as, for instance, legislation to fix Easter Term, or any such small matter,—we so far agree with him, that we think these subjects are better considered in a general inquiry into the procedure and practice of the courts to which head they naturally belong, though we are far from thinking that 'partial legislation,' even in this restricted sense, is 'pregnant with mischief,' or is only promoted by 'timid and blind men.' On the contrary, we are quite satisfied that Mr. Peel's act repressing writs of error for delay,—Sir Nicholas Tindal's act, raising the amount of debt required for arrest, and facilitating the arrested party paying money into court in place of bail;—that Sir Samuel Romilly's acts, enabling sureties for bankrupts to prove their debts under the commission, and checking the practice of debtors, when sued by bankrupts' assignees, disputing the commission of bankrupt; we are satisfied that these
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and a number of other 'topical' alterations, though strictly 'partial legislations,' have been found productive of large and salutary benefits to the administration of justice. They have speedily and effectually remedied clear and palpable mischiefs, without unwisely waiting for the remote day when the whole system could be made the subject of inquiry—the still remoter day when general inquiry should lead to general amendment. But if Mr. Brougham means by 'partial legislation,'—as the tenor of his speech shows that he must,—any legislation falling short of comprehending the whole of our laws and legal institutions, that is, the whole mass of matters which he thought it advisable to link together in his speech, we confess we then think 'partial legislation' not merely not mischievous, but the only species of legislation which can be based upon any certain and accurate knowledge, and tend to any speedy, practical, and definite end.

We confess ourselves to be of the number of those 'timid' or 'blind' men (we care not which) who think that such 'general views' as he advocates are of all things to be deprecated—as tending to embarrass inquiry, by mixing up matters essentially unconnected, to baffle industry by the want of systematic arrangement, and to produce vague and superficial notions instead of that accurate and practical knowledge, which is alone available for the legislature. Admitting that all the subjects of his oration fall under the general denomination of 'law' and 'legal institutions,' we still can see no advantage which any one of them could derive from being investigated (even if that were possible) in company with any other. What have contingent remainders to do with arrest for debt on mesne process? Where is the connecting link between common recoveries and convictions under the game laws? What light does the doctrine of special demurrers and sham pleas throw upon the privy council and the colonial appeals? We suspect Mr. Brougham, as a man of science, would hardly propose to investigate in conjunction the parallax of the fixed stars, and the properties of chlorine gas, though undoubtedly both falling under the general head of material science.

Mr. Brougham cites, as a precedent of a general revision of the law, the commission, partly composed of lawyers and partly of members of parliament, which sat during the Commonwealth, 'to take into consideration what inconveniences there are in the law; and how the mischiefs that grow from the delays, the chargeableness, and the irregularities in the proceedings of the law may be prevented, and the speediest way to reform the same.' Cromwell, Fleetwood, and the leading members of the usurping government and parliament, were on the commission; and Sir Matthew Hale, Sir Ashley Cooper, Rushworth, and other eminent persons assisted
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in it. The commission sat for five years, and appear to have exerted considerable activity in their functions. They prepared and presented to the House the draughts of fourteen acts of parliament for effecting various alterations in the law. But not one of those acts were they the means of perfecting and passing into law. *The great majority of them have never been carried into effect to this day*; and those that have in principle been enacted did not become law till many reigns and more than half a century had swept over the vestiges of the commissioners' inquiry. Their schemes, nevertheless, possessed all the merit of being free from 'timidity'—they were 'general' as the terms of the commission; for we find, on the 19th January, 1652, that the House* 'resolved that the bill or bills, containing the *whole system of the law*, as it came in from the committee for considering the inconveniences of the law, be read to-morrow morning;' and, accordingly, on the 20th January, we find, 'Prayers.—The House this day, according to former order, proceeded to read the book containing *the whole system of the law*, as the same came in from the committee appointed,' &c.;† and, on the 21st, 'the same was fully read;' and beyond this reading of the '*whole system of the law*,' which appears to have taken three days, (in speaking, it is now executed in six hours,) and the preparation of the draughts of bills, the proceedings of the commission and the House appear not to have proceeded. Mr. Parkes‡ informs us, 'after this time (July, 1653—Mr. Brougham states, page 116, the commission to have been formed in 1654, instead of 1651) we trace little progress or further attention to the improvement of the general system of law contemplated by the parliament and the committees whose labours have just been noticed.' Doubtless, as Mr. Parkes observes, 'the exigencies of the country, and the overwhelming pressure of other abuses and national dissensions, prevented that constant and successful attention to the state of the law and jurisprudence which, under other circumstances, would have continued.' But, without undervaluing the merits of this committee, we do not think the plan of a general review of the law derives very potent recommendation from the labours of a body who sat five years, and prepared a book on the '*whole system of the law*,' which, though printed in great numbers, (as appears by the Journals,) is utterly unknown to our generation—and who prepared draughts of bills, very few of which have ever been enacted—while those that were afterwards, in principle, adopted, owed their existence in no degree to the learned commissioners' labours.

* Commons Journals, vol. vii.

† Commons' Journal, vol. vii.

‡ History of the Court of Chancery, p. 145. The last letter of this writer's name has great distinctive powers.

One difficulty is, that supposing 'general views' on such matters to be the most desirable,—assuming time, and leisure, and strength to be attainable, minds are not to be found to execute them. Though Mr. Brougham recommends 'general views,' does he offer his own powers and his own application to carry them into effect? or does he vainly hope that either the requisite vigour or the sufficient dedication of time and thought can be obtained from professional lawyers in active employment? While practical talents for detailed investigation are to be found in every court of Westminster, rare, indeed, is it to find an individual there who has so far resisted the habitual influence of his profession as to be able to 'expand as well as contract his faculties.' The necessary tendency of technical habits, and especially since business has grown more complicated, is, as Mr. Brougham knows, to subject lawyers to that character sketched by Cicero, and which Lord Bolingbroke sweepingly applied to lawyers of the modern days. The profound jurisconsult, fully versed in the dark details of our legal lore, and at the same time able to take a comprehensive view of the bearings of all parts of the system—to unite, in fact, the wisdom of a lawyer with that of lawgiver, which Lord Bacon considered so widely different, so seldom conjoined—is unfortunately not a person likely to exist in the profession at this day; and if he do exist, it is almost morally certain that he will be unknown to forensic fame—and yet without such minds and such qualifications, without Bacons or Hales, absolutely unoccupied, how are any such schemes to be advanced a step beyond the speech in which they make a figure? The legislator who does not propose to execute, or even to superintend his own projects, should, we think, look around on the means which he has at his command; before he suggests vast and extensive plans of general reform, he should inquire where he can find the workmen to accomplish them—he should remember that there is wisdom, as well as 'timidity,' in proportioning the scheme to the executive powers by which it must be carried into effect.

Notwithstanding, therefore, that Mr. Brougham used great energy and rhetoric, to impress upon the House of Commons the desirableness of this wide investigation, every member that spoke upon the subject felt and expressed the necessity of marking some limits, and selecting some topics for the inquiry; and we cannot be surprised that the proposal of the government was acceded to, and the commission reduced to at least about one-sixth of the proposed dimensions. We have seen the terms of the commission proposed; the commissions ultimately granted were, to 'inquire into the origin, progress, and termination of *actions in the superior courts of common law* in this country, and

and matters connected therewith, and into the state of the law regarding the transfer of real property.'

The speech by which Mr. Brougham brought this subject before the House of Commons, was full of acuteness, spirit, and information—not very luminous in its arrangement or very profound in its views—very multifarious, somewhat discursive, abounding in striking statements, bold assertions, and extending to a length altogether without parallel. Before noticing in detail a few of its principal topics, we must observe, that if the end of obtaining a general investigation into the whole law was injudicious and unattainable, the plan of obtaining it by a speech to the popular assembly in St Stephen's upon the general defects of the law, was, in our judgment, attended with objections not less serious than those existing against the plan itself. We have no desire to exempt the legal administration from that fair and candid discussion to which all institutions ought to be open. But, we confess, we agree in Sir James Scarlett's observation — 'In my opinion, it is an indiscreet thing to excite the public feeling against the whole of the jurisdiction by enlarging upon the evils of a part of it, when, it is probable, we shall not be found to agree in the remedy.' Mr. Brougham, as a reason for omitting all consideration of the criminal law, says, 'I do not think it right to unsettle the minds of those numerous and ignorant classes on whom its sanctions are intended to operate' (page 3). We think something of this wise forbearance (to which, by the bye, Mr. Brougham did not always adhere—see his remarks on the evidence of accomplices, and on the justices of the peace) might have been judiciously extended to the laws respecting all the civil relations of life. To speak with accuracy and sobriety on technical law to a popular assembly is, as Mr. Brougham well knows, to speak dull, tediously, insufficiently. To speak agreeably on such matters is, of necessity, to be discursive, rhetorical, sarcastic, exaggerated. Parliamentary impatience, we believe, would drown the voice of Cicero himself, if expounding the doctrine of uscs, or the law of entails, with the tedious fidelity of an accurate juriconsult. '*Quis de exceptione et formulâ perpetuat illa immensa volumina*' *Præcurrit iudex ducentem, et, nisi aut colore sententiarum, aut nitore et cultu descriptionum invitatus et corruptus est, aversatur ducentem.*' A speech upon law, therefore, to dined senators, becomes almost necessarily either a glowing eulogy, or a spirited and unsparing attack. It is apt to be a 'turn out' of the 'big-wigs' and the long robe for the evening's amusement. Whether merits or demerits in the law are urged, they must also necessarily be taken upon trust of the speaker. The fair and interesting auditors, who imbibe a two-hours dose of science from learned professors in Al-

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bemarle-street, are about as competent to detect fallacies in the philosopher's experiments and reasonings as the body of the House of Commons to form a sound judgment on points of special pleading or conveyancing lore. But such an audience may be amused, without being edified. Defects must needs, therefore, be exaggerated, grievances must be overcharged, abuses highly coloured, anecdotes must be substituted for reasonings; a glowing colouring must be imparted to every topic, in order to excite the flagging attention of fastidious auditors. We confess we are rather surprised that he could have so long engaged attention to so dry a subject, without even more of the '*loci lætiores*' of the orator. But though not always rhetorical enough to render law amusing, Mr. Brougham is far too much so to be taken as an unbiassed and candid expositor of the merits and demerits of the laws of which he treats. We think he has thrown a false glare on many of the defective parts of the law,—an obscuring shade on many of its merits. He has given one side of almost every question, and that side stated with the colouring of an advocate. He has attacked systems by unfair and not very edifying anecdotes of occasional abuses, rather than by reasoning against them; and has, in short, imparted a bold relief and high colouring to every topic, an exaggerated tone to every objection, well calculated to excite an undue discontent with the law, and to create aspirations for change, which Mr. Brougham does not pretend to satisfy, and which are not likely to be satisfied by the commissions.

Again, (independent of the hostility of rhetoric to candour,) how was it possible that even in six hours justice could fairly be done to, or a sound exposition given of, the mass of complicated topics on which he entered? Well might Sir James Scarlett say, that the 'speech was the shortest he ever remembered to have heard'—long, indeed, for its hearers—mischievously short for its subject matter. The speech treated of about thirty different topics, which allows the speaker about an hour for five topics, or about twelve minutes on an average for each subject. Among the subjects thus cursorily to be despatched—to be stripped of technical terms and brief phrases of art, and expounded to ignorant hearers in twelve minutes, are the following:—the constitution, and proceedings and defects of the three superior courts of common law, the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer—the administration of justice in Wales—the constitution of the civil law courts—the court of appeals in the privy council—the system of the justices of the peace—the system of licensing public houses—the alleged inequality of the crown and subject in proceedings in the exchequer, and in other instances—fines and recoveries—the action of ejectment—the law of arrest for debt—the system of special

special pleading, embracing all the modes of commencing and carrying on proceedings in the courts—the rules of law respecting evidence—the necessity for trial by jury in India—the statutes of limitations, &c. &c. &c. We leave to any student (male or female) advanced to a reading of Blackstone's Commentaries, to judge how necessarily imperfect, how inevitably insufficient for the purpose of forming an opinion on its merits, must be the observations and expositions which Mr. Brougham could convey to the House of Commons on any one of these complex technical topics in the allotment of the six hours which would fall to its share. Had he been sober and caudid in his statements, impartial and unimpassioned in his reasonings,—far from enjoying the '*quod gaudium consurgendi assistendique inter tacentes, in unum conversos*,'—we are convinced he would have talked to a sleeping senate, or to the walls. At the end of an hour he must have been voted a tiresome lecturer: he must have been on his legs at this moment; five folio volumes would not have contained his *orationcula*. The fault was less in the execution than the plan. The error was in supposing that judicious practical reform could be advanced by a popular appeal to a popular body on matters of so nice, so delicate, so abstruse a character—such vast dimensions—such complex bearings.

The debate which followed near three weeks afterwards, was (as is customary) mainly influenced by the character of the opening speech. A more desultory and incomplete discussion of an all-important and curious subject, we never recollect to have heard. Debate, indeed, there was none; one member rose, and addressed some desultory observations on one of the thirty topics of the speech; another member devoted his attention to another. '*Ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit*.' Mr. Fergusson made some excellent observations on Indian judicature; Sir James Scarlett on the practical rules of evidence in England; Mr. Sugden on the law of real property; but there was no collision of opinion—no examination—no development of any one of the subjects of the speech. How, indeed, could the House of Commons by possibility discuss thirty distinct and difficult texts in one debate? The attention was distracted—every one felt that the theme was too vast and too manifold;—it presented no tangible hold to the grasp. *Quo te neam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?*

Mr. Peel, anxious to prevent the desultory turn which the nature of the speech had given to the course of the debate, rose early, and explained the willingness of government to grant an inquiry limited to the proceedings of the common law courts, and to the state of the law of real property. We think it is to be regretted that Mr. Peel thus early expressed these views—wise
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and judicious as they were—first, because (although we cannot wonder at his feeling the inconvenience of a discussion *de omnibus rebus legalibus et illegalibus*) it rather encouraged a spirit too prevalent in parliament, of fastidiously shrinking from those technical and difficult subjects on which fine speeches cannot be made, though much useful knowledge may be given, and much good done directly and indirectly to the public; and secondly, because it was not enough to limit the inquiry as the government have wisely done: it was also desirable that this speech should receive from various members, desirous and competent to discuss it, that full investigation which the whole of it required, and that complete refutation to which many parts of it are open—investigations and refutations which would have gone forth along with the Solicitor-General's answer, to produce their salutary effect upon the public mind. Time has been, and of no distant date, when the House of Commons were wont to lead the public judgment on the great and interesting topics there discussed;—when the speeches on each side of any great question, in general, condensed all the best information, and all the most cogent eloquence which could be brought to bear upon the topic; and left to the press little more than the refuse ears of the subject, after the rich harvest of the debate had been gathered. We should wish to see this always the case, as we are convinced, by proper means, it always might be. We could wish that, by proper selection and generous encouragement on the part of the government, those principles on which the conservation and safety of all our best institutions depend, might ever find their ablest and most effective supporters within the walls of parliament—that all unmeasured attacks upon them might ever meet their most vigorous repulsion in the place where they are made—that the press may never get the start of the representative body either in moral courage or in intelligence and powers of influencing the public.

Another inconvenience has arisen from the immensity of the scheme opened by Mr. Brougham. Commissions are issued as to which no definite discussion has taken place; and though the terms of the commissions state the outline of the inquiry into which the commissioners are to enter, the vastness of the plan proposed originally prevented the attention of the house, and the observations of members, from being addressed especially and definitely to the precise matters to be submitted to the commission. The consequence is, the parliament and the public are now almost in the dark as to the matters to be inquired into, and the bounds marked out for the commissioners. We believe nobody knows, probably not the learned commissioners themselves, exactly what topics are to be included and what to be excluded.

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While we differ from Mr. Brougham as to the expediency and the practicability of a vast general review of our legal systems, and while we think that a popular disquisition in parliament upon these systems was not the discreet or judicious road to such an end, we are happy to agree with some of his observations upon detached subjects. In one portion of the speech we cordially concur—and it is one of the most important subjects which it handles: we mean the manifest necessity which exists for taking measures of some kind for rendering the three superior courts—the King's Bench, the Common Pleas, and the Exchequer—more adequate to dispose of the public business. We doubt the practicability of attaining such a prompt system of decision as shall altogether prevent arrears of business in the courts. We believe that no number of judges, no energy which they could display, would ever keep the cause papers clear of accumulations, owing to the accidental length of certain suits—the occasional influx of unusual quantities of business—the illnesses of judges, and other inevitable causes. If these were the only causes which now existed to produce a want of business in some courts, and a great excess in others, we should be satisfied that the effect arose from the inevitable course of things, and that the public had no reason on this point to hope for effective change. But we refer to the full details given in Mr. Dodd's 'Letter to Mr. Peel' on this matter; and we think it is perfectly clear that there are technical obstacles to the equal distribution of business among the courts, which must be removed before the public can derive that benefit from the labours of the several courts which they have a right to expect. With some slight exceptions, all ordinary causes between subject and subject may now be brought in either of the three superior courts; and we confess, provided the causes get there without difficulty, we care not whether it is by settled and familiar legal fictions, or whether the legal fictions are abolished, and the jurisdiction of all the courts is at once declared open to all litigations. The misfortune is, that causes are prevented by several obstacles from finding their way equally to these three courts, though they all, in effect, have equal jurisdiction. Mr. Dodd explains in detail the causes of this difficulty, and, we believe, his statement of them is accurate. The fact of the great disproportion of business actually existing in the courts he first places beyond doubt, by reference to the returns of the number of the causes tried in the several courts for six years, from 1820 to 1826. In these six years, the Court of King's Bench despatched thirteen thousand three hundred and seventy-nine cases—the Court of Common Pleas three thousand nine hundred and two—while in the Exchequer, there were only one thousand

thousand three hundred and forty-six disposed of, being about one-tenth of the amount of the King's Bench. A reference to the *Nisi Prius* cause-lists of the three courts would lead to about the same results.

With these facts on record, we are surprised the Solicitor-General should contend, that there is no necessity for amending the system of the Common Pleas, because 'it sits the same number of hours, and gets through the same business as the other courts.' That it sits the same number of hours may be true; but that it does so, to despatch less than one-third of the same quantity of business, is clear. If, then, as every one will admit, the business of the King's Bench is not executed with a heedless rapidity inconsistent with proper deliberation, it naturally occurs—why does the Common Pleas proceed at so much more sluggish a pace? There can be but two answers: either the judges are not equally competent, or they proceed slower than the reasonable rate of despatch, because they have not business enough fully to occupy their time. We leave those experienced in the several courts to say which of these causes is most operative. The causes of the very small business done in the Court of Exchequer, are fully stated by Mr. Dodd:—to whose Letter we must again refer our readers. We do trust, that the commissioners will unsparingly inquire, by examination of informed and practical men, into all the causes tending to produce this inequality—an inequality which, while it leaves the judges of the Exchequer almost a sinecure in their offices, and, while it often leads to the idea that a baron may be appointed with less strict attention to qualification than another judge, exhausts and oppresses the judges of the King's Bench with labours which few bodily constitutions can endure. Till all the established courts are in full employment, it is impossible to judge of the adequacy of the present judicial system to get through the public business. Ascertain the extent of the powers of the *existing* legal machinery; if, on fair trial, it is found insufficient, then let fresh courts be instituted, or additional judges named.

Mr. Fergusson, who brings to the discussion of all topics much acuteness, and a valuable experience, proposes to do away with the choice of courts—to compel plaintiffs to set down their causes in one general list, from which they are to be distributed by the judges to the different courts according to the order of the date of setting down; and truly observes, 'If all the courts be equally well filled with judges, no suitor can have a preference of one court over another.' That this equality of qualifications among the judges is most desirable cannot be denied—and that it is attainable to a much greater extent than the bench, at present,

sent, exhibits, we have no manner of doubt—but still, with all the care that can be exercised in that most important duty of appointing judges, we believe the bench must ever display great disparities of talent. It is not possible, with ever so much care, to select twelve men, or even four men, from the bar, whose abilities, and attainments, and qualifications shall not be marked by great disparity. The same wide differences must exist also among advocates: and hence the ablest judges and barristers will always acquire the favour and confidence of suitors. The question is then, as you cannot make all the courts equal, in respect of the merits either of judges or barristers, is it expedient to force the suitor by compulsion into a certain court in rotation, or is it not better to leave him his choice as at present? We see no reason for any such compulsory measure. We think the suitors are more likely to be well satisfied with the decisions of that court, which they themselves select: and if, by following some pre-eminent judge or favourite advocate into any particular court, they occasion a certain excess of business, we do not think that the arrear thus produced is likely to be very great; and the delay produced by it is a price paid by the suitors for the gratification of having their causes disposed of by the judge they confide in, and the advocates they select for themselves.

The Solicitor-General objects, it is vain to open any court; you will have no business in it till a regular bar are brought to attend it. But surely it is not necessary to provide ravens for the carcase; there can be no doubt that the bar will come to any court if there is business in it. In these days, when the bar, from various causes, (and principally from the extravagant notions formed of the chances of attaining professional eminence and wealth,) is immensely overstocked, there is certain to be an influx of barristers into any court in which causes are set down; and if it was found that business could not effectually be done without individuals making their selection of one particular court and giving up all others, we have no doubt that this arrangement could be effected by a silent understanding, as it is now, to a great extent, in the three concurrent Courts in Chancery. Let the revenue business and tithe causes remain, as at present, in the Exchequer; let the criminal business be still confined to the King's Bench, and actions of a *real* nature be brought in the Common Pleas—but do away the obstacles which now prevent the Common Pleas and Exchequer from being equally efficient with the King's Bench for the despatch of ordinary business; and we have no doubt, that business will then settle into its natural distribution among the three courts, and a sufficient bar be found for its despatch in each.

The three main objects to be attained by the common law
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commission obviously must be, 1st, The destruction of all mere vexatious litigation, all technical contests, to the expense and injury of the party really in the right: 2d, The shortening: 3d, The rendering cheaper the settlement of those honest and fair suits which arise upon really doubtful questions, as to the rights of individuals. Towards accomplishing the first of these objects, we believe Mr. Peel's act, requiring bail to be given in all proceedings in error, has had a salutary effect; for although it has driven defendants upon a new expedient for delay, by going to trial at the sittings or assizes, instead of suffering judgment by default; yet the delay and expense thus occasioned are small in comparison with those produced by the former practice of sham writs of error.* In all schemes for preventing vexatious delay in fighting off honest demands, it must ever be borne in mind that the evil arises from the fraudulent or insolvent debtor availing himself of forms which are just and proper for the protection of the defendant who really has a defence. The law allows a defendant sued a certain time to put in bail—a certain time to plead to the plaintiff's claim—a certain time to procure his evidence and prepare for trial—can any one deny that an honest defendant has a right to these delays, and that it would be gross oppression to force him into court without them? and yet how are we to prevent the unfair and evasive defendant from having the same means of procrastination, since it is only when the trial comes on that a judge and jury can decide that there is no defence, and that the defendant has held out for mere delay and vexation?

With regard to shortening and cheapening proceedings,—we are disposed to agree with the Solicitor-General, that beyond a certain point it is not desirable (if it were practicable) that legal proceedings should be rendered cheap—that an extreme cheapness would occasion an eagerness for litigation on trifling and fanciful grievances, which it is desirable to discourage rather than promote. The expenses which at present attend law-suits have, we are convinced, seldom, if ever, the effect of debarring a rightful claimant from obtaining his full rights in our courts of justice. We find, on the contrary, that where a valid, or even a colourable claim to property exists, the zeal of friends, or the prospect of gain, always induces parties to advance the requisite funds; claims to peerages and estates never fall to the ground for want of funds to prosecute them. On the contrary, money is constantly forthcoming to support vexatious proceedings of this kind, without a shadow of real title. In cases also of assaults, slanders, libels, and personal injuries, so far from serious evils

* See Dodd, p. 15.

remaining unredressed, the courts have perpetually to complain of the most frivolous complaints being brought before them by the anger of the parties, or the interested views of attorneys, depending on extracting the costs from the pocket of the opposite suitor. The law, also, provides means of proceeding *in forma pauperis*; in which case, counsel are assigned gratis to the party, the official and court fees are given up, and the cause is determined almost entirely without expense. To declaim, therefore, about the expenses of litigation operating as a denial of justice—preventing parties from recovering redress for real, and even for the slightest injuries—as having the effect of enabling the rich to oppress the needy, is, we conceive, one of the most inconsiderate and groundless exaggerations which can be palmed upon the public. If it means any thing, it means this,—not that the poor and humble complain that the courts are too expensive for them to approach, (a complaint which every cause-list in every court would falsify,) but that the opulent and luxurious, who are content to pay at a high rate for every necessary and luxury of life, unreasonably desire to obtain legal redress and protection at a different rate of expense from that which affects all other matters; and are astonished that the means of protecting their wealth and possessions from aggression, by a pure, and incorrupt, and respectable system of law, should not be attended by a scale of cheapness altogether incommensurate with the general scale of all prices in the country. That much of the length and some of the expensiveness of lawsuits, in England, is produced by our system of a fixed establishment of the courts in the metropolis, with a limited number of superior judges of high character, station, and acquirements, periodically dispensing justice through the provinces, cannot be doubted. It would be impossible for circuits to take place more frequently than they do now; and not less impossible to carry them to all the towns in a county. Any one who examines any bills of costs will soon perceive how very little of their sum total is paid to professional persons—how comparatively little goes to the attorney, and how much less to the counsel. The main elements of the expense are in the fees of court at the trial, the copies of papers, the searching for and procuring witnesses, and, above all, their conveyance to, and subsistence during the assizes. The first item of this expense will, probably, be a subject of inquiry for the commissioners; the second is inevitable, and can only be at all reduced when legal documents have become reduced in verbiage, which, though we doubt not it may be accomplished, must be a work of some time. With regard to the last heads of expense, until the price of every necessary of life is reduced, how are tavern bills and post-horse

accounts to be rendered lighter to suitors? Could an act of Parliament very reasonably compel attornies, surveyors, surgeons, accountants, bailiffs, farmers, and all others, to lay aside all their avocations, and give attendance, without compensation, and at their own expense, at the assizes, in order that litigious persons might sue their neighbours without cost? This would be a somewhat large amplification of the '*nulli vendemus justitiam*' of the Great Charter. To bring a satisfactory administration of justice home to every town and village, so that people, by walking across their threshold, may find judge, and jury, and witnesses, ready at any time to settle their grievances—without any delay, any travelling, any expense—may be practicable among the islanders of Otaheite, Loo-Choo, or in any other primitive society; but is wholly impracticable in such a country as Great Britain. A system of local courts, established in different towns and villages throughout the country, would not administer justice with that purity, that regularity, that independence, which belong to the existing courts—nor even if they could do so, would these judgments meet that respect which ought ever to attend the administration of the law. The judges would be influenced—or perpetually suspected of being so—by local interests, local prejudices, local passions; they would certainly want rank, consequence, elevation. In a country where the inequalities of station and possessions are strongly marked, it is absolutely indispensable that the courts should be placed on a high and elevated footing; that they should be equally above all temptation to oppress the weak, and all danger of being intimidated by the powerful. The character of the judicial administration must necessarily be assimilated to the condition and character of society in the country wherein it is established.

At the same time, however, we do not deny the hardship of suitors being compelled to wait some months, and incur heavy expenses, in recovering small debts, and procuring a decision of trifling disputes, and we therefore think the jurisdiction of county courts should be extended to debts of higher amount, and to cases of greater variety. In Mr. Brougham's observations upon this topic we entirely concur; and we are rejoiced to see the subject occupying the unwearied attention of Mr. Peel.

Mr. Brougham proceeds from the superior courts to animadvert upon the unpaid magistracy of the country, and we are sorry to be obliged here widely to separate from him in his course. He objects, *in limine*, to the nomination of the magistrates by the lord lieutenant of the county.

'The first doubt which strikes me is, if it be fit that they should be appointed as they are merely by the lord lieutenants of counties, without

without the intervention of the crown's responsible ministers. . . . The lord lieutenant, therefore, as *custos rotulorum*, absolutely appoints all the justices of the peace in his county at his sole will and pleasure. Now, I cannot *understand what quality is peculiar to a keeper of the records*, that fits him above all other men to say who shall be the judges of the district whose records he keeps.—p. 35. We must be excused for thinking that this is very like quibbling upon mere sounds. Would it be wise to object to the Lord Chancellor and the Master of the Rolls being the supreme equity judges of the kingdom, because one of them is a keeper of an old-fashioned seal, and the other the guardian of some musty rolls of parchment! Whatever the *custos rotulorum* is in name, every one knows that he is in effect the first nobleman of his district, in intimate relations with the gentry of the county, of which he is the resident head, and, therefore, admirably fitted to judge of their qualifications, whether of talent or of character, for the duties of a magistrate.

Mr. Brougham objects to the absence of responsibility in the magistrates:—

‘The judges of the land, chosen from the professors of the law, after the labours of a life previously devoted to the acquirements of knowledge calculated to fit them for the office, and clothed with attributes of supreme power over petty magistrates, are responsible for every word and act; and are subject to every species of revision and control. They are selected with the most anxious caution for every qualification of high character and of profound knowledge; and yet they are incapable of pronouncing a single decision, from which an appeal will not lie to some other tribunal immediately above them: while, from the decision of the country justices, taken from the community at hazard, or recommended by the habits least calculated to make them just—subject to no personal responsibility, because *beyond or below the superintendence of public opinion*—and irremovable, unless by a verdict for some indictable offence—from their decision *there is no appeal*, unless their misdeeds shall have been set forth in a case submitted by their own free will, with their express permission, to the Court of King's Bench.’—p. 43.

We must say, that a passage, more distinguished by inaccuracy and exaggeration, we seldom remember to have heard or read: its inconsistency, also, is somewhat amusing. When the learned speaker holds a brief, according to law phrase, against the magistrates, he disparages them by a comparison with the superior judges—the latter are then ‘*selected with the most anxious caution for every qualification of high character and profound knowledge*’; but when, at page 17, Mr. Brougham, with forensic versatility, has taken a retainer against the superior bench of judges, or rather against those who nominate them, he speaks thus:

‘The great object of every government, in selecting the judges of the land, should be to obtain the most skilful and learned men in their profession, and, at the same time, the men, whose character gives the best security for the pure and impartial administration of justice. *Sorry I am to say, that our system of judicial promotion sins in both these particulars; his seat on the bench must depend, generally speaking, on his supporting the leading principles of the existing administration.*’

(Mr. Brougham, it will be observed, has a great objection to double pleading, and holds in horror inconsistent defences in suits.)

But we should be glad to know in what respect the magistrates are, as Mr. Brougham asserts, less responsible than the judges of the courts of law. With respect to *legal* responsibility, that of the justices of the peace is, as it ought to be, far greater than that of the judges. Who ever heard of an action at law being brought against a judge for giving a mistaken judgment against a party? Whereas an assize never takes place without several such actions being brought against magistrates. If it is said, the fact shows the superior correctness and integrity of the judges, we beg to observe that, while there are four thousand five hundred justices of the peace, there are but twelve judges of the land. But the truth is, that with regard to the judges, *legal* responsibility is entirely out of the question—an action does not lie against them by the party injured for any consequences of their judicial errors—the law provides means of punishing their crimes—it gives no private reparation for their mistakes. The judge acting corruptly or wilfully wrong, may be punished by impeachment, or by a criminal information, or he may be displaced by the crown who appointed him. But these remedies also exist against the magistrate, and are, when occasion requires it, efficaciously enforced. When corruption or oppression in his office are brought home to him, the Court of King's Bench grant a criminal information against him; and on the facts being proved before a jury, and a verdict obtained, his conduct is visited by a heavy fine or imprisonment, and his name infallibly erased from the commission. We ask, can any rule be more wise, more strictly just, than that laid down by Lord Eldon, that a magistrate ought not to be removed on the ground of rumours of misconduct—of unproved accusations—but that judicial proof of his delinquency by the sentence of a court is the proper and only safe evidence on which the Chancellor can, in general cases, take the grave measure of removing him from the commission? In general cases, what inquiry could the Lord Chancellor pursue, which could give the justice the fair opportunity of meeting his accusers, except through a judicial proceeding? To complain that there is difficulty in making out a case of corruption against a magistrate,

is complaining merely—that crime is crime—that the evil motives which constitute legal guilt in this, as in all other cases, are not always easy to be satisfactorily proved—but, yet, what rational man can imagine that it would be right to punish magistrates, or any human beings, unless such motives are made manifest in the character of their acts?

But are these, which are the only means by which the judges are responsible, the sole legal remedies against the magistrates whom Mr. Brougham declares irresponsible? Far from it—the instant the magistrate transgresses, by a hair's-breadth, the jurisdiction which the law gives him, his acts are uncovered by the shield of his judicial character—he becomes a mere naked trespasser, and subject to action for damages, by the party whom his judicial acts may have unintentionally injured. Nor is this merely the law of our books, it is the law every day put in operation. The slightest slip is frequently laid hold of by the justice's neighbours, and by their pettifogging advisers, who can make a profitable job of proceedings against him; the public mind is poisoned beforehand by distorted accounts of the transaction, from the influence of which the jury who decide on his conduct, cannot be kept free—Mr. Brougham, or some other able and political advocate, is retained against him—every popular topic is resorted to in order to inflame the tribunal—every protection which the law has thrown round a magistrate acting within his jurisdiction, is made a ground for calling for the heaviest castigation on the justice who has gone beyond it; and it often happens, that a jury under these influences, coming from the neighbourhood and, possibly, not without grounds of grudge against a local judge often exercising an invidious and unpopular authority, make an example of the justice and give heavy damages; and if the judge certifies that the act was malicious, the justice is liable to pay double costs: this is the irresponsibility of magistrates. The judge of the superior courts has a very marked, though wide, jurisdiction within which to act. Supposing (which is not the case) that an action lay against the judges of the King's Bench for any judicial act done *ultra* the jurisdiction, we really are at a loss to see how, in deciding the causes regularly brought before them, there is any possibility of their stepping beyond their province. Widely different is the case with that discretionary and multifarious jurisdiction, which, by a multitude of acts of parliament, is delegated to the magistracy. The magistrate has (often on the spur of the occasion) to construe a mass of complicated and often-changing enactments, absolutely at his peril. Does he act singly when he ought to act in conjunction with another?* Does he mistake the particle 'and' for the particle 'or' in a penal act? Does

* *Weller v. Toke*, 9 East's Reports, 364.

he order the seizure of unlawful goods in a 'vessel,' when a statute only mentions a 'boat'?* Does he consider an apprentice's indentures as 'voidable' only, when the superior court, by a subtle construction, regards them as 'void'?† Does he commit a party till he pays a sum of money, when the statute only empowers him to commit 'for six months, unless the sum is sooner paid'? In all these, and a multitude of other cases of similar nicety, he is bound to be strictly right, *inter apices juris*; and if, with the best intention in the world, he mistakes a nice point of law, and inflicts a distress or an imprisonment not strictly justifiable, he is liable to be sued as a trespasser, and to answer, out of his purse, for an act done in his public character, and with an upright view to the public good. True, indeed, he may, in such cases, tender an amends to the party injured; and, to enable him to do so, he is entitled to a notice of the action before it is commenced. But what hardship is this on the complaining party, what deduction from the magistrates' responsibility? If the tender is adequate, the party receives a full compensation for the injury inflicted: if it is insufficient, the party proceeds to trial, and the jury gives a full compensation, together with the costs, which fall on the justice. Such is the situation of the 'irresponsible' magistrates, in cases where no shadow of bad motive, where no corruption or malice, or oppression, is charged against them; but where, with unimpeachable good intention, they act on a wrong construction of that voluminous and difficult law, which they gratuitously administer.

In cases where they act from wrong feelings, where their conduct evinces motives either of fraud, or vindictive oppression, not only are the above remedies open to the sufferer, but, we have before seen, the magistrate is additionally punishable by criminal information, or by indictment before a grand jury. Blackstone says,‡ 'on the other hand, any malicious or tyrannical abuse of their office is usually severely punished; and all persons who recover a verdict against a justice, for any wilful or malicious injury, are entitled to double costs.' Applications for criminal informations against magistrates are made in every term to the Court of King's Bench. That in an immense majority of instances, the court, on mature investigation of the facts, on hearing the allegations of both parties, discharges the applications, is to be regarded as a proof—that the Court of King's Bench are corrupt and partial? No—that the applications are frequently made from vexatious motives, on inconsiderate grounds, without any real cause for inculpatting the justice. Marvellous, indeed, would

* *Britain v. Kinnard*, 1 Broderip and Bingham's Reports, 432.

† *Gray v. Cookson*, 16 East's Reports, 13.

‡ 1 Comm. 353.

it be, if four thousand five hundred magistrates, exercising a corrective authority over criminals and delinquents of every kind—obliged to proceed often summarily and hastily—often deceived by perjury and misinformation—often perplexed by intricate laws—constantly called upon to exercise invidious power, should not excite enmity and revengeful feelings, local jealousies, adverse interests among their neighbours, and if these feelings should not occasionally endeavour to distort the laws into engines of revenge against the uncompromising magistrate who has fearlessly performed his duty. Mr. Brougham talks about there being no appeal from the decisions of the magistrates; but he must be aware that there is not only an appeal generally given from the single justice, or the petty sessions, to the quarter-sessions, but also that, wherever a case of legal difficulty requires it, wherever local circumstances prevent an impartial trial before the sessions, the proceeding may be removed by certiorari into the superior court for trial—almost all summary proceedings are also removable—for the purpose of being revised, and either quashed or confirmed: while a writ of error lies to the King's Bench for errors appearing on the records of the proceedings of the sessions. 'From their decision there is no appeal,' says Mr. Brougham, 'unless their misdeeds shall have been set forth in a case submitted by their own free will, with their express permission, to the Court of King's Bench.' (p. 43.) There is a marvellous confusion in this sentence. By a '*case setting forth misdeeds*,' we presume Mr. Brougham means,—for there is nothing else which he can mean,—the case stating a question of law, as to the validity of a pauper's settlement, by which the quarter-sessions, in cases of legal difficulty, are in the habit of taking the opinion of the Court of King's Bench, in preference to deciding themselves on a doubtful matter. It would be exactly as correct to call the case reserved by the judge at the assizes for the opinion of the full court, or the case stated by two contending parties for Mr. Brougham's opinion, a '*statement of the misdeeds*' of the judge or of the parties. That the quarter-sessions in trying, by means of a jury, the guilt or innocence of parties charged with lesser felonies and misdemeanors, decide *on facts* without appeal, is beyond doubt; but, from the nature of the case, it must be so. It is the same with trials before the criminal judge of assize. Our law does not recognise—it could not recognise a system of appeals and new trials in matters of criminal jurisdiction. Will any one contend that a man, convicted by a jury of stealing a pig, or assaulting his neighbour, should be able to remove the case by an appeal, and have the chance of a second trial by another judge and jury? Questions of legal difficulty, arising on the record, are the sole grounds of

of appeal from one court to another, in civil litigation. And whenever these arise on the record of a proceeding at the sessions, does Mr. Brougham forget that an appeal exists by writ of error to the King's Bench? The necessity for such appeal rarely arises in criminal cases, owing to the comparative simplicity of the law affecting such matters.

But, if Mr. Brougham is not remarkably happy in his assertions as to the magistrates' freedom from *legal* responsibility, and from the control and revision of superior courts, he is scarcely more convincing when he states the astounding proposition that the magistrates are '*beyond or below the superintendence of public opinion.*'—(p. 43.) What are the *certi fines*, above or under which public opinion, in this country, does not exert its active influence,—what are the limits to the *arbitrium popularis auræ*, it would puzzle any man to say;—but if any individual or class were to be selected, as more than any other dragged within its capricious jurisdiction—assailed in the courts—running the gauntlet through the House of Commons,—carped at in reviews—assaulted in newspapers, surely it is the useful body who serve the public in his Majesty's commission. We by no means quarrel with the general nature of the control which is thus exercised over their proceedings. Far from it.—Public watchfulness, the control of opinion—and not writs and informations, are, we are convinced, the proper and effectual safeguards against misdeeds of magistrates. A subjection to public censure is the price, an obnoxiousness to calumny is the tax, paid by the magistrate for that honourable consideration which he acquires by usefully serving his country from honourable motives. But that a body of men living before the public eye—marked and distinguished in their several counties—administering justice in the face of hundreds of their fellow citizens, should be objected to by a senator—with the lash of censure actually in his hands—as not under the control of public opinion, is a circumstance only equalled by the statement that they are not legally responsible for misconduct.

We have not now space to comment on other exaggerations in Mr. Brougham's cinnamatory observations on the magistrates. We shall not dwell on the ludicrous attempt to make out that their services are not actually gratuitous; on the obscure hints at 'jobs' which he does not pretend to specify; or the candid insinuations, 'the magistrate *may* receive compensation in money's worth;' 'he *may* receive it in hard money by his servants.' The best proof, we conceive, that the magistrates could desire of the real gratuitousness of their services, is that Mr. Brougham, after putting the question, 'Is it, after all, gratuitous service?'—after
hazarding

hazarding the assertion 'the operation of pecuniary motives in matters connected with the magistracy, is more extensive than may at first sight appear,'—(p. 41), after his anonymous 'editors' insert in the index to the speech, 'unpaid magistracy,—a direct remuneration payable to jobs, p. 40'—rests, after all, his case of jobs and compensation,—on what evidence does the reader suppose?—on an 'anecdote respecting a punch-bowl,' p. 42 (as the index has it), which we recommend for the reader's amusement, and on this—'the fees of the justice's clerk amount to a little income' '11' and the 'glory acquired among neighbours, into whose pockets they are the means of putting money, by making them prosecutors and witnesses in petty criminal cases' 'Munificent salary' 'prodigious compensation' for duly services as a judge, for devotion of time and thoughts to the thankless office of deciding local litigations—for braving the odium of the desperate, the calumnies of the malignant, the misrepresentations of the reformer. The owner of whole parishes and hundreds has the privilege of appointing his steward his clerk, with fees of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum,—nay more, he has patronage to procure for his intimate friends and near kindred, the constable and the parish beadle, an occasional journey to the assizes, at the expense of the county rate. Impudent pretension of disinterested service! what can be so exorbitant as this pay of the unpaid?

But, though Mr. Brougham, something in the spirit of Atticus, in one sentence just 'hints at fees, and 'hesitates' jobs upon the justices, in the next he somewhat inconsistently falls into the popular mistake of considering the degree of protection afforded them by the law, as a consequence of their services being gratuitous. Nothing is more common than this notion, nothing more frequent than the assumption that, if the magistracy were stipendiary, the law might be more rigorously on occasional errors in the discharge of their duty. We have no hesitation in thinking this idea entirely fallacious and unfounded. We are quite convinced that, if the present magistrates were suspended to-morrow, and stipendiary lawyers appointed in their place, the law, as to the magisterial responsibility, must remain in substance the same. The principle of the law may be stated in one word. It holds magistrates excused, where they act from honest motives, though they fall into unintentional error in their judicial determinations, it holds them punishable either by action, indictment, or criminal information, whenever they wilfully transgress, whether from motives of corruption or oppression. Protection to this extent, we hesitate not to say, is absolutely essential to the administration of justice, and by all codes, and in all countries, has ever been extended to persons acting in judicial capacities. No law

law ever did, or could long exist, which should render judges duly appointed, either punishable as delinquents, or amenable to the complaints of private parties, for those occasional errors in judgment which belong to the best human tribunals. The independence and security of the Bench would be at an end if every judge felt that, in whatever way he decided the matter before him, he was liable to be harassed by the defeated party by a legal proceeding before some other court, in which it was to depend on the view taken of the question by another set of judges whether he was to be punished, or held justified for decisions honestly pronounced in his judicial capacity. If such were the law, there would never be a conviction or a sentence passed without a writ or indictment against the magistrate by the defeated party to intimidate and vex his judge, if not to benefit himself; at all events, to delay the effects of the conviction or sentence. The magistrates, therefore, we assert, *are not protected as they are, because they are unpaid, but because they are judges.* Caution and vigilance should be exercised in their selection, powers of removal must exist in case of their malfeazances; punishment must be administered where criminal abuses of authority are proved; but, while they remain judges, and while they act with honest intention, the security of the Bench, and the regular course of judicial proceedings, require them to be held harmless for mere errors of oversight and accident. The doctrine as to judges in general is thus clearly expressed, after a reference to the authorities establishing it, by the present enlightened Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench:—

‘This freedom from action and question at the suit of an individual is given by the law to the judges, not so much for their own sake, as *for the sake of the public, and for the advancement of justice*, that, being free from action, they may be free in thought and independent in judgment, as all who are to administer justice ought to be. Even inferior judges, and those not of record, cannot be called in question for an error in judgment so long as they are within the bounds of their jurisdiction. In the imperfection of human nature it is better even that an individual should occasionally suffer a wrong than that the general course of justice should be impeded and fettered by constant restraints and apprehensions on the part of those who administer it. Corruption is quite another matter; so also are neglect of duty and misconduct in it. For these, I trust, there will always be some due course of punishment by public prosecution.’*

Mr. Brougham (after the manner, too common in this speech) throws out all possible objections to the magistracy, but without considering it any part of his duty to suggest any remedy for

* Lord Tenterden's judgment in *Garnet v. Ferrand*, 6 Barn. and Cres. Rep. 626.

the alleged evil, still less to provide a substitute for this efficient body, if superseded. We would venture to challenge the most violent of their opponents to find the practical means of supplying substitutes, which could, with tolerable satisfaction to the country, execute for one year their various and important functions. In point of irresponsibility, we have shown, that a stipendiary body must be on the same footing. But the truth is, that the terror of legal process is not the security on which this country, or any country, can depend for the good conduct of its higher judges and magistracy. The idea of keeping judges in the line of their duty by means of indictments and penalties, and actions for damages, we hold to be not only visionary, but vulgar—unworthy of a reflecting legislator. The real guarantees against abuse of such high trust, can only be found in the high station, the public character, the independence, the honour of the individuals, in the control of the public vigilance over their conduct, in the care shown in their nomination, in their regard to fame, and aversion from public obloquy. But if legal penalties would have as little hold on the stipendiary as on the gratuitous magistrate, would these efficient guarantees above the law be equally operative on the former as on the latter? We are convinced they would not. The office of a stipendiary justice must, we believe, necessarily become a place for a fifth-rate professional lawyer. To supply that want of regular legal knowledge which is objected to the present magistracy, the new class must, of course, be taken from barristers or from attorneys. That attorneys actually in practice should be admitted to the commission would be absolutely impossible. These two vocations never could be suffered to be carried on by the same persons in the same district. If attorneys were eligible on giving up their practice, it is obvious that only the inferior members of that class would leave a lucrative business for the stipend of a justice.

If then the commissions were supplied,—as they must be—by regularly-educated barristers, it would be impossible, for such a salary as could be offered, to fill them with men of any eminence, even of any considerable learning or ability. The office would be incompatible with the active practice of the profession: the magistrate must devote his whole time and attention to his magisterial duties. His salary could not exceed five hundred pounds per annum—if fixed at that small sum, supposing that the business now executed, with much exertion, by four thousand five hundred individuals, could be despatched by two thousand, the burden on the country would still amount to one million per annum. The places must, therefore, necessarily become the re-

source of those who failed in the more aspiring walks of business, or of those without energy or talent to attempt them. Without consequence as lawyers—of no rank in their learned profession—without the influence of property or birth—with no station in the county or neighbourhood where they administered justice—with no natural connexion with its inhabitants, and surrounded by powerful landowners possessing all these ties and all these qualifications, is it likely that such magistrates could execute the important duties which devolve upon county magistrates in such a manner as to be satisfactory to their neighbours whether high or low? Is it likely that they would be above the influence of peers and landholders by whom they would be surrounded? that they would be proof against the temptations to which indigent authority, surrounded by wealth, is exposed? That they could resist opportunities of making their public functions a stepping stone to those other grounds of consideration and power of which they would be destitute? Admitting (for the sake of argument) that they might make fewer mistakes than the unpaid magistrates in the strictly technical part of their functions, we believe that so irresistible and inevitable is the influence of wealth and property, and especially in rural districts, that such a body of needy lawyers, invested with judicial functions, would necessarily be brought under the influence of their wealthy or aristocratic neighbours; that the people at large would find them a weak, and biassed, and dependant, if not a corrupt, tribunal: in fact, that the fearless independence and dignified authority which unquestionably belong, in the main, to the present magistracy, and which are the first qualities to be sought in a judicial body, would be sacrificed for the comparatively secondary merit of a slight superiority in technical knowledge and legal competence. To get rid of a few errors of negligence or ignorance, we should introduce a host of delinquencies, frauds, jobs, and peculations. Such an obscure professional body would also be as much 'below the superintendence of public opinion,' as the present magistracy are, from their stations, obnoxious to it.

The administration of the game laws and the licensing of public-houses are the points on which Mr. Brougham and others principally find fault with the present magistrates. We do not pretend to justify every individual instance of magisterial authority exercised under the former system. We are convinced, that in and near London the connexion of the magistrates with the brewers occasions frequent and great abuses of the trust of licensing; though these abuses are entirely unknown in the agricultural and more distant counties, where brewers are too inconsiderable to exercise an influence over resident justices. Some remedy might
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be applied to these evils where they exist. Perhaps it would be expedient to leave the sale of beer, like other articles, open to fair competition among individuals, the magistrates and police keeping strict watch over the public-houses, and visiting with severity all disturbances in them. We believe, the effect of such a plan would be the breaking up of a great number of the larger houses of this description, where the lowest characters now congregate for purposes of riot or worse offences,—and the distributing the sale among a much larger number of small houses, which would be more easily kept under the control of the police. But whatever may be the evils of the present system, whatever the remedies required, it is the height of unfairness and exaggeration to charge them upon the magistrates, as a body. Few, indeed, are the number of those implicated in any proceedings on the subject of a discreditable kind. When executed with the best intentions, the office is invidious and necessarily liable to misconstruction, unpopularity, and occasional abuse. Like every kind of licensing, it proceeds on an inquiry into character of an unsatisfactory and precarious kind—in which the magistrates of the best motives are liable to be misled by malicious information, interested accusers, and evil reporters, against whom the party concerned cannot satisfactorily guard himself. No investigation of character and conduct, out of a court of justice, can possibly be complete. The magistrates are not, therefore, in fairness, answerable for the effects of a system which is vicious and faulty in itself—by which they, in general, can gain nothing, and of which, we believe, as Mr. George Lamb said for them, they would gladly be disburdened.

In the same manner, with respect to the game laws—why charge on the administrators of these laws, the mischiefs, which, in truth, are ascribable to the laws themselves? We are quite convinced that these laws do operate as one of the most serious and complicated evils now felt in the country; and that if some check is not soon found, to arrest their demoralization of the lower ranks, our provinces will be thrown into a condition of insecurity of persons and of property, more fit for a predatory than for a civilized state.

Hoc fonte derivata clades

In patriam populumque fluxit.

But these crying evils, which fill our gaols and crowd the assize calendars with cases of blood and atrocity, are not to be ascribed to the magistracy; the sum of whose offences on the subject is, that they in some few cases visit poachers with heavier punishments than other convicts, and measure out judicial punishments, without invariably closing their eyes against local knowledge of the offender. The real source of these evils

is to be traced higher than the sessions bench. Every active game breeder and rigorous game preserver—every landowner who would confine the birds of the air for his pleasure, by retainers armed for the destruction of the ordinary trespasser—we have no hesitation in saying, is preparing an unwarrantable temptation for his necessitous and often half-employed neighbours, which no morals, no dread of severe laws, can or will resist, and which must recoil on the sportsman in the disorganization and moral ruin of the neighbourhood which he infests. Till the present rage for packing pheasants in preserves, defended by fire-arms, to be slaughtered three or four days in a season by waggon loads, superseded the ancient, and moderate, and manly character of English field-sports, the temptation to poaching was comparatively small, and the crimes growing out of it were comparatively slight.* The passion for breeding pheasants has of late years prodigiously augmented the evils of the game-laws—all owners of pheasant-covers must share in the blame, whether in or out of the commission, and cannot be permitted to cast it on the justices who decide on offences against these laws when brought before them. So long as such a code exists, we are not surprised that unpopularity should, however undeservedly, attend its execution; but it is not only doing injustice, but doing mischief—it is directing a finger-post away from the source of the evil, to attack the magistrates because the game-laws demand reform.

Believing, therefore, that, in the main, the magistrates of this country exercise their important functions, not only with honour and purity, but in a manner highly useful and, in general, satisfactory to the counties in which they officiate—that they are as far responsible to the law as any judges can be—that public opinion exercises, as it ought, a watchful and effective control on their conduct—that it is unfair and unwise to ascribe the mischievous workings of parts of the law which they administer to them the administrators, we were rejoiced to hear, not only the Solicitor-General, and Mr. Peel, but Sir James Scarlett and Mr. George Lamb, bearing strong testimony to the merits of their service. Other countries, where society wants an efficient body of resident gentry, are necessarily driven to invest the administration of local justice in the hands of stipendiary functionaries—paid prefects and sub-prefects, and the like. How totally wanting in independence these officers generally are,—what ready instruments and tools for all purposes of the government which appoints, displaces, and pays them,—every one knows who is intimately acquainted with foreign systems. That the judicial ad-

* See various excellent observations on this head, by the person who uses the signature of "Nimrod," in 'The Sporting Magazine' of 1826 and 1827. We are glad to have this spirited writer and enthusiastic sportsman on our side.

ministration is in those countries placed in such hands, is no matter of preference, but of inevitable necessity. There is no sufficient class of country gentlemen to act as local judges. Their expedient, which we are sometimes called upon to admire, is but a poor succedaneum to supply a vacant space in their social structure, which is admirably filled in our own. To imitate them without their necessity, to wrest the administration of justice, in our counties, from the independent hands into which the frame of our society naturally throws it,—where we find the securities of disinterested motive—of rank and affluent independence, to ensure its pure administration,—and to place it in a body of professional stipendiary placemen, nominees of the government, would, we are convinced, be an act of political insanity which would disgust the nation, in all its important classes, from one end to the other, and would introduce a ready and luxuriant harvest of abuse and corruption, as the fruits of so crude and ill-advised an experiment.

From the consideration of the several courts, and the system of the magistracy, Mr. Brougham proceeds to the state of the law itself: and departing from his professed intention of throwing the law of real property out of his view, he finds fault with the few remains of conflicting customs which are to be found in the country as to the tenure of land. The laws of gavelkind, in Kent, by which all the sons succeed equally to the father's inheritance—the law of Borough English, prevalent in some boroughs, whereby the youngest son takes the whole estate—and the variety of copyhold customs in manors (which Mr. Brougham, with some exaggeration, compares to the different *lois* in the ancient *pays de droit coutumier* in France! page 45), are now the only deviations from the general law of primogeniture prevailing in England. That the lawgiver of a new country, framing one universal code for its inhabitants, would prescribe a uniformity of laws and customs as to inheritance and descent, cannot be questioned. It would be his business to decide which was the best rule, and to enact that rule for the whole nation. But widely different is the situation of the legislator reviewing the existing laws of an ancient kingdom. He has no authority, no opportunity to discuss in the abstract whether primogeniture or partible succession is on the whole the preferable institution. He finds certain rules of descent settled in certain parts of the kingdom, according to which the land has been transmitted and governed for centuries, by which all dealings and settlements and transfers have been regulated, which have grown familiar to the people's habits, and which once had a hold on their attachments, perhaps not yet effaced. Now, in order to afford a sufficient ground for interference with these customs, we conceive it should
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be shown that they produce some *mischiefs* of a practical nature, we hold it just no ground at all for abolishing the usages of Kent, that they happen to vary from those of Middlesex. Do the people complain of these usages? do they petition against them? Do they not even, in a multitude of cases, suffer the rule of descent to take its course, although they might alter it? * Does any one pretend that the custom renders estates less valuable in the county of Kent—that it fetters alienation—that it checks improvement of the soil? If no such inconvenience is shown—if parties interested are not dissatisfied, we trust the legislature will not interfere—perhaps *in invitum*—to make alterations in so vital a matter as rules of inheritance and descent, merely for the vague object of a symmetrical uniformity of laws throughout the kingdom—an object which can never, after all, be entirely accomplished.

In the same manner, with respect to copyholds, why do persons frequently talk about the exaction of heavy fines?—the odious burden of heriots?—the caprice of lords of manors? It is the best proof that none of these evils are seriously felt, that the parties still retain the tenure of copyholds, though they have it generally in their power to turn the estate into freehold by enfranchisement. How does it happen, if such evils attend the tenure, that copyholds are bought and sold, and exchanged every day with the same facility as other property? If a copyholder's estate is subject to a heriot or heavy fine, he sells it for less, but, then, he also bought it for a proportionally small sum. The heriot cannot be imposed at the will of the lord, nor can the fine be augmented, nor indeed any alteration whatever introduced into the established customs of the manor. Why the legislature should interfere, and destroy the relation of lord and copyholder any more than that of landlord and tenant, of principal and factor, or any other relation which parties *suo jure* voluntarily contract, with their senses about them, we are at a loss to discover. The inconvenience of copyholds not being subject to the copyholder's debts, may easily be remedied, if expedient, by a provision that they shall be extendible for debt like freeholds, as they are now devisable by will, like freeholds, by the operation of Mr. Taylor's act.

Mr. DILLON'S REPLY.—It is not with regard to Kent that it is with parties interested in freeholds, but with the people in general, that have no power of remedy, but only a right of interfering with it by petitioning parliament. In Kent if the people do not like it, they modify its effect by will, by title, &c.—*I titer &c.* Mr. Hughes, by the way, attempted to show that the people of Kent never vet the law because disavowing acts have been occasionally passed to place the estate of some large proprietors under the rule of primogeniture. But how is the fact? Mr. DILLON shows, from the authority of Rollin, that there has actually been no disavowing act passed for the last two hundred years.

Mr.

Mr. Brougham next proceeds to dilate on a topic of a very popular character, and one likely to make a striking figure in the catalogue of legal grievances, viz. an alleged inequality between the crown and the subject, in legal rights and judicial remedies. And first, with respect to proceedings against the crown by a subject. We believe that, in the present day, it would be admitted by most persons that, whether legal remedies existed or not, there is no oppression from which every subject of the realm, exalted or humble, is so practically free—none, the apprehension of which would be so absolutely ludicrous—as any invasion of his proprietary rights by the highest person in the realm. Supposing no securities were existing in the law—supposing none in the personal qualities of the illustrious individual—none in the elevation of station which renders rare all collision of civil rights between him and his subjects—does any man imagine that, as long as a free press, a free parliament, a right of petition, and an active public opinion, exist in the country, its monarch could trespass, by the breadth of a hair, on the civil rights or possessions of any of his subjects, without the certainty of a remedy being found more effectual than any that writs or judges can supply for so anomalous a case? Mr. Brougham is too enlightened a man not to know, that to canvass at this time of day the question whether the crown and subject stand on an ‘equal footing’ in courts—to be talking about the law ‘being no respecter of persons’—is a very idle, and, we think, an ill-advised waste of time. Mr. Brougham knows, that the law makes no pretensions to achieve such an impossibility as to put the crown and the subject on an ‘equal footing’ before the courts—that the very first principles of all government necessarily demand that the executive power must be out of the reach of those ordinary processes, criminal and civil, which enforce right between subject and subject. In a proceeding, therefore, in the king’s courts, by the subject against the king, there must necessarily be something of anomaly, some departure from ordinary forms, easily made the ground of *ad captandum* objection. It is vain (as Locke long ago admitted) to look to legal processes in his majesty’s courts, as the means by which the subject is to extort justice from the supreme head of those courts. The principle, therefore, of the existing legal remedy is necessarily that of an appeal to the feelings of justice resident in the royal breast, not a compulsory demand of justice, which the courts have neither jurisdiction nor power, as in ordinary cases, to enforce. When the crown has got possession of any lands or property which the subject claims, the remedy pointed out by the law for the subject is ‘a Petition of right,’ in an ordinary case of title, or a *monstrans de droit*, in

case of a title appearing by matter of record. These writs, if proceeded with, out of parliament, cannot be issued without the *fiat* of the Attorney-General. And it is of the abuse of this power of the Attorney-General that Mr. Brougham complains. Now it is first to be observed, that if the subject prosecutes the petition *in parliament*, this *fiat*, we apprehend, will not be requisite. Lord Chief Baron Comyn* says, ‘If it be *in parliament*, it may be established by act of parliament, or pursued as in other cases! However, in general, on such a proceeding, the whole matter is referred to the responsible and impeachable law-officer of the crown, who, if he sees that this proceeding is abused, or resorted to improperly, refuses his *fiat* on his own constitutional responsibility.’ Is there any danger that this responsible public officer should incur the heavy risks which must attend any unjust—the clamour which must attend any unwise exercise of such a discretion! Mr. Brougham rests his whole objections on a case, in which he conceives a great hardship arose from a refusal. We think it abundantly clear, that the refusal in the instance was most proper, and that it would have been an injudicious act in the Attorney-General to grant the petition. The facts were these.

A grant of lands was made by Henry VIII. to his Master of the Horse, Sir Anthony Browne, with remainder to his heirs male. The male descendants became extinct, and the property reverted to the crown. If the crown had then retained the estate to its own use, there would have been nothing in such a course contrary to the strictest justice; indeed, in the case of any individual grantor this would infallibly have been done. But the crown, acting with that liberality which becomes its dignity, and which it always follows in such cases, took pains to discover the next relative, though not an heir male within the grant; and, in 1797, a female descendant of the grantee was discovered, and the crown, accordingly, leased the property to this female and her husband. In 1815, after they had enjoyed the estate near twenty years, a claimant started, alleging himself to be heir male of the grantee; and, *under the advice of Mr. Brougham*, this person wished to proceed by a ‘Petition of right’ to oust the female descendant and her husband in possession under the crown lease. The Attorney-General thought proper to refuse the *fiat* for such a proceeding. We think he did so for the best possible reason—because the question was not one between the claimant and the crown, requiring the especial remedies applicable to litigations against the crown, but was, in truth, a common contest between the claimant and the female heir, to whom the crown had leased the

* Digest, *tit. Prærogative*, d. 80.

property. Instead of no ordinary remedy existing, (as is the case where a 'Petition of right' is necessary,) a common action of ejectment was the simple and natural proceeding applicable to the case. Why then did Mr. Brougham's client not pursue it, which he always declined doing? His anxious desire to proceed by a petition of right arose from this—that, if he happened to fail in the suit, the crown *could not receive any costs from him* (it being a rule of law that the crown neither pays nor receives costs); whereas, in the proper and ordinary action against the party in possession, he must have *paid all the costs if he failed*. It might be very judicious, nay, astute, in Mr. Brougham, as the advocate for the claimant, to advise an application for 'a petition of right,' so as to try the question without any risk of paying costs on failure; but can any one doubt it would have been an act of injustice, an unwise interference, for the Attorney-General to have stepped in between two litigating parties, to have lent a prerogative proceeding to one of them, to have burdened the public with law costs of the crown in a suit in which the crown ought not to be involved, and to have enabled a subject seeking to turn another out of possession, to do so by any other than the ordinary legal remedy? So much for the example selected by Mr. Brougham, to 'show how this discretionary power is used, I may say abused.'—p. 47.

Not less groundless, we conceive, are Mr. Brougham's objections, as to the powers of the crown, in withdrawing records and obtaining trials at the bar, and neither paying nor receiving any costs. With respect to the last point, the Solicitor-General's answer appears to us conclusive. The crown proceedings are proceedings on the part of the public—principally for the purpose of securing the revenue. As the cases for prosecution are generally selected with care, if the crown paid costs on failing, and received costs from its opponent when it succeeded (as ordinary subjects do), the consequence probably would be, that it would receive, in about ninety-nine cases in the hundred, and pay costs only in one. The revenue laws would be rendered so much the more severe by the infliction of the costs, as well as the penalty, on the offender, who, in many cases, would not be competent to pay this additional charge. It is very much a matter of indifference in what manner this is regulated; but to talk of it as a hardship we conceive to be a gross exaggeration.

Another complaint of Mr. Brougham is, that the crown has the power, on the trial of indictments for misdemeanors in the King's Bench, to refuse praying a '*tales de circumstantibus*' when it happens that the number of special jurymen does not make a full jury, and thereby to prevent the trial taking place. Our readers are aware, that when a special jury is summoned, of jurors of that

superior class required by the statutes, and they do not all attend, the mode of filling up the full twelve is by a process, called a 'tales de circumstantibus,' requiring the deficient number to be supplied by the bystanders, who are of the class of common jurors. In ordinary suits, this process may be prayed by the plaintiff, or, if he does not do it, by the defendant; but in criminal proceedings for public justice, in the name of the crown, against any party, the *fiat* of the Attorney-General is necessary, which it is of course in his discretion to refuse, if he sees fit, under all the circumstances of the case. Mr. Brougham objects to this discretion, and, according to the plan of his speech, he does not attack the objectionable system by reasoning; but contents himself with stating a case, 'following the rule he prescribed to himself at setting out, it shall be one that has come within his own knowledge professionally.' Now, without observing upon the obvious unfairness of this mode of putting an instance of alleged abuse, as an argument against a system, we may, at least, say, that when an instance is thus put in the place of an argument, the least that is requisite, to make it of weight, is strict accuracy in its statement, and perfect fairness in its selection. Do these qualities belong to Mr. Brougham's case?

'There was a case in the Court of Exchequer, in which I acted as counsel for the defendant, and had to subject a crown witness to a severe cross-examination; he exhibited strong indications of perjury, but the verdict went against me notwithstanding. My learned friend, Mr. Serjeant Jones, (whose talent and professional skill entitle him to higher praise than any in my power to bestow,) whether he profited by my experience, or was more dexterous in dealing with the case, did honour to himself by succeeding in the next trial, when the same witness was examined, for the suspicion of perjury entertained before was now turned into certainty, and the party acquitted. A prosecution for perjury was instituted against that man, and others connected with him; eighteen indictments were found at the sessions, and the crown at once removed the whole by certiorari into the Court of King's Bench; there they were all to be tried, and a former Attorney-General conducted the prosecution. On the first, Meade, the witness I have mentioned, was clearly convicted. The other seventeen were then to have been tried, and Mr. Serjeant Jones called them on, but the crown had made the whole eighteen special jury causes; a sufficient number of jurymen did not attend; my learned friend wanted to pray a tales, and the crown refused a warrant. Thus, an expense of ten thousand pounds was incurred, and a hundred witnesses from Yorkshire were brought to London, all for nothing, except, after the vexation, trouble, and delay, he had endured, to work the ruin of the prosecutor, who had been first harassed upon the testimony of the perjured witnesses. These poor Yorkshire farmers, whom the villain had so vexed,

vexed, had no more money to spend in law—all the other prosecutions dropped—Meade obtained a rule for a new trial; but funds were wanting to meet him again, and he escaped. So that public justice was utterly frustrated, as well as the most grievous wrong inflicted upon individuals. *Nor did it end here:—the poor farmer was fated to lose his life by the transaction.* Meade, the false witness, and Law, the farmer whom he had informed against, and who was become the witness against him upon the approaching trial, lived in the same village; and one evening, *in consequence, as was alleged, of some song or madrigal, sung by him in the street,* this man, Meade, seized a gun and shot Law from his house dead upon the spot. He was acquitted of the murder, on the ground of *something like provocation*; but he was found guilty of manslaughter; and such was the impression of his guilt upon the mind of the court, that he was sentenced to two years imprisonment. A case of more complicated injustice—one fraught with more cruel injustice to the parties, I never knew in this country; nor do I conceive that worse can be found in any other.—p. 51.

Happy countries, of which this can be said! Now, we beg the reader's attention to the unvarnished facts of this 'cruel' and 'unjust' case. In the first place observe, that on the first prosecution against Law, the smuggler, he was found guilty by the jury, notwithstanding all Mr. Brougham's efforts to protect him; and *this verdict remained unimpeached.* On the second prosecution against different parties, viz., Law's coadjutors, a most energetic defence was made by his counsel, and a vehement attack on Meade, the crown witness; and the jury, entertaining doubts about his testimony, and, perhaps, thinking the crown had gained enough in the penalty against Law, acquitted the defendants. This acquittal was the signal for a violent conspiracy by Law and his smuggling coadjutors against Meade and the crown witnesses—popular feeling was excited on behalf of these triumphant breakers of revenue laws, and against their enforcement. Not less than eighteen indictments were preferred for perjury against Meade and the other witnesses, ringing the changes on the same facts, and all supported by the defendants in the revenue prosecutions and their friends. By dint of hard swearing on the part of the smugglers, the former witness Meade was convicted. In the course of the trial, it became obvious to the Attorney-General, and to every unbiassed observer with a full knowledge of the facts, that the prosecutors and witnesses in these indictments were actuated by an exasperated spirit of revenge, against all the crown witnesses, and that justice must be grossly perverted by suffering the proceedings to go on. When, therefore, the second indictment was called on, and a sufficient special jury did not appear, the Attorney-General, in the exercise of his official discretion,

cretion, declined to pay the '*tales*' for filling up the jury, and the other indictments were accordingly stopped. Now, was the Attorney-General wrong in his view of the case? That he was not so, is shown by the fact, that the judges of the Court of Exchequer, *while, on full examination, they uphold the verdict against Law, set aside the verdict obtained against Meade for perjury.* Suppose the Attorney-General had granted his *fiat*; suppose verdicts had been obtained on the seventeen other indictments against the witnesses, supported by the vindictive evidence of the smugglers—is it not clear that the Court of Exchequer would have been bound to set aside these verdicts, as they did that against Meade? Mr. Brougham talks of ten thousand pounds expense being 'incurred all for nothing.' Now, if this were the fact, we confess our tears would not flow very copiously for farmers who turn smugglers, and then, on one of them being convicted, hazard their substance in a heinous conspiracy to crush, by perjury and legal prosecutions, the witnesses who had given evidence against them. But is Mr. Brougham accurate in the fact? When the verdict against Meade was set aside, on an understanding that costs should be paid the prosecutors—then own bill of costs *amounted only to two thousand pounds!* the fairness of which amount may be judged of by the fact, that the officer of the court *reduced it to two hundred and fifty pounds!* And yet this bill included the costs of the greater part of the witnesses, in short, the greatest proportion of the whole expenses of all the prosecutions. The parties then appealed to the indulgence of the court for a more liberal allowance, and being referred again to the master, the sum was increased to six hundred pounds; and although they had liberty to renew their appeal to the court if dissatisfied, *they took this six hundred pounds, and never appealed to the court again!* So much for the 'ten thousand pounds incurred all for nothing' for the 'public justice utterly frustrated,' and the 'grievous wrongs inflicted on individuals.' 'No,' says Mr. Brougham, 'did it end here—Meade, the false witness,' (that is, the witness whom Mr. Brougham and the smugglers call false, but whom the Court of Exchequer adjudged to be not so, in setting aside the verdict against him for perjury,) and Law, the farmer, whom he had informed against, and who was become the witness against him upon the approaching trial, lived in the same village, and one evening, in consequence, as was alleged, of some song or *madrigal* (!) sung by him in the street, this man Meade seized a gun, and shot Law from his house dead on the spot—he was acquitted of the murder on the *ground of something like provocation!* &c. Well might the Solicitor-General say, 'If this statement had

had been correct, there could be no doubt that a case of more gross and unprovoked murder could scarcely suggest itself to the mind of any man.' But how could there be anything even 'like provocation,' according to the legal sense of the term, if, as Mr. Brougham states, Law was shot, in consequence of 'some song or madrigal'—some pastoral ditty exciting tender Corydons to murder! ('O crudelis Alexi! mori me denique coges!') The reader shall see what the provocative 'madrigal' was,—it was of the dramatic and tragic kind. On the day before the death of Law, he and the smugglers had assembled with a mob, beat and ill-treated one of the witnesses, and threatened to drown him in the sea; then let him go, and bade him tell him, Meade, they would serve him in the same manner. In the dead of the following night, they assembled in a riotous manner under Meade's window—beat against the door and windows, and then sang the 'madrigal,'—an obnoxious song, composed on the subject of the trial. Law, who headed the mob, and was on horseback, got on the footway, his head thus being on a level with the window of Meade. Meade, in the alarm occasioned by this attack, and imagining that the party were come to execute their threats, and at a time when it was so dark that it was impossible to distinguish Law, discharged the gun which killed Law. He was found guilty of manslaughter, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment; Mr. Justice Holroyd (the excellent and most impartial judge who tried him) stating to the jury, that 'it was more reasonable to consider the unfortunate transaction in question as originating from the fear of personal danger, than in the song which had been composed on the subject of the differences of the parties.' Now why was all this highly-coloured and tragic history of a revenue-prosecution, indictments for perjury, and a manslaughter, introduced by Mr. Brougham!—the reader must remember it was to prove to the House of Commons that the power of the Attorney-General to refuse praying a 'tale' was shown to be wrong by an instance of gross abuse in its exercise. The story of the manslaughter committed by the persecuted witness in defence of his dwelling and his life, has obviously as little to do with the question of the Attorney-General's refusal of a 'tale,' as the building of Tenterden steeple had to do with the Goodwin sands. But as Mr. Brougham introduced the story, we ask, does it not make against his own argument? Does not the ferocious conduct of Law and the smugglers, which (and not the Attorney-General) was the sole cause of the death-shot of Meade; does not this conduct abundantly evince the spirit which actuated the smugglers, in prosecuting their eighteen indictments against the witnesses, a spirit which the Attorney-General would have culpably

pably abetted and encouraged, had he not stopped the indictments as he did? Was Law, who had been clearly convicted of smuggling, who, in conjunction with his accomplices, was avenging himself by eighteen indictments against the witnesses who convicted him,—who could not restrain his vengeance from open violence against his punishers, accompanied with threats of taking their lives,—were these men, inflamed with every malignant passion, likely to give such evidence on the indictments as to make it desirable for the ends of justice that they should be tried? Would it not have been intolerable—would not the Attorney-General have been wanting in his duty, had the court been disgraced by such a trial when there were legal means in the Attorney-General's hands of stopping it? When the question of the propriety of this power is calmly considered, we confess, for our own parts, we think it of not much consequence whether it is retained or given up. In a temperate discussion of its utility, arguments may, doubtless, be adduced on both sides of the question. The burden of showing it objectionable lies on those who would abolish it; but when an established system is attacked, without an attempt at candid investigation into its principle,—but by the selection of a single instance of alleged abuse in its exercise,—doubtless the strongest, probably the only instance in the objector's knowledge,—and when this instance turns out to be so exaggerated and inaccurate in statement as to fail altogether in supporting the inference drawn from it, we think we may say to the assailed Attorney-General, '*Solvuntur tabule—tu missus abibis,*' and may decline defending against Mr. Brougham a principle which he has not touched.

Mr. Brougham complains, we think without the slightest ground, of the judges of the land being appointed from party considerations, and from among individuals distinguished by party connexions.

'There is a custom above the law, in my mind, "more honoured in the breach than the observance," that *party as well as merit must be studied in these appointments*. One-half of the bar is thus excluded from competition, for *no man can be a judge who is not of a particular party*: unless his party happen to be the party connected with the crown, or allied with the ministry of the day, there is no chance for him; that man must surely be excluded.'—p. 18.

We really think a glance at the bench at the present moment, and indeed at any time for the last ten or twenty years, is a conclusive answer to this objection. Are there two judges now among the twelve who were ever heard of as party men, or as men conspicuous for any expressed political opinions? Are there two—is there one, who ever took an active part in any political transaction? The general character of the individuals appointed

appointed to the bench is, as it ought to be, that of lawyers exclusively devoted to their laborious profession, unknown to the world, except for their professional practice and merits. That they are not men known for party attachments hostile to the government, we admit; that the government does not go out of Westminster Hall to the opposition benches of the House of Commons to find the soundest lawyers or the most impartial men—that they do not select men to administer the laws indifferently between the crown and the people, and between the people of all parties, persuasions, and principles, who are themselves deeply pledged to what Mr. Brougham calls ‘one side of the great political question,’ and actively opposed to those on the other side, is, we think, the best proof of that wisdom and moderation which have long (with some rare exceptions) presided over the great trust of naming judges. If any quality, more than any other, unfits a man for the station of a judge, we think it is party spirit; if any habits are more prejudicial than others to that high independence of character, and that pure serenity of intellect and judgment which are required in a judge, we think they are the habits of a political partisan. When Mr. Brougham says—‘*I defy any one to show me any instance, in the course of the last hundred years, of a man in party fetters, and opposed to the principles of government, being raised to the bench,*’ we think, though the statement is not quite accurate, that it unintentionally pays the highest compliment to the governments which have during that period selected the judges.

When we remember how much political feelings in this country enter into the whole of the business and commonest transactions of life—how frequently, at the bottom of the most trivial and ordinary causes there lurks some motive of party or polemical spirit; how many suits arise out of elections—how many out of party disputes in corporations and counties; how many more in which questions between the subject and the crown are involved—we ask whether it would be wise in the government, or satisfactory to the country, to appoint to the judicial bench men publicly and deeply pledged to one view of those political questions which are often so materially mixed up with the merits of the causes they decide? We ask whether any learning, any talents, any eloquence, however great, could make up for the absence of unbiassed evenness of mind? If we could condescend to place the question on a lower footing, we might fairly ask Mr. Brougham, as a party man, whether it is reasonable to expect of any government—whether *Whig* administrations have given the slightest reason for such expectations—to appoint to any offices, even those of a judicial character, men actively opposed to their conduct
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and measures? The public know well the value of all pretensions to this species of impartiality. But when Mr. Brougham 'defies any one to name a man in party fetters' appointed a judge, for a century, and when he declares (doubtless with competent knowledge) that, 'be his talent what it may—be his character what it may—be his party what it may, no man to whom the offer is made will refuse to be a judge' (page 18), he forgets that, in favour of pre-eminent merit and high character, even party connexions *have* been overlooked, and that, by delicate consistency, the office of a judgeship *has* been refused. The government of a Noble Lord now unhappily disabled from public service, showed its liberality by pressing offering a chief-justiceship in England, and the highest legal office in Scotland, to two late distinguished advocates, both notoriously 'in party fetters'; and the public only lost their valuable services, by the high-minded debacy of the individuals, which induced them both to do that which Mr. Brougham treats as an impossibility, viz., to decline accepting such appointments from a government whose principles and measures they conscientiously disapproved. Such offers and such refusals (impossible as either may seem) were, in our opinion, alike creditable to Lord Liverpool's government and to the eminent lawyers in question.

Mr. Brougham, having thus, contrary to the evidence of facts, assumed that party is regarded in the nomination of the judges, proceeds to reason on the assumption, and to state as a 'consequence of thus carrying party principles into judicial appointments,' that the judges 'are of necessity, *partisans*, and, therefore, *less honest and impartial*!'—a statement referred to in the index thus:—'Judges, political leaning asserted and accounted for, p. 19.' So grave, so serious a charge, against the judicial bench, (though accompanied by complimentary *salvos* in favour of all manner of individuals, like the savings at the end of an act of parliament,) we think should not have been put forth in the House of Commons, still less in 'the only authentic edition' of the printed speech, without some reference to facts, some attempt at proof. The only proof offered by Mr. Brougham is much more remarkable for its *naïveté* than its force.

'It is *perfectly notorious* (say Mr. Brougham) that now a-days, whenever a question comes before the bench, whether it be on a prosecution for libel, or upon any other matter connected with politics, the council (counsel) at their meeting, *take for granted that they can tell, pretty accurately, the leaning of the court, and predict exactly enough which way the consultation of the judges will terminate, though they may not always discover the particular path which will lead to that termination!*'—p. 20.

Now, that Mr. Brougham and other zealous advocates in
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consultation with the partisans whom they defend, should '*take it for granted*' that they can tell the leaning of the court,' seems to us to be the most natural thing in the world, though precisely the weakest possible reason to induce the public to believe that such a leaning really is shown. We have not a shade of doubt that Mr. Henry Hunt, when tried at York for the Manchester riot, '*took for granted*' that the judge would and did lean against him; but we should be glad to know on which side the audience, the government, and the country considered the learned judge's leaning in that case to have been displayed. Probably Mr. Wooler, when tried, and Mr. Brougham, if consulted, thought the same; but, we believe, they would find it difficult to persuade any auditor or reader of that person's trial that the enlightened judge did not preside with perfect impartiality, and that, if favour was shown, it was not extended to the defendant much rather than to his prosecutors. Did Mr. Baron Wood, on the trial of Williams for a libel on the clergy of Durham, show any leaning against the defendant, or in favour of the church of England? And yet, who doubts that the defendant and Mr. Brougham '*took for granted*' that the judge would show himself a '*partisan*,' and not '*honest and impartial*,' in trying the cause? If the '*takings for granted*' of defeated counsel in political causes, are to be received as evidence of the conduct of the judge, we are persuaded no judge on the bench can hope to escape conviction of '*favour*,' '*partiality*,' '*dishonesty*,' in every political trial that is tried. The truth, however, is, any candid person who has attended the trial of political prosecutions, of late years, must admit that it is now almost a moral impossibility for a judge to show any disfavour, any leaning, or any sort of *partiality*, against a defendant in contest with the crown. Acting before a crowd of intelligent and acute auditors,—in the face of a bar intent upon the subject, and scarcely less cognizant of all its bearings than the judge himself,—with a host of short-hand writers, taking down and giving to the public every word that he utters, the judge of the present day has every instant before his eyes the public ordeal through which he is passing. The sense of this universal gaze manifests itself in every sentence—in every look—in every proceeding of the generality of the judges. It produces an urbanity that no vehemence of defendants can ruffle—a patience that no obstinacy or ignorance can exhaust—and a general candour and fairness towards all defendants in any political trials, which, in fact, disarms the rancour of party and extorts reverence from the most virulent offenders. The time of the public is, indeed, wasted—decency is violated by the wanton libels, the virulent attacks on authority and on religion, the inflamed defences
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and personal aspersions, by which defendants abuse the patience of the courts, relying on that license which they owe alone to the judges' nice regard to impartiality, their determination to avoid even a suspicion of bias. We complain not of these evils—considerable evils as they are, and severely felt by the judges, the profession, and the suitors. We complain not of them, for they are compensated by a greater good—and that good is, that, notwithstanding all insinuations about 'partisanship' and 'less honesty and impartiality' in the bench, from whatever quarter they may come, the auditors, the bar, the press, and the public, are satisfied by their own eyes and ears that all parties have an equal hearing and impartial consideration in the courts; that the merits of cases are there fairly investigated and determined on without reference to the situation of the individual parties. A few mornings, passed in Westminster-hall, will afford the best refutation against all such charges against the judges.

The truth is, the sins of the bench have entirely ceased to be those of a partial bearing against political delinquents, and a strained support of crown prerogatives or arbitrary principles. If any swerving from the strict middle line is now to be observed, it is rather the timid caution of anxiety for reputation, the fear of giving offence, and a somewhat too obvious regard to the sweets of popular favour. A judge's springs of action ought to be few, and of a grand character.

‘—————nec fascibus ullis
Erigitur, plausu petiti clarescere vulgi;
Nil opis externæ cupiens, nil indiga laudis,
Divitiis animosa suis, immotaque cunctis
Fascibus, ex altâ mortalia despicit arce.’

If he is open to small motives—to jealousy or to anger—above all, to vanity, or timidity—whatever may be his learning—however great his *intellectual* powers—he wants the *moral* courage and greatness requisite to the character of a good judge. The timid judge of former days was under the influence of government; he is now assailed by the dread of popular criticism, and a sensibility to compliment and applause. The latter influence is not less hostile to strict impartiality and uncompromising vigour of decision than the former. There is also another snare into which judges, even of the highest attainments, are apt, from timidity, to fall, and which Mr. Brougham, we think judiciously, mentions as one ground of the great utility of juries,—we mean the *influence of leading advocates*—an influence, at least as ancient as the days of Lord Bacon, and which, where it exists to a considerable extent, is one of the most serious obstructions to the even course of justice. ‘It is a strange thing
(says

(says Lord Bacon) to see that the boldness of advocates should prevail with judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit, who represseth the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest. *But it is more strange, that judges should have noted favourites*, which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and suspicion of by-ways. There is due to the public a civil reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an overbold defence. And let not the counsel at the bar chop with the judge, nor wind himself into the handling of the cause anew, after the judge hath declared his sentence.'

On the subject of the administration of justice in India, Mr. Brougham's observations received a conclusive answer from the mature experience in that country, and the professional knowledge of his brother reformer, Mr. Fergusson. It is to be lamented that 'the editors' of 'the only authentic edition' of the speech, should have left Mr. Brougham's rash and shallow declamation to stand as if it had not provoked this chastisement.

Mr. Brougham, in objecting to the rules of evidence, reverts to the much mooted question as to which 'he brought a bill into parliament some years ago,' viz., the propriety of allowing evidence to be given of the truth of a libellous statement in order to prove it to be no libel. Our opinion upon this subject has been given in a former number of this Journal; and we forbear to add anything to that full review of all that can be said on both sides of the question. We differ *toto cælo* from Mr. Brougham in the statement, that the truth 'is the best test of the nature of the motives of the party, *though certainly only an unilateral test*, inasmuch as there must always be guilt if there is falsehood, though truth does not of necessity prove innocence.' We deny that the truth affords even an 'unilateral test,'—for, while Mr. Brougham admits that 'truth does not of necessity prove innocence,' we deny his other proposition, that 'there must be guilt if there is falsehood.' So far from it, suppose that a party, in giving a character honestly and *bona fide* of a servant or an agent, should unwittingly state facts prejudicial to him, honestly believing them to be true, but, in reality, false, we take it to be quite clear, that the mode of the communication negatives the malice which is the gist of the offence, and shows the party, both in law and morals, to have issued a false statement under guiltless and excusable circumstances. The truth, therefore, stands neutral in the question; it is equally consistent with the hypothesis of guilt or innocence in the libeller. We confess we have not much fear that Mr. Brougham will induce the legislature to alter the law on a point which, without adding in the least to the useful inde-

independence of the press, would remove the only and the too feeble check on those licentious invasions of private life, in which the press of this day far outstrips that of any period or of any country.

Mr. Brougham's plan of proceeding in his suggestions of reform, on the particular cases which have fallen under his view in his professional practice, necessarily exposes him to the liability (as is often perceivable in his speech) of importing the feeling of an advocate into his views as a legislator. The lawyer struggling against a rule which bears against his client (especially if a zealous and sanguine man like Mr. Brougham, and like every effective advocate) is, without much difficulty, brought to think that the rule is unjust or unwise. He is convinced by his own sophistry. Like the lover in Ovid, who begins with dissembling and ends in loving, he acts a part till it becomes his own. He impugns and attacks the law so much more ably (in his own opinion) than the judge or the opposite counsel can defend it, that he fancies his objections sound, simply because they are (in his own opinion) unanswered. Accordingly, Mr. Brougham objects to a practice (which, in defending his clients, he has doubtless often found hard, but which is not, therefore, necessarily adverse to justice) of prohibiting the party attacking the credit of a witness from calling witnesses to show that he has committed crimes. This Mr. Brougham deems 'an injudicious refinement of our law;' but we think that it is a rule resting on the broad basis of common sense, and which it would be both 'injudicious' and 'refined' to alter.

'At any rate,' says Mr. Brougham, 'it is quite clear law, that if the witness is asked, "Have you not yourself been guilty repeatedly of this very crime which you now wish to fasten on the prisoner?" and he should reply, as doubtless he will, "No," the prisoner is not allowed to adduce evidence of the fact, because, forsooth, the court cannot try "collateral issues," unless the record of a conviction is produced.'—
p. 93.

Now we beg to ask,—when a man is charged with stealing a horse, what bearing it has upon the point of his guilt or innocence, to inquire whether the witness against him has stolen a horse on some previous occasion or not? Suppose the witness to answer 'Yes, he did once steal a horse,' does it follow that his testimony is untrue, and that the person charged must be acquitted? Is it a fair inference that, because a man has once committed a theft, he cannot now speak the truth on oath? We are aware it will be said this inference is admitted by our law, since, if the witness has been legally convicted of felony, the record of his conviction may be proved, and his testimony then
cannot

cannot be received. But we think that this rule is far too general and unqualified; and we agree with those who think that a witness should not be excluded on the ground of having committed a crime, unless that crime be perjury, or some species of the *crimen falsi*, the commission of which necessarily destroys his character for truth and faith-worthiness. We think it is false reasoning to say that a man, who has once been convicted of a felony, must necessarily be guilty of perjury when giving evidence on oath in a matter in which he stands indifferent and uninterested. The most false of men does not perjure himself without interest or motive.* Admitting, however, for the sake of the argument, that it has some force against the testimony of the witness to show that he has been guilty of a former theft, we are quite convinced that the law is wise in refusing to allow such guilt to be proved by any other than the authentic and regular conviction of the witness on record. Mr. Brougham thinks that, when the witness denies having committed the imputed crime, witnesses ought to be called to prove the fact against him. Now we ask, whether it would not be the grossest injustice on a witness called into court to give testimony to a particular transaction, to put him, without notice or preparation, on a trial for all the acts which he may have committed in the course of his life? Ought any man ever to be placed in a situation of *trial for crime* in a collateral, unexpected, and accidental manner, which leaves him no opportunity to know beforehand the accusation, or to prepare to meet his accusers? The monstrous cruelty of such a proceeding is, we think, alone a justification of the law which disallows it. But would general justice be promoted by it, even if the oppression on the individual could be tolerated? We think not. The consequence of allowing such a proceeding is obvious. Every accused felon would defend himself by perjured attacks on

* Mr. Bentham's observations on this point are, we think, unanswerable—and they extend even to the admission of the witness, though he may have committed the crime of perjury:—'Mais, dira-t-on, une improbité reconnue, prouvée juridiquement, une improbité signalée par un faux témoignage, ne doit-elle pas être une cause d'exclusion? Un homme flétri pour un faux, pour un parjure, peut-il être admis à l'honneur de témoigner? peut-il mériter même créance? La réprobation qui repousse un pareil témoin n'est-elle pas un sentiment universel?'

† Je réponds à cela, que *plus ce témoignage est suspect, moins il est dangereux*: il suffit que la circonstance du délit antérieur qui dégrade sa crédibilité, soit mise sous les yeux du tribunal. Il n'est pas à craindre qu'avec un tel préjugé contre lui ce témoin obtienne de la part d'un jury, par exemple, trop de confiance. Il ne faudra rien moins que la déposition la plus claire, la plus soutenue, la plus liée avec tous les autres faits de la cause pour entraîner une conviction combattue par cette espèce de contre-témoignage résultant du caractère du témoin. Examinez d'ailleurs si les circonstances de son délit sont de nature à affecter son crédit dans le cas actuel. Il a rendu un faux témoignage, mais c'était pour sa propre défense, ou pour celle d'une personne qui lui était chère. S'ensuit-il, que sans intérêt il se portera au même crime pour attaquer la vie d'un inconnu?—*Traité des Preuves Judiciaires*, tom. II., p. 148.

the witnesses for the prosecution—the guilty man would escape by blasting the character of the unprepared witness—guilt and perjury would often triumph over honest accusers put upon an unfair trial. In other cases, the attack upon the witness and the apparent proof of his crimes would be still deemed by the jury insufficient to destroy his credit and to save the prisoner from conviction. In such cases, the reputation of the witness would be blasted or damaged, without any end being attained for the prisoner—his testimony would be believed and acted upon, while he himself would depart from court stigmatized with crimes, which, on any fair and expected trial, he might triumphantly have refuted. No rule, we are convinced, is more indispensable to individual security than that which forbids a man to be charged with offences except by regular legal proceedings for the purpose of punishing him. But we believe that in few, if any cases, is real hardship experienced by a defendant on this ground, since the proof of the crimes of the witness would seldom if ever ensure his own acquittal. If the witness's story be consistent and corroborated by other evidence, the defendant must be convicted, notwithstanding the crimes of the witness. If it be unsatisfactory, contradicted, incredible, the defendant must escape, though the witness appear pure as snow in his general character. Admitting, however, that a real evil arises from the refusal of the courts to try these collateral issues, we are satisfied it is the smaller of two evils—that it is not to be put in comparison with the injustice which must result from permitting evidence of crimes to be adduced against witnesses unprepared to answer such proof.

In the same manner, Mr. Brougham objects to the law as to the evidence of accomplices: 'the rule that an accomplice is entitled to credit in all particulars, provided he be confirmed in some,' p. 94. 'I once,' says Mr. Brougham, 'endeavoured to contend for a limitation of this rule, when the late Chief-baron Thompson presided in the special commission at York: I maintained that it was necessary to give the confirmation upon some fact which could not be true consistently with the defendant's guiltlessness,' 94. Here, again, we think we trace the prepossessions of the ardent advocate. We cannot avoid suspecting that, had Mr. Brougham occupied the tranquil position of the late chief-baron, instead of being in the exciting predicament of a counsel pleading for his client's life, he would not have been so strongly impressed with the desirableness of a limitation which, on fair inquiry, would be found to exclude almost all effective testimony of accomplices. We are quite satisfied that, as a rule of law, no other principle can judiciously be received, than that which is now law, viz. —'that, if the jury are satisfied that he speaks truth in some material

material parts of his testimony, in which they see unimpeachable evidence brought to confirm him, that is a ground for them to believe that he also speaks truly in other parts, and with regard to other previous acts, where there may be no confirmation.* This, it is to be remembered, is the general rule: how far the rule is satisfied in particular cases—how far the confirmatory evidence comes up to the point of raising an inference that the accomplice is speaking truth in the whole story, is more satisfactorily left to the jury, under the observations of the judge. So strong is the horror against this species of testimony—so universal the prejudice attending the individual and his baseness, so great the dread of inflicting punishment on an innocent man, that, so far from the rule leading to conviction on evidence of accomplices not sufficiently confirmed, we are much disposed to believe that the error is on the other side—that too much, rather than too little, confirmation is *in practice* required—and that prisoners not unfrequently escape, as to whose guilt there can be no reasonable doubt, *because* they have the good fortune of having accomplices in the list of witnesses against them. If the limitation of the rule, for which Mr. Brougham contends, were introduced, we believe it would amount to a virtual exclusion of accomplices from giving evidence. If confirmation were demanded on some ‘point inconsistent with guiltlessness,’ that is, pointing directly to the crime, an accomplice could be received as a witness, only where he was unnecessary. Why call the accomplice at all, if you have other good evidence inconsistent with innocence in the prisoner? Pure witnesses, speaking to guilt, or, which is the same thing, to facts inconsistent with innocence, can neither need nor derive fortification from his testimony. Any rule on the subject, we admit, must be vague; it is on the judicious practical application of the principle that the safe administration of justice depends—on the caution and sagacity of judges and juries who must, in effect, draw the line, and while they prevent guilt from being rashly believed on such foul testimony, must yet attach such weight to it as all the probabilities of the case exact.

In Mr. Brougham's observations on the expensive and subtle fictions, called fines and recoveries, we, in common we believe with all lawyers and all landowners, entirely agree. Indeed, so frequently stated and so generally admitted has been the desirableness of substituting some short parliamentary forms for these cumbrous modes of barring entails and remainders, and effecting a conveyance by married women, that we only regret that he did not himself at once bring into parliament some short act providing a statutory form of conveyance to be executed by the tenant in tail

* Phillips on Evidence, vol. i., p. 40.

in lieu of a recovery, and of conveyance by a married woman, to be executed in the presence of a judge. We concur in Mr. Sugden's praises of the general system of family settlements adopted in this country, believing, as we do, that they admirably secure the end of keeping together those masses of hereditary property which are the sole basis, not only of a high aristocracy, but of an efficient and valuable middle class of gentry and proprietors, while they at the same time leave land sufficiently free to alienation, and do not injudiciously check the transfer of property. The alteration, therefore, of providing a substitute for fines and recoveries, we approve, not more because it is reasonable, than because it is merely one of *form*; and while it would facilitate the operation of the law respecting family settlements and entails, it would leave that law *in substance* untouched.

Not such, however, are all Mr. Brougham's propositions on this head. If any one branch of the law should be touched by the reformer with greater circumspection than another, it is the system of disposition over real property. If the law respecting contracts, or the disposition of personalty, is altered, great as the inconveniences arising from injudicious changes may be, they are as nothing when compared with the effects producible by any considerable change in the powers of ownership, of settlement, and of limitation of landed estates. The few short sentences of an act of parliament on this subject may go far, in a few years, to change the texture and condition of the social body. The laws regulating the ownership of land may be said, with little exaggeration, to be the mould in which the fabric of society is fashioned. France is without a body of substantial gentry, mainly owing to the system of partible inheritance. England is, in great degree, indebted for the nice gradations of her ranks and classes—for her nobility—her respectable gentry—her substantial yeomanry, to the nice line which the law has drawn between a compulsory division of the inheritance and a prohibition of substitution on the one hand, and a rigid system of inextinguishable entails on the other. Alterations in this system, far from being mere matters of legal and technical arrangement, as they are often considered, are to be regarded among the most vital matters of policy which a statesman can be called upon to decide. To leave such questions to be settled according to the whims of speculative conveyancers is about the same thing as to leave the principles of a corn-law to be adjusted by a clerk of the averages, or a treaty of commerce to be arranged by a broker from the Exchange.

It is for the statesman to decide on what plan the laws respecting real property shall be moulded—towards what objects they shall

shall be directed—what effects they shall be framed to produce on society. On these comprehensive questions of policy we imagine that the last individual he will consult will be the chamber lawyer, expert at framing clauses and picking flaws in titles: though the conveyancer may most effectively advise, as to the succinct and efficacious means of carrying into effect the views of the politician, and of adapting them to the existing condition of the law. This distinction between the means and the object is perpetually forgotten, and the questions of the merits of different modifications of landed property are frequently treated as matters of mere professional arrangement, in which the simplification and neatness of machinery are to be mainly looked to, while the vast political considerations involved in any changes of these laws are overlooked or lightly considered. The means must be adapted to the end, and not the object crippled to suit the means. The objects which the law respecting real property in England has to attain are eminently complex. This has arisen from its nature and origin, from its having grown up unchecked to meet the wants and wishes of proprietors, instead of being arbitrarily imposed on them as a machine to which they must square their dispositions. But to attain complex and difficult ends by simple means, whether in physics or politics, falls not to the lot of man. What should we think of the man who should insist on having a *simple watch*, which should answer every object of that machine, and yet possess the simplicity of a sun-dial? The artificer would naturally say to such a customer: Sir, if you want a sun-dial, you can have a very cheap and a very simple one; but if you desire a watch, I shall be glad to learn how its operations are to be accomplished without complex mechanism? In the same way, we say to those who clamour for simplicity in laws regarding the modification of real property: Abolish entails—prohibit strict settlements—proscribe trusts for married women, infants, creditors, and widows—make it a felony to tie up an estate beyond a life-interest, and compel a man to let his property go to his heir without exercising an uncontrolled disposition over it by will: accomplish these objects—if you can, and you need no longer complain of the law: get over these inveterate habits and attachments of the people, and the conveyancers may burn their precedents, and the judges their black letter, on your shrine of simplicity. The provisions of your code, and the ten-word formulas of Mr. Bentham may be instantly adopted, and will amply accomplish every end of your system, if you can only first reconcile it to the desires of landed proprietors, and the dispositions of the English nation. But if we are still to have a system which shall effect what the English landowners have always desired to do—which shall prevent their patrimonial estates from being

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squandered by life-owners—which shall give the free usufruct to one generation, and secure the unimpaired succession to the next; which shall provide by trusts for the portions of children, the jointures of wives, without throwing the hereditary estate into the market; which shall allow to owners a free power of selecting heirs and objects of affection from among their children, their relations, or their friends; which shall prevent, as far as possible, the sons of the nobles and gentlemen from bartering their inheritance to usurers in the hour of passion and inexperience; which shall tend to honourable marriages, and domestic arrangements of mutual advantage and convenience—we shall be glad to be instructed in any system of law—in any scheme of limitations and instruments, for accomplishing such delicate, such various, such all-important objects, which shall not be marked by much nicety of contrivance and complexity of means.* For such objects we must seek ‘not an excellence in simplicity, but *one far superior—an excellence in composition.*’

It is ever, therefore, to be remembered, that the main principles of the law respecting real property are such as the possessors of land in England, have, in effect, made them for themselves. The customs, the feelings of the people are its basis,—they have induced them to do that which, we believe, is a natural impulse in the owner of property, to frame such settlements and substitutions as to provide for themselves and their children, and, at the same time, to perpetuate to their posterity the family inheritance. To restrain the excesses of this natural, this inextinguishable wish is all that the law has attempted to do, by fixing the existing rule, viz.,—that property shall not be fettered longer than the life of persons actually in existence, and the attainment of twenty-one years by any unborn child of any such person,—a rule of which Mr. Brougham says, ‘The law of England, on these points, appears to have been framed with much wisdom—it hits the happy medium between totally unalienable property, and a totally unrestricted commerce in land.’ But though Mr. Brougham professes ‘not to touch the principle of the law of entails,’ we think he in effect does so when he proposes to make a tenant in tail, at once tenant in fee at the age of twenty-one. ‘I will allow every man to settle or devise his property to A, during his life, and after him to B and C, in succession, making, by plain words, so many life estates, and giving a fee to the person who, by our present law, takes the first estate tail.’ (p. 57.) Now, surely this alteration would be one in principle and substance. It is manifestly a very different thing to say, a tenant in tail, on attaining

* See Mr. Christie's able letter to Mr. Peel, on the subject of Mr. Humphreys' proposed reform. (London, 1827.)

twenty-one, may, if he pleases, by a certain legal form, destroy the entail, but that subject to such power, and if not exercised, the entail shall continue to exist in all the limitations in which it is couched—and to say, that, without any act of any kind on the tenant's part, the entail shall be, *ipso facto*, at an end on the majority of the first tenant. How many entails and limitations in remainder are now suffered to subsist, notwithstanding the power of destroying them which resides in the tenant in tail on majority! Under the proposed plan, the law would arbitrarily cut off the entail at a certain period, instead of leaving it to the will of the owner to destroy it or allow it to continue. Not only would more estates be set free from entails which, considering the mildness of the present law, we do not consider desirable, but different heirs would be let in from those which would now frequently inherit.

But Mr. Brougham proposes a far more violent alteration in the law of real property, as to uses and trusts—

‘Again, I would restore the statute of uses to what it was clearly intended to be. Our ancestors made that law by which, if land were given to A for the use of B, the latter was deemed the legal owner, the use being executed in him just as if A did not exist. It was justly observed by Lord Hardwicke, that all the pains taken by this famous law, ended in the adding of three words to a conveyance. * * * *The whole provision is evaded by making the gift to the use of B in trust for C*; and these three words send the whole matter into Chancery, contrary to the plain intent of the statute. Can there be any reason whatever for not making all such estates legal at once, and restoring them to the jurisdiction of the common law, by recognising as the owner the person to whom in reality the estate is given, and passing over him who is the mere nominal party?’—p. 58.

We are not quite certain that we understand the ~~exact~~ import of this proposition; which we should ascribe to our own dullness, but that Mr. Sugden expressed the same difficulty in his speech. If Mr. Brougham merely means to oust the jurisdiction of the court of Chancery from all questions of trust, and to transfer such matters to the courts of Common Law, the proposition appears inconvenient and tending to no good end. It would subtract a mass of business from one court habituated to the subject, and fitted and competent to treat it, in order to thrust it on other courts, already overloaded, unfitted for such matters, and for centuries unused to them. But if, as would rather seem to be the aim of the proposal, Mr. Brougham means, by ‘restoring the statute of uses,’ and making uses legal estates, absolutely to prohibit all owners of land from placing it in trust—from separating, for any family or other objects, the beneficial ownership from the legal estate in the land, we believe he proposes that which would be impolitic, if feasible, but which, in truth, far surpasses

surpasses the omnipotence of any act of parliament to accomplish. The same necessities of society which occasioned the *fidei commissa* of the Roman law, and which have induced people to resort to family trusts in all countries of Europe, have, in this country, induced the people strenuously to adhere to so convenient a practice, notwithstanding all the attempts of the legislature to repress it. In former times conveyances to uses have been resorted to for various mischievous, or, at least, illegal purposes—to evade the statutes of mortmain, to escape forfeitures for treason, to defraud wives of dower, creditors of their remedy by extent, lords of their seigniorial rights; ‘which frauds,’ says Lord Bacon, ‘as they increased by degrees, were remedied by divers statutes.’ Trusts and uses are now no longer ‘turned to deceive men of their just and reasonable rights,’ but, like many other legal and political systems, have become instruments to valuable purposes, totally opposed to those to which they were once applied. If the system has not been found highly convenient to proprietors, how does it happen that an immense proportion of the land in the country is vested in trust, so that the legal right is in one person, and the beneficial enjoyment in another? No law compels such dispositions. Like the practice of entails, they have grown up from the spontaneous acts of the owners of land. Is not the fate which has notoriously attended the statute of uses, passed expressly to unite the trust and the legal estate, the best proof of the strenuous attachment of the people to such a mode of disposition? If fifty statutes were passed for the same object, would they not be evaded in the same, or in other modes? or does Mr. Brougham propose that a party guilty of the sin of investing his estate in the hands of a third person, in trust, shall be punished by losing his estate, while the trustee shall be allowed to retain it? Mr. Humphreys, who, while he advocates the abolition of trusts, finds the impossibility of entirely accomplishing the object, attempts to divide them into active and passive trusts, and proposes to retain the former, and abolish the latter. As to the former, he says—

‘By means of them, a purchaser can protect his land from liability to his wife’s dower, a married woman can enjoy it free from the debts and controul of her husband. Portions are raised through the medium of long terms of years, limited to the trustee, the absolute ownership is vested in the trustee, where he is intended to dispose of it as for the purpose of sale. Arrangements also for the benefit of creditors, or of a commercial nature, into which land, buildings, or mines, enter as a subject matter, can only be conveniently effected through the medium of trusts. All these, and many other dispositions of land, are not only allowable, but essentially necessary for the complete enjoyment of property.’*

* Humphreys on the Law of Real Property, p. 16. Second Edition.

Active trusts of this nature are, therefore, admitted, even by Mr. Humphreys, to be quite indispensable to the purposes of life. Such trusts could not possibly, therefore, be converted into legal estates, by any extension of the statute of uses. Convenience requires them to exist, and a jurisdiction of an equitable kind must somewhere be vested to enforce the obligations of the trustee, and to protect the rights of the party for whom the trust exists. We agree with Mr. Sugden* in thinking that it will be found very difficult, if not impracticable, to give legal effect to the distinction between *active* and *passive* trusts. Take, for instance, the trust to raise portions for younger children, which Mr. Humphreys would do away, by giving a power to the party entitled to the portion, after a *summons from the clerk of the peace!* to sell the inheritance and pay the portions. How infinitely preferable to this new-fangled device, casting a novel duty on an officer, foreign to the nature of his office, and leading to a needless sale of the estate, is the present plan of the trustee raising, by way of mortgage, the sum required for the portions, subject to which burden, the estate goes to the next in order under the settlement! Suppose the estate limited to a son, with portions to the daughters, and the daughters happen to be older than their brother, in this case, they could not apply to him during his minority for their portions, since he could have no means of providing the money; and accordingly, if the trustees for raising portions were done away, the daughters, on attaining twenty-one, must necessarily force a sale to obtain their portions, although the son at twenty-one could easily pay them, and though the trustees, had they existed, could have raised them with ease by a mortgage. Again, Mr. Humphreys, in his proposal to abolish trusts, (which, as far as we understand it, Mr. Brougham's proposition resembles,) is constrained also to except trusts arising by operation of law. But by this exception the whole provision would be rendered nugatory, and might be evaded by every landowner who chose to invest his estates in a trustee's hands. In such case, a party would only have to buy an estate, and have it conveyed to a brother or friend, keeping evidence by him of the real nature of the transaction; and such brother or friend must become as effectually his trustee, as if created such by the express words of a deed. Or a deed of gift or conveyance without consideration would answer the same end of conveying from the actual owner the legal estate, subject to an implied trust in his favour, to be made out by letters or other evidence of the arrangement. Would it be tolerated, that the right of the real owner should, in such case,

* See his valuable 'Letter to James Humphreys, Esq., on his Proposal to Repeal the Laws of Real Property, and to substitute a New Code.' 3d edition.

be turned into a *jus precarium* or *honorarium*, and that his friend might keep his estate, because the courts could not recognize a trust? Unless this is to be the case, there must be a court, and a mode of proceeding to enforce the obligation. And for what object should this jurisdiction be removed from the court of Chancery, which is familiar with it, to the courts of common law, to which it is a stranger?

But if active trusts, of the nature of that above-mentioned, could not possibly be abolished, and if the jurisdiction over them could not with any advantage be removed from the courts of equity, what is the good to be obtained by converting mere *passive* trusts into legal estates? that is, by giving to every party entitled to call on his trustee for an absolute conveyance at pleasure, the legal estate against his desire, by force of an act of parliament? Supposing the evasion of such an act could be prevented, (which, we believe, could not be the case,) would any good end be gained by the change? One effect would be this,—that legal estates outstanding would be no longer available as a protection to titles. The principle of such protections is one of equity and sound justice. A man selling his estate, and making a title to the purchaser, directs an assignment of an outstanding legal estate, separated from the equitable ownership, to be made to or for the use of the purchaser. This estate is thus preserved and transferred free from any incumbrances which might affect it by reason of his ancestor's acts, such, for instance, as judgments suffered by the father or the grandfather of the seller. They, having only an equitable estate by reason of the legal estate in the trustee, could not charge it by judgments affecting them personally. And although the judgment creditor, in such case, is deprived of any remedy against the land, this is no hardship on him, since the land is not the object to which he looks in taking his security; his principal remedy is personal, and he does not, like a mortgagee, or purchaser, deal for a specific hold upon the estate. This equitable mode of securing titles, which has long had a salutary operation, would be done away by the conversion of trusts into legal estates. Another principal effect of the change would be to transfer a large quantity of business from the courts of equity to the courts of common law; to cause many actions at law in place of issues directed from chancery. But every lawyer, we believe, will admit, that a question meets, in general, with a more fair and unobstructed trial on its merits when tried under an issue from the court of Chancery, than when brought before a common law court, by a common law action. Terms are imposed by the Chancellor as to excluding all points of form, examining interested parties, getting rid of preliminary proofs, on the trial of an issue, which, of course, do not exist on the

the trial of an action. If any kind of concealment of evidence, or other unfairness, is practised by either party, the Lord Chancellor has a wider jurisdiction in granting a new trial. The very form of the issue (as, for instance, *devisavit vel non*, in case of a contested will) strictly confines the inquiry to the point in dispute, whereas, on a trial of the same question by an ejectment, (which is the case where the testator had a legal, and not a mere equitable estate,) there is often difficulty in the proof of the seizin of the testator himself, though this point ought not to be brought in question by two parties, both claiming under him. We believe, however, that the conclusive answer to the scheme of converting trusts into legal estates by an extension of the statute of uses is, that it is contrary to all the wishes and habits of the nation, who would, by new devices, render the law nugatory if passed. '*Naturam expellat furca, tamen usque recurret.*'

Here, for the present, we must, very reluctantly, leave Mr. Brougham. Those who wish to understand the subjects on which he has descanted, will find much matter deserving of their best attention in the other works named at the head of our paper. Some full and complete examination of his speech throughout is still wanted: but our limits forbid our attempting to supply this want.

Notwithstanding any observations in the preceding pages, our objects, and those of Mr. Brougham, are not, we would fain believe, so much different as the means we would take to arrive at them. The cautious and practical reform of actually felt evils in the legal administration is the utmost extent to which we shall ever be induced to go hand-in-hand with any legal reformer. That Mr. Brougham's views, in principle, probably extend a little wider than this limit we are not unwilling to suppose. But while we readily offer to him our humble praise for being the means of originating two commissions, which may probably do service to the law and the public, and for throwing out some practical suggestions well deserving of attention, we cannot but express our deep regret that his attack upon the existing law has been so indiscriminate, so highly coloured, and so little marked by that sobriety and candour which the useful consideration of such matters absolutely demands. We lament that his distinguished name should give currency to many fallacious, many exaggerated objections, against the law—and that the tenor of his speech should be calculated to weaken the public respect for some valuable institutions which must be retained unchanged, and to create indefinite desire for alteration in others, which—if improveable at all—can only be improved by a slow process, a calm inquiry, and to a very limited extent.

NOTE to the Article on *Maynooth*, in No. LXXIV.

WE are not in the habit of noticing attacks upon us in the newspapers; but in some letters lately so published by Dr. M'Hale, in reference to the article 'Maynooth,' in the last number of this Journal, there occurs a passage which it would certainly be unfair to pass altogether without remark.

The Bishop of Maronia (after much vague abuse, which we may safely leave to its fate) complains formally that he has been accused of *transgressing*, in a very essential particular, the Statutes of Maynooth, after having *sworn* to observe them. He admits the *transgression*, but denies altogether the *oath*; and it is under these circumstances that we must now apologize to the right reverend letter-writer in the Irish newspapers.

Our statement was erroneous. The Doctor never swore to observe the statutes of his seminary. He only assisted at the celebration of High Mass, and at the invocation of the Holy Ghost, to enable him to fulfil a promise which he was about to make on entering on the duties of an eminent station in that religious establishment—and then subscribed, publicly and solemnly, an engagement to observe the statutes in question. The Doctor's words were, 'EGO SPONDEO ET POL-LICEOR;' not 'EGO JURO.'

We do not hesitate to express our regret that we should have fallen into an error which the Bishop of Maronia considers as of such grave moment.

NOTE to the Article on Mr. De Roos's Narrative, in No. LXXIII.

WE have to acknowledge the receipt of a letter complaining of a paragraph in this article, which, but that it is very long, and contains matter wholly irrelevant, we would have published in this place.

The paragraph is that entitled 'Settlement of the boundary line;' and the letter-writer asserts that we have fallen, in the course thereof, into no fewer than eight misrepresentations.

We admit that we have two errors to apologize for: the first, that of alluding to one of the king's commissioners as 'an American citizen born in America;' whereas it appears that the family of the gentleman in question were American loyalists, and he himself born in England;—we are very sorry for this mistake. The other is, as the writer seems himself to suspect, a mere *typographical error*, and one which we should have thought too obvious to require any remark whatever.

As to the other six charges, we must, for the present, plead not guilty:—

1. 'A line has been *drawn* contrary, it is said, to the spirit of the treaty.' Of this our correspondent complains grievously, alleging that we represent the line as having been 'agreed on and established by the commissioners.' We neither meant nor said any such thing: our meaning was confined to the line as *drawn* by the Americans, and submitted, or about to be submitted, to a third power; and we accordingly spoke afterwards of its consequences, 'if admitted;' per-haps

haps '*proposed*' or '*contended for*' would have been a better expression than *drawn*.

2. 'We have been cheated of a vast extent of territory.' Our meaning was, that we shall be cheated of it, if the American pretensions are ultimately approved of; but in the meantime we *are* cheated of its use—America is, *de facto*, in possession of a territory that, in our opinion, ought to be British.

3. 'By some unlucky chance, an island at the foot of the Long Soult rapids has been ceded to the Americans—we are, therefore, at the mercy of the American government, whether we shall be permitted to navigate that part of the river which is between Kingston and Montreal, or not; and to obviate this difficulty, we are driven to the enormous expense of a canal of communication.' Our correspondent says the island is only a mile long, and the distance between Kingston and Montreal one hundred and ninety miles; and complains of us for saying that one mile could interrupt such a navigation. We answer that less than a mile, or than half a mile, may create an effectual interruption; and beg leave to ask our correspondent why, if there be no such interruption, the canal has, *de facto*, been undertaken?

4. 'With respect to that part of the boundary-line which is to run along the 45th parallel of latitude, from the Connecticut river to the St Lawrence, it happens that the line has been *drawn* thirteen miles too far to the northward.' Here again, for *drawn*, read '*proposed*.'

5. The letter-writer says, 'there would not, it is believed, be a difference of a principal proportion of thirteen miles, even if the 45th parallel of latitude were run upon the geocentric principle, as contended for by the United States.' This is the belief—the opinion—of the letter-writer; our belief—our opinion—is the other way, and we are not *alone*, as our correspondent must be aware, in our opinion.

6. Our last alleged misrepresentation is a supposed assumption, on our part, that the geocentric principle contended for by the Americans had been admitted by the English commissioners. The passage complained of bears no such construction; we only mentioned the proposal, to show the trickery to which the American agents have resorted.

In conclusion, we must once more apologise to Mr. Alexander Barclay (whose very name was altogether unknown to us till we read his letter) for our mistake as to his country, and disclaim the slightest intention of being guilty of 'personal calumnies' towards him, unless it be a calumny to call a man (even in mistake) an American citizen. He can scarcely, we think, be serious when he speaks of our remarks as likely to affect his 'advancement in life.' He is in the service of the British government—to that government he has, as he informs us, submitted a full explanation of all his conduct throughout the business in question; and he must be aware that, on that explanation, and not on the casual observations of by-standers, the issue will and must depend.

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THE state of religion in this country, in the early and middle part of the last century, was very far from satisfactory, but the mischief arose out of the events of the century before. Great national convulsions do not pass away at once, perhaps never pass away altogether, and the numberless consequences they involve should be taken more into account than they often are, by those who contribute to them as expedients for some temporary end. The immediate effect of the reign of the Puritans was to bring all religion for a season into contempt—to let loose a mob of reprobates, whose pride it was to be thought no hypocrites; and truly they were none. This frenzy soon worked itself out, but the evil did not end here. In physical diseases there is often a secondary fever, more dangerous than the first; and so there is in moral. Happy, indeed, would it have been for the nation if it could have been content to set up its religious rest in the tenets of the great divines of our church who lived at that period, or who had recently ceased to live,—but their voices could not make themselves heard in the storm. If learning unbounded—if a fancy the most vivid—if devotion, and earnestness, and faith unfeigned, would have sufficed for that generation, Bishop Taylor might have supplied its wants. If the time demanded a sagacity able to exhaust every question on which it was employed; a heart to conceive, and a head to discriminate, and a tongue to deliver itself in language, if not impassioned, yet nervous, and sustained, and wonderfully copious,—there was a Barrow. If a keen and caustic application of reason and scripture to the faults and follies of the times, mixed, indeed, with too much politics and jestings not convenient,—there was a South. If the appetite was for controversy, where could be found one more qualified to enter into the deep things of our creed, by a critical knowledge of scripture and the primitive opinions of the church (the latter in a degree almost cumbersome to wield) than Bishop Bull? If a sober, temperate, practical, discriminative preacher, fit to teach the people how to handle the word of God aright, without partiality, without hypocrisy, what

need to have gone further than to Dr. Sanderson. If the spirit of a saint, who could strew some holy text upon every trivial event of life, and find 'sermons in stones, and good in every thing,' was there not the glowing, the tender, the pathetic eloquence of a Hall? It is true that these men (how many more might we add) differed from one another in many subordinate points, compatible with that liberty of opinion which our church allows to her members; yet did they one and all take their stand upon the great leading doctrines of Christianity which had been established at the reformation, making no divorce amongst them, as had been recently done, but delivering, after the manner of the apostle before them, 'the whole counsel of God.'

But this was not to be; theology could not be content to abide at this point; one extreme was destined to beget its opposite, and when the *age of buffoonery* was gone by, which (as we have said) laughed religion for awhile out of countenance, another spirit succeeded, the re-action, like the former, of the puritan extravagance, the *age of reason*: for reason having been put to silence for a time by a tempest of ungoverned zeal, was now in her turn to be exalted into the sole goddess of this nether world, (the case was literally so, a few years later, in another kingdom,) and accordingly a new order of things arose.

The total corruption of human nature, and the utter helplessness of man, had long been subjects of vehement declamation; and now it was found out that this weakness and inability were all a mistake; that he had native powers capable of nearly universal obedience—and that so far from being the passive recipient of God's grace (as had been taught), let him have but his own prudence for his deity, and he scarcely wanted any other. As human perfection was thus exalted, the nature and office of a Redeemer were brought low. The frantic voices of the generation that was gone, had sung hosannas for his second and immediate coming to reign with his saints upon earth and bind the great dragon; and now, on the other hand, it began to be discovered that Arius might not be wrong in his less elevated views of the Messiah's person; nay, that even they were to be heard who maintained him to be a great and good man after all, who testified the truth of his mission and sincerity of his doctrine by the sacrifice of his life. In compliance with the spirit of an age thus rational, Christianity was gravely preached as a mere re-publication of natural religion, because in the one (which no doubt is the case) the rudiments of the other subsist, as it is equally true that in the head of every peasant are the principles of the highest philosophy, though the philosopher and peasant are far enough asunder. And now its most solemn rite was reasoned out,

out, and by those who had subscribed our Articles, to be a commemoration only, and not a means of grace; and the miracles were regarded as stumbling-blocks to the wise men of the times, and some were resolved by natural causes, and some were allegorical, and some were attacked (in order that the obloquy of a more open and manly assault might be escaped) through the sides of the spurious miracles which succeeding ages of imposture and credulity had brought to the birth. Nay, even where the philosophy of the day had not actually sapped the principles of the faith; where the leading doctrines of the gospel were acknowledged and occasionally insisted on from the pulpit, inferior motives were constantly urged, to the partial, if not total eclipse of those which ought to be brought prominently forward by the Christian preacher, and the language of the ethical Seneca or Tully was made to supersede that of the evangelical Paul. Let us but compare the sermons of Dr. Blair, the most popular writer of his time (somewhat subsequent, however, to that whereof we have been speaking), which formed the Sunday reading of a very large portion of those who read any thing devout,—let us compare those frigid essays (we will not say with the burning words of an apostle, for this might be thought unfair) but with the discourses of a period nearer the fountain-head of our reformed church, with Hooker's, for instance, on Justification, and the different powers of the two men will not be more remarkable than the different spirit which directed them. It is a contrast not less than that between the first and second Temples, and not less to be deplored by those who thought on both.

‘For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right,’

was the language of the poet of the day, acceptable enough to what was then almost a nation of Gallios. For as a host of jesting and licentious unbelievers had kept pace with the extravagant fanaticism of a former century, so, in this, did a host of reasoning unbelievers accompany the march of theological philosophy, till religion, having submitted to one death from the libertine was again assailed by the rationalist,—and this was the second death.

Meanwhile, some partial efforts had been made to bring the nation to a better mind, and not altogether without success. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge grew out of this grievous lack of it; and individuals, too, had begun to bestir themselves in exorcising the land. Now Bishop Butler sent forth his immortal Analogy, a work too thoughtful for the flippant taste of the sceptical school, and indeed only to be duly appreciated after much and patient meditation. It is not a short line that

will fathom Butler. Let a hundred readers sit down to the examination of the *Analogy*, and however various the associations of thought excited in their minds by the perusal, (whether as objections of otherwise,) they will find on examination that Butler has been beforehand with them in all. This may not at first strike them. Often it will discover itself in a hint, overlooked, perhaps, in a first reading, dropped by Butler in the profusion of his matter, as it were to shew that he was aware of what might be said, but that he had better game on foot; and still more often will it be traced in the caution with which he selects an expression, not perhaps the obvious expression, such, indeed, as to a superficial reader may seem an unaccountable circumlocution or an ungraceful stiffness of language. In all these cases, he is evidently glancing at an argument or parrying an objection of some kind or other that had been lurking about him,—objections and arguments which may sometimes present themselves to us at once, but which very frequently are latent till the under-current of our thoughts happens to set in with Butler's, and throws them up. We have heard persons talk of the obscurity of Bishop Butler's style, and lament that his book was not re-written by some more luminous master of language. We have always suspected that such critics knew very little about the *Analogy*. We would have no sacrilegious hand touch it. It would be like officious meddling with a well-considered move at chess. We should change a word in it with the caution of men expounding hieroglyphics—it has a meaning, but we have not hit upon it—others may, or we ourselves may at another time. The *Analogy* is a work carefully and closely packed up out of twenty years' hard thinking. It must have filled folios, had its illustrious author taken less time to concoct it; for never was there a stronger instance of the truth of the observation, that it requires far more time to make a small book than a large one. For ourselves, whether we consider it as directly corroborative of the scheme of christianity, by showing its consistency with natural religion, or whether (which is, perhaps, its more important aspect) as an answer to those objections which may be brought against christianity, arising out of the difficulties involved in it, we look upon the *Analogy* of Bishop Butler as the work above all others on which the mind can repose with the most entire satisfaction, and faith found itself as on a rock. For the reasons, however, we have given, it was not fitted to correct the temper of the times; it was not, in fact, sufficiently read or sufficiently understood, to effect a change in the public mind on any great scale. Leslie's *Short Method with the Deists* was better calculated for this purpose, and much good it did. It was (as its name implies) brief, intelligible,

intelligible, confined to the single point of supplying a *test* (we mean no offence in this word) whereby miracles were to stand or fall, and which, when applied to those of Moses, declared them to be above suspicion. Middleton, it was said, sought long and anxiously for a false case, which would equally satisfy this test, but his search was not successful. The miracles, indeed, were the favourite object of attack; and now Warburton, who smelled the battle afar off, with the conscious strength of a war-horse, entered the lists in their defence.

Little as the Divine Legation of Moses is now read, few works have ever produced a greater sensation on first coming out than this did. It smote Trojan and Tyrian. It was a 'two-handed engine,' ready to batter down infidel and orthodox alike, if they ventured to oppose an obstacle to its autocratic progress. As a work intended to establish the religion of the country, however, on a better footing, it was of very doubtful character. Its leading position is, perhaps, tenable, and may have its worth in confirmation of the truth of the Old Testament, when that truth has been established on less questionable grounds, but it will not be thought capable of sustaining it alone. It is, undoubtedly, a very curious fact, that whilst Moses (so far as we know) never sought for sanctions to his laws in the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, he should perpetually allude to an *equal* Providence, (a Providence which dispensed the blessings and curses of this life with a strict reference to human conduct) as that under which the Israelites were living.—Moses gives no hint that this dispensation was meant to supply the place of that principle which has been thought needful to hold civil society together. Warburton, however, saw a connection between the two positions, and accordingly, at once admitting the objection of the Deist, that the doctrine of a future state was omitted by Moses (it was a favourite mode of reasoning with the Bishop of Gloucester to take the argument by the horns), he retorts upon him, that this very circumstance argues the lawgiver to have possessed other sanctions for his laws; and that those sanctions were,—the goods and ills of this life, assigned to every man according to his deeds. This coincidence is certainly remarkable, and at least tends to support the belief of an *extraordinary* Providence presiding over the Israelites, or, in other words, of the Mosaic miracles. Still, it cannot be allowed to *prove* the fact. It may confirm, but it cannot convince: more especially as, in the hands of Dr. Warburton, the argument (in its details more than in its principle) is open to a vast variety of objections—objections which, by a more cautious mode of pursuing his inquiry, he might in a great degree have avoided, but which, as it was, drove him into

into toils, whence he *struggled to escape in vain*, and to which he at length yielded with the good grace of a wild bull in a net. It would take us too far from our immediate purpose, (which is simply to show the religious temper of the age in which Paley was born,) to examine the Divine Legation with the discrimination it deserves. A little more reflection, however, we think, would have enabled its great author to guard against much that galled him, and to pare away some of those many episodes, which, even had they been more correct in reasoning than in several instances they are, would only serve after all to cumber his main proposition. Then, the Divine Legation might have taken a more conspicuous place amongst the evidences for the truth of revelation, and would not have lain unworthily neglected on the upper shelves of our libraries, condemned in the lump as a splendid paradox by those who little know the happy illustrations it contains, gathered from every region under heaven—the prodigious magazine of learning it unfolds—the infinite ingenuity it displays, in assimilating, more or less, the most unpromising substances to the matter on hand—the sarcasm, the invective, the joke, sacred and profane, which are there found, ‘mingle, mingle, mingle’—as they were poured forth from the cauldron of that most capacious and most turbulent mind.

On the whole, however, his essay on the miracle said to have obstructed Julian in his attempt at rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem, may be considered a happier effort at correcting the faithlessness of the times; and indeed cannot be read without the impression that no supernatural incident, unrecorded by holy writ, has equal pretensions to credibility, or greater need to be satisfied with its champion.

But another work, there was, brief and unpresuming enough, which, nevertheless, did religion more good service than many of much higher pretensions—the *Internal Evidence of Christianity*, by Soame Jenyns. The argument was of a popular kind; it derived force, too, as coming from one who was a layman and a wit. The *originality* of the scheme of the gospel, both as to object and doctrine—the singular felicity with which it was constructed, as a system of ethics, retaining the good principles of former systems, and rejecting the evil—the utter incompetency of a dozen unlettered fishermen to frame it of themselves—were all points, pressed with great cogency and success. At the same time it must be confessed, that in his laudable anxiety to restrain reason within its legitimate province, Jenyns limits it too exclusively to the single object of ascertaining the *authority* of revelation, as though there was not a farther field for the fair use of it, in determining the *meaning* of revelation; and when he exhibits
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the contrast between the virtues of this world and those of the gospel, he in one or two instances forgets that moderation which would have made his conclusions, in our opinion, more just, and would have had the merit besides of recommending them to a generation much more fitted for milk than meat. For instance, *active courage* is said to be omitted in the catalogue of christian virtues, because a christian can have nothing to do with it. Yet our Lord displayed it in going up to Jerusalem in the teeth of his enemies, and so did St. Paul. Moreover, as amongst the apostles there were swords, it is fair to suppose that occasions were contemplated when they might be drawn without a crime. We think, too, that there is room for the exercise of more than passive courage when a man is called upon to make his choice between apostasy and the flames—or when, in the discharge of a duty which the gospel enjoins, he ventures within the atmosphere of a malignant disease. *Patriotism*, again, is in like manner excluded—yet Christ wept over Jerusalem: and *friendship*, as appropriating that benevolence to a single object which is commanded to be extended over all—yet the same great pattern ‘loved Mary and her sister, and Lazarus,’ more than his attendants in general; and John more than his other disciples. These, however, are trifles after all, the inadvertencies of a man hurried along by a subject which he has at heart, and scarcely deducting at all from the worth of his general argument. Meanwhile, Dr. Lardner had published his ‘Credibility of the Gospel History,’ a digest of nearly all the historical evidence for the truth of Christianity which could be collected by the most patient of investigators and the most candid of critics. It was his fortune, however, chiefly to provide metal and materials for the temple, which a successor was to have the glory of rearing up. Lardner never does justice to his own arguments—he dissipates their effect by details and qualifications, and critical excursions, till the drift of his reasoning is overlaid almost as effectually as the meaning of an act of parliament. Some clear-headed man was wanted to *filter* him, and till then ‘the Credibility’ was not likely to have the influence it deserved to have, in regulating the faith of the nation.

Thus do we see the theology of the age still running upon the *Evidences*, a circumstance in itself enough to mark the feeling which, unhappily, prevailed, and which it would be easy to trace through every department of our literature. We have dwelt upon the subject at some risk of being thought tedious, in order that the importance of such a writer as Paley, being raised up amongst us at such a moment, may be duly felt; calculated as he was, by the quality of his understanding, in a very singular manner to give the times (what he might have himself called) a *wrench*.

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It is in the character, therefore, of a defender of the faith, that we would hold up Paley to almost unmingled admiration; in any other character his praise may be more qualified; but see him how we will, of this we are sure, that there can be no harm in reminding an age which, on almost all subjects, 'still goes on refining' (though we hope matters are mending), of the good sense of a plain, shrewd, practical Yorkshireman (for so he may be reckoned), the *abnormis sapiens* of another day, some specimens of which even natural history demands of us that we preserve.

We think it next to impossible for a candid unbeliever to read the Evidences of Paley, in their proper order, unshaken. His Natural Theology will open the heart, that it may understand, or at least receive, the Scriptures, if any thing can. It is philosophy in its highest and noblest sense; scientific, without the jargon of science; profound, but so clear that its depth is disguised. There is nothing of the 'budge Doctor' here; speculations which will convince, if aught will, that 'in the beginning *God* created the heaven and the earth,' are made familiar as household words. They are brought home to the experience of every man, the most ordinary observer on the facts of nature with which he is daily conversant. A thicker clothing, for instance, is provided in winter for that tribe of animals which are covered with *fur*. Now, in these days, such an assertion would be backed by an appeal to some learned Rabbi of a Zoological Society, who had written a deep pamphlet, upon what he would probably call the *Theory of Hair*. But to whom does Paley refer us? To any dealer in rabbit skins. The curious contrivance in the bones of birds, to unite strength with lightness, is noticed. The bone is larger, in proportion to the weight of the bone, than in other animals; it is empty; the substance of the bone itself is of a closer texture. For these facts, any 'operative' would quote Sir Everard Home, or Professor Cuvier, by way of giving a sort of philosophical éclat to the affair, and throwing a little learned dust in the eyes of the public. Paley, however, advises you to make your own observations when you happen to be engaged in the scientific operation of picking the leg or wing of a chicken. The very singular correspondence between the two sides of any animal, the right hand answering to the left, and so on, is touched upon, as a proof of a contriving Creator, and a very striking one it is. Well! we have a long and abstruse problem in chances worked out to show that it was so many millions, and so many odd thousands to one, that accident could not have produced the phenomenon; not a bit of it. Paley (who was probably scratching his head at the moment) offers no other confirmation of his assertion, than that it is the most difficult thing

thing in the world to get a *wig made even*, seldom as it is that the *face* is made awry. The circulation of the blood, and the provision for its getting from the heart to the extremities, and back again, affords a singular demonstration of the Maker of the body being an admirable Master both of mechanics and hydrostatics. But what is the language in which Paley talks of this process?—technical?—that mystical nomenclature of Diaforius, which frightens country patients out of their wits, thinking, as they very naturally do, that a disease must be very horrid which involves such very horrid names? Hear our anatomist from Giggleswick.

‘The aorta of a whale is larger in the bore than the main-pipe of the water-works at London Bridge; and the roaring in the passage through that pipe is inferior, in impetus and velocity, to the blood gushing from the whale’s heart.’

He cares not whence he fetches his illustrations, provided they are to the purpose. The laminæ of the feathers of birds are kept together by teeth that hook into one another, ‘as a *latch* enters into the catch, and fastens a door.’ The eyes of the mole are protected by being very small, and buried deep in a cushion of skin, so that the apertures leading to them are like *pin-holes in a piece of velvet*, scarcely pervious to loose particles of earth. The snail without wings, feet, or thread, adheres to a stalk by a provision of *sticking-plaster*. The lobster, as he grows, is furnished with a way of uncasing himself of his buckler, and drawing his legs out of *his boots* when they become too small for him.

In this unambitious manner does Paley prosecute his high theme, drawing, as it were, philosophy from the clouds. But it is not merely the fund of entertaining knowledge which the Natural Theology contains, or the admirable address displayed in the adaptation of it, which fits it for working conviction; the ‘sunshine of the breast,’ the cheerful spirit with which its benevolent author goes on his way (*κυδαι γαιων*), this it is that carries the coldest reader captive, and constrains him to confess within himself, and even in spite of himself, ‘it is good for me to be here.’ Voltaire may send his hero about the world to spy out its morbid anatomy with a fiendish satisfaction, and those may follow him in his nauseous errand who will, but give us the feelings of the man who could pour forth his spirit in such language as this.

‘It is a happy world after all; the air, the earth, the water, teem with delighted existence. In a spring noon, or a summer’s evening, on whichever side I turn my eyes, myriads of happy beings crowd upon my view. ‘The insect youth are on the wing.’ Swarms of new-born flies are trying their pinions in the air. Their sportive motions, their wanton mazes, their gratuitous activity, their continual change of place without use or purpose, testify their joy, and the exultation they feel in their lately discovered faculties.’ This

This is a delightful temper of mind. When Bernard Gilpin was summoned up to London to give an account of himself and his creed before Bommer, he chanced to break his leg on the way; and, on some persons retorting upon him a favourite saying of his own, 'that nothing happens to us but what is intended for our good,' and asking him whether it was for his good that he had broken his leg,—he answered, 'that he made no question but it was.' And so it turned out, for before he was able to travel again, Queen Mary died, and he was set at liberty. But the extent to which this wholesome disposition is cultivated by Paley, is quite characteristic of him. We mourn over the leaves of our peaches and plum-trees, as they wither under a blight. What does Paley see in this? A legion of animated beings (for such is a *blight*) claiming their portion of the bounty of Nature, and made happy by our comparatively trifling privation. We are tortured by bodily *pain*,—Paley himself was so, even at the moment that he was thus nobly vindicating God's wisdom and ways. What of that? Pain is not the object of contrivance—no anatomist ever dreamt of explaining any organ of the body on the principle of the thumb screw: it is itself productive of good; it is seldom both violent, and long continued; and then its pauses and intermissions become positive pleasures. 'It has the power of shedding a satisfaction over intervals of ease, which I believe,' says this true philosopher, 'few enjoyments exceed.' The returns of an hospital in his neighbourhood lie before him. Does he conjure up the images of Milton's lazar-house, and sicken at the spectacle of human suffering? No—he finds the admitted 6,420—the dead, 234—the *cured*, 5,476: his eye settles upon the last, and he is content.

Surely, the book of nature thus read is not lightly to be thrown away, wherein is written, in the plainest characters, the existence of a God, which Revelation, it should be remembered, takes for granted,—of a God how full of contrivance! how fertile in expedients! how benevolent in his ends! At work everywhere, everywhere, too, with equal diligence, leaving nothing incomplete, finishing 'the hinge in the wing of an ear-wig' as perfectly as if it were all He had to do—unconfounded by the multiplicity of objects—undistracted by their dispersion—unwearied by their incessant demands on him—fresh as on that day when the morning-stars first sang together, and all His sons shouted for joy!

Who, then, can know thus much of such a Being, and not desire to know more? Thus impressed, who would not address himself, in an honest and good heart, to the evidence of aught which professed to be a Revelation from Him? For this reason, amongst others, it is that, in our opinion, the study of Natural
Theology

Theology is to be encouraged. Many—and many of the best intentions—may not think so, but we maintain that Scripture itself recommends it. Our readers will bear with us one moment. ‘The subject theme’ may, ‘perhaps, turn out a sermon,’ but we promise them it shall be a very short one. ‘God left not himself without witness, in that He did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness.’ Is not this the very argument of Paley, in his chapter on the ‘goodness of the Deity’? ‘Thou fool, that which thou sowest, is not quickened except it die.’ Is not this a leaf taken from Nature’s book, which tells us, on the evidence of our senses, that it is not a thing so very incredible that God should raise the dead—that, even supposing the faculties of the mind to depend upon *organization*, the least flattering and the least probable supposition, still we see the corruption of an organized body does not necessarily destroy such organization—that in some aura (it may be), in some infinitesimal of matter, it still survives, and is still transmitted from one individual to another; and, therefore, that it may still live, and still be transmitted from one state of being to another in the same individual: for they who maintain that mind depends upon organization, must be the last persons to deny that consciousness of identity may be thus conveyed. Again, ‘behold the fowls of the air, they sow not, neither do they gather into barns.’ What is this but an appeal to a Providence as testified by Nature, in support of a Providence as proclaimed by a Gospel? ‘God maketh his sun to shine on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just, and on the unjust.’ What is this, but to call Nature to bear witness to the mercy and long-suffering of its author, in support of Revelation, which declares that ‘He suffers long, and is kind’? Nay, what is the whole scheme of teaching by parables, but a scheme whereby the natural world is made subservient to the spiritual world, and the wisdom of heaven is taught to find a tongue in the streets, in the fields, and in the sea?

We know not how Bishop Burnet could have approached the heart of Lord Rochester but through those principles of natural theology which he acknowledged, and with which the Bishop was, therefore, at liberty to press him, as he did, till he led him to the sanctuary itself, and the mercy-seat. And our Eastern missionaries, we believe, find it not the least needful weapon in their quiver, not that *telum imbellis* which it is sometimes represented, when in the presence of idle bystanders, under the shade of the palm, at the door of the tent, or while speaking with their enemies in the gate, they have to encounter the deistical Brahmin as he seeks to entangle them in their talk.

Mr. Blanco White read the *Natural Theology*, and was thereby induced

induced to read the *Evidences*. This is precisely what we have been arguing for; thus let the blow be followed up. The truth of Christianity depends upon the truth of its leading facts. Here are a number of transactions recorded, which do not relate to an obscure clan in some wild and sequestered corner of the earth, but such as are said to have happened in a most civilized age, and amongst a well known people. They involve the customs, the rites, the prejudices of many nations and languages; they are full of allusions to their institutions, domestic, civil, political, religious; they constantly lay themselves open to a scrutiny on the minutest points of geography, of history, of chronology. "They not unfrequently make mention of individuals,—of individuals not so famous as to be spoken of with safety on public report alone, nor yet so obscure as to admit of being spoken of at random without detection. They not seldom refer to the accidents of the day, a tumult, a conspiracy, a dearth. What room is there here for the application of tests to ascertain their veracity! If they endure such tests, (as they do,) the cumulative argument is little short of demonstration. But this very same history, of which the component parts are marked by characters of truth thus various, tells of miracles. What is to be done with these? Yet, if these be true, then is not preaching vain, nor faith vain.

The *Horæ Paulinæ* is but one of these many departments of evidence; but it is, perhaps, the most satisfactory, and certainly the most ingenious of them all. With this work in our hands, we care not how the Acts of the Apostles, or the Epistles of St. Paul, were composed. We do not trouble our heads about their decomposition; about the separate paragraphs into which they may be resolved, and with which different 'Reporters' (that is the phrase) may have furnished the compilers. Here the two documents are, pregnant with coincidences which no possible hypothesis but that of their veracity can account for. 'Accident or fiction could not have drawn a line that should have touched upon truth upon so many points.' We have the two parts of a cloven tally, nothing wanting but a comparison between both to prove the authenticity of both. 'From a child thou hast known the Scriptures,' says the Apostle to Timothy. How so? He was a Greek. — 'Timotheus, the son of a certain woman that was a *Jewess*,' says the writer of the Acts. She, therefore, had taught him the Scriptures. Yet the one passage was evidently writ without the smallest view of illustrating the other; no man can read the two, and suspect it. It is recorded in the Acts that Paul and Barnabas contend; Barnabas being anxious to take with him Mark, and Paul objecting to him because he had forsaken them on a former journey; Barnabas, however, is firm, and rather than forego Mark,

parts

parts from Paul. Now, whence this extraordinary pertinacity?—Not a shadow of reason for it appears in the narrative which tells of the quarrel; yet a reason for it we do discover by the merest accident in the world, for, in one of the Epistles, it happens to be said that Mark ‘*was sister’s son to Barnabas.*’ These half-dozen words clear up the whole affair; but were they introduced for that purpose?—It is impossible to compare the two passages and entertain the idea for a moment. Again, it appears (though only by the juxtaposition of several texts from several epistles) that the two epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians were sent to their respective destinations by the same messenger and at the same time. Now, if we write two long letters to different friends to go by the same post, the probability is that there will be some resemblance between them. How is it in the case in question? On a minute comparison of the two Epistles, there is found a very close resemblance in the style, in the diction, and in the sentiments; far closer than in any other two; and of no other two is there reason to believe that they were written at the same time, or very nearly at the same time: this would have been refinement, indeed, in a mere forgery. One or two coincidences of this kind might be accident, hundreds cannot—many of them, too, as far from obvious as any thing that can be imagined; such as would not have been detected by one reader in ten thousand; such as must be dragged out of their hiding-places into day by the apposition of texts from perhaps half a dozen quarters.

It would not be in the power of the most suspicious lawyer, at the Old Bailey, to subject two witnesses to a stricter cross-examination than that by which Paley has tried the testimony of St. Paul and St. Luke. This is the light in which the *Novæ Paulinæ* is to be viewed: it is a close, and rigorous, and searching series of questions, addressed to two ~~men~~ deponents to certain facts, and addressed, too, by a most acute advocate, in open court, before an intelligent tribunal. We do not hesitate to say, that a fiction contrived between them would have been shattered in pieces before they had gone through a tenth part of the ordeal to which he exposes them: the ‘mastick-tree’ of the one, and the ‘holm-tree’ of the other, must have come out sooner or later.—But, no! their testimony agreeth together. Yet here again we have the mention of miracles; of such miracles, as the pretended workers of them could not have been deceived about: we ask, therefore, again, how we are to get rid of them? The fact presses.—How is it to be denied? how is it to be explained? how is it to be evaded?

We cannot quit this part of our subject without remarking once more the healthy temperament of Paley’s mind, which enables
him

him to bring virtue out of materials the least promising. As in the Natural Theology, he discovered proofs of the benevolence of the Deity in much that had been considered objections to it, so in the Evidences does he find many arguments, for the truth of scripture, precisely upon points which had been thought difficulties in the way. The Jews (in whose history the Gospel is interested) were an ignorant and barbarous race at the time the Mosaic revelation was communicated to them. Be it so; was it not then a very singular circumstance that, whilst they were children in every thing else, in *religion* they should be men? that, whilst in arts and arms they were behind the world, in the knowledge of God and his attributes they were an immeasurable distance before it. The propagation of Christianity in modern times is not so rapid as might be expected from its high pretensions. What, for instance, have the missionaries in India done, with all their zeal and self-devotion? Be it so.—How then came it to pass that, when this same religion was first preached, it grew so mightily and prevailed? Were its teachers of a higher class? On the contrary, they were of a class held in peculiar contempt. Are the gay, the festive, the licentious rites of the East, enthralling? and had not ‘the honied sorceries of Delos and Daphne’ their charms? Were there no ‘fair idolatresses’ in ancient times to pay their nightly vows to Astarte? Is the Indian convert a despised man and an outcast? and was not the Roman the off-scouring of all things; was he not in jeopardy every hour—beset by the nightly dream of cross and flame!—The authenticity of one or two of the documents which compose our canon of Scripture was called in question in early times (we have nothing to do with the controversy itself, that has been laid to sleep satisfactorily enough); but what argument does Paley derive from this?—That the existence of such a controversy proves the authenticity of scripture to have been a subject of strict inquiry in those times—that, where there was any cause to doubt, men doubted; and that the books which were received, were only not suspected because they were above suspicion. Or, to descend more into particulars—for the thing is both important and illustrative of Paley’s turn of mind,—‘We, which are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds,’ says St. Paul. Did the apostle, then, expect to live till the judgment-day? Take it so if you will: suppose the words do imply this expectation, then is not this ample proof that such language was not the production of an age subsequent to St. Paul? Would an impostor have given such an expectation to that apostle when he was dead; when, if it had ever been entertained, the event had already discovered it to be a mistake? Epaphroditus, the friend of Paul, ‘is sick nigh unto death,’ and Trophimus ‘he left at Miletum

Miletum sick'—would not then Paul have cured them if he could? It is only reasonable to suppose so, if the power of working miracles had depended upon his own will, which he never asserts. But would a mere pretender to miraculous powers have thus confessed his incapacity?—Would he not have spared a miracle on such occasions?—Would any other man than one who felt he could *afford* to sustain the suspicion, have started it, without taking the smallest pains either to do it away? There are fourteen subscriptions to the several Epistles of St. Paul, purporting to be their dates, but on very insufficient authority. Now, on endeavouring to verify these by the contents of the Epistles, we shall find six probably erroneous: what, then, is our conclusion? That, where a writer is not guided by original knowledge, mistakes must and will creep in; that, had the whole volume consisted of forgeries, the whole volume would have been full of similar blunders; that, as it is, there are more difficulties in these few paragraphs than in all the Epistles together.

We trust that the importance of these details will excuse us. It is a great feature in the character of Paley's mind which we have been displaying. There is nothing in the world which has not more handles than one; and it is of the greatest consequence to get a habit of taking hold by the best. The bells speak as we make them; 'how many a tale their music tells!' Hogarth's industrious apprentice might hear in them that he should be 'Lord Mayor of London'—the idle apprentice that he should be hanged at Tyburn. The landscape looks as we see it; if we go to meet a friend, every distant object assumes his shape—

'In great and small, and round and square,
'Tis Johnny, Johnny, everywhere.'

Crabbe's lover passed over the very same heath to his mistress and from her; yet, as he went, all was beauty, as he returned all was blank. The world does not more surely provide different kinds of food for different animals, than it furnishes doubts to the sceptic and hopes to the believer, as he takes it. The one, in an honest and good heart, pours out the box of ointment on a Saviour's head—the other, in the pride of his philosophy, only searches into it for a dead fly.

We have said that Paley is to be applauded as a writer on evidence, rather than as a writer on morals; not, however, that the Moral Philosophy can be fairly charged with all that has been alleged against it. Paley, we apprehend, never seriously intended to make *expediency* the rule of right in those cases where scripture had already spoken out—at least, in all such instances, he would argue that the two rules conspired. Having established the authority of scripture, and it being professedly a part of his plan

plan to take Christianity into account in his ethics, he was too good a reasoner to look deliberately for any other guide where scripture was to be had for one. It may be true that some expressions, such, for instance, as 'the utility of any moral rule *alone* it is which constitutes the obligation to it,' are objectionable, as implying that the principle of expediency is to exclude every other—that we are to use it, not when we are in want of a better, but as the best we can have. Still these may be accounted the inadvertent expressions of a man enamoured of his system. Assuredly the intention of Paley was simply this, to supply a rule where scripture is silent, or where it is not specific, or where it is doubtful. For instance, scripture declares itself against covenant-breakers; we bow to the decision—but what is a covenant? and what is it to break one?—this scripture does not define. Here, therefore, we want a principle to guide us before we can apply scripture. What is the principle?—Expediency, says Paley. To take another instance: scripture declares itself against a lie; we allow the authority; but 'what is truth?' may be asked with Pilate, and surely without any irreverence. That the term admits of some latitude in the acceptation is evident: many of the parables, like *Æsop's Fables*, are probably fictions, that is, histories of events which never actually happened, yet it is clear that these cannot be charged with falsehood. What principle, then, is to decide us in determining the offence against which scripture has fixed its canon?—Expediency, again says Paley. 'Resist not evil' is a positive injunction of scripture, yet from other passages it is certain that occasions there may be where resistance is lawful. By what principle, then, are we to draw the line? How is the great question to be solved which has agitated the nations from the beginning of the world—the point at which the subject is justified in casting off his allegiance?—By the principle of expediency, says Paley once more. What we have said may be enough to show that there is room for the exercise of this, or some other principle of moral action, in the affairs of men, without any disparagement of scripture; that Paley, in short, was not fairly dealt with when he was charged with substituting, for a divine rule, a rule of his own. The will of God is to be our rule; this he admits in so many words, but still there is the difficulty, how that will is to be got at. Now, allowing Paley's principle of expediency to be a legitimate one—of which, however, we shall give our opinion by and by—this all must be free to confess, that, in the application of his favourite theory, he has been lavish: he looks to it far too constantly as his key; he is apt to make it the road to his object, not when there is no other, but when another there is, and that, too, much safer and less intricate. No doubt this is
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the abuse of his system, not the use ; it determines little or nothing as to the value of the system itself : a hobby may be ridden to death, yet be a very good hobby notwithstanding. Nobody could dispute that leather is a very useful thing in its way, though it might not be so well to make fortifications of it while stone could be had. Thus, the duty of observing the Sabbath as a day of rest, Paley is disposed to found upon the expediency of such an institution, not upon any divine authority expressed ; and, accordingly, he lays out his strength upon proving the expediency. Paley thought this ground enough for the obligation, and so it may be ; but we cannot help thinking that, had he bestowed equal pains upon the scriptural argument, he might have rested it upon other grounds, and those such as, on his own principles, he ought to have preferred, as being a less equivocal manifestation of what the will of God was upon the point in question. We would willingly give our reasons for this assertion, but we are afraid that we have already counted somewhat largely on the theological appetite of our readers, and we, therefore, in this instance, hold our hand. The example, however, may suffice for our immediate purpose ; which is merely to show, that Paley sometimes resorts to expediency as the interpreter of God's will, when a clearer knowledge of it was to be gained elsewhere ;—like the tailor of Laputa, who was so much in love with his trigonometry, that he must measure a man for his coat by it, though he had a tape in his pocket by which it might have been done with half the pains and double the accuracy.

This, therefore, is certainly one practical evil entailed upon Paley by his system, that, in working it, he is led away from the profitable occupation of investigating what may be concluded out of scripture (and how pregnant it is with conclusions, if it be well searched, our older writers on casuistry can testify), and is made to direct his efforts, instead, to the more ambiguous search after a rule of right in the endless consequences of things. We say endless consequences ; and here is another evil which cleaves to Paley's doctrine of expediency—that it is impracticable as a rule of action ; it requires a compass of foresight which no human being possesses. Infinite are the consequences which follow from a single, and often apparently a very insignificant circumstance. Paley himself narrowly escaped being a baker ; here was a decision upon which hung in one scale, perhaps, the immortal interests of thousands, and, in the other, the gratification of the taste of the good people of Giggleswick for hot rolls : Cromwell was near being strangled in his cradle by a monkey ; here was this wretched ape wielding in his paws the destinies of nations. Then, again, how different in their kind, as well as in their magnitude, are these consequences from anything that might have been *a priori* expected. Henry

the Eighth is smitten with the beauty of a girl of eighteen ; and, ere long,

‘ The Reformation beams from Bullen’s eyes.’

Charles Wesley refuses to go with his wealthy namesake to Ireland, and the inheritance, which would have been his, goes to build up the fortunes of a Wellesley instead of a Wesley ; and to this decision of a schoolboy (as Mr. Southey observes) Methodism may owe its existence, and England its military—and, we trust we may now add, its civil and political—glory.

But even had the principle been more fitted for use than it is (and the difficulty of handling it is a presumption against its being intended as the instrument for our guidance), it is, in our opinion, *metaphysically* objectionable. We confess that, with our old and hard-headed divines, we believe in such a thing as a conscience—a moral sense, a faculty, call it what you will, whereby right is approved and wrong condemned. We believe that this is a much more safe as well as a more ready monitor than any calculations of expediency. We believe that, as the Deity has provided for the welfare of our animal being, by giving us animal senses to tell us of the approach of danger, like repeating frigates on the out-side of the line, so has he provided for, what was surely of as much importance, the welfare of our moral being, by giving us this moral sense to sound the alarm when evil is at hand in that quarter. We believe that this is, in fact, the governing principle of the great mass of mankind (such, we mean, as care about morals), who are wholly incapable of balancing consequences, and who, if they have not this guide, have none. Without some such faculty, indeed, we cannot conceive how we should be capable of receiving, estimating, and approving the doctrines of revelation itself ; or how there could be any such words as right and wrong, good and evil, which nevertheless obtain in all nations and languages. Are there then innate maxims of right and wrong ? asks Paley.—Not at all. The existence of instincts does not presuppose, in the animal, notions of those objects on which instincts are to be exerted. A duck in his shell has no notion of water, or a swallow of a voyage across the Atlantic. How many thousands of women are there who die without offspring, and, therefore, without any knowledge of a mother’s feelings, in every one of whom parental instinct would have been found strong as death, had circumstances called it forth.

But if we have a sense of right and wrong, how is it that this sense is so capricious in its decisions ? How is it that scarcely any two nations agree in their notions of good and evil ? that scarcely any vice can be named which has not been sanctioned by public opinion in one country or another ? This argument proves too much.

much.—Is there then no such thing as a sense of taste naturally inclined to one flavour and disgusted at another—because the ladies in Spain and Portugal like pipe-clay, and Turks opium, and Italians garlic? Or, is there no such thing as a sense of hearing, fitted by nature to pronounce upon one set of sounds as agreeable, and another as offensive, because it may happen that some persons think the music of a fox-hound a great deal more delightful than Mademoiselle Soutag? Or (what, however, may perhaps admit of more question), is there no such thing as a sense of beauty, distinct from associations—because an admirer of Wilkes, whose aspect was enough to frighten a horse, thought he only squinted as much as was becoming? It is not to be denied, that a moral sense may be perverted, like any other sense, and that it very constantly is perverted; we only argue that it exists. Besides, what is the fact with respect to this alleged confusion in the notions of right and wrong entertained by different nations? is it very great after all? Theft may have been applauded in Sparta; but has not the fact been put upon record as a monster in morals? is it not, indeed, its acknowledged deformity that has caused it to be remembered and noted down—as medical men preserve a *lusus nature* in spirits, and take no notice of nature's ordinary handiworks? We boldly appeal to the Traveller's Club, whether it is ever usual, on the discovery of a new country, to remark, 'The inhabitants of this singular region love their parents and do not knock them on the head in their old age; mothers, moreover, (such is their extraordinary humanity) muse their own offspring, and actually bear them on their backs, or in their arms, till they can walk. Neither young nor old (such is the surprising patience and self-control of this most interesting people) carry in their pouches razors to cut their throats with, but virtuously endure the ills of life till disease or decay brings it to a close. Finally, what is very striking, every man's bow and fishing-rod are positively called his own, and allowed so to be, though we were not able to ascertain, on the strictest inquiry, that they had been secured to him by virtue of a single act of parliament or award of any court whatsoever.' Yet, surely, such descriptions as this would be common enough, were there not *de facto* a tacit understanding amongst mankind, that a certain sense of right and wrong, which St. Paul (and we beg attention to this) calls 'natural affection,' 'the law written in the heart,' the 'accusing and excusing conscience,' is ever found to guide all nations more or less, whether savage or civilised, and may be taken for granted unless the contrary be expressed. Indeed, the administration of justice in all countries goes upon this principle. The law always presumes,

even in cases of life and death, that a knowledge of right and wrong, to a considerable degree, falls to the lot of every man, whatever his condition, or opportunities, or calling. A government never thinks it necessary to send to every individual in the state to tell him that, if he steals, or injures his neighbour's goods, or does violence to his person, he will be punished: it takes for granted that every man in the empire knows that such conduct deserves punishment, and it punishes him accordingly; no one dreaming, meanwhile, that there was any hardship in the case, or that the ignorance of the offender, as to what was right and wrong, ought to be held as his excuse.

Whilst we were ruminating upon this point, Bishop Heber's Journal fell into our hands; and, amongst the many delightful images there to be found—for it is full of them—nothing struck us more forcibly than the proofs it gives of the existence of such a sense as this we have been contending for, even amongst the most depraved of our species. Fallen, fallen as the poor Hindoo is in the scale of creation—a liar and the worshipper of a lie—abomination-nursed—leaving his brother to perish by the wayside, and not even robbing the vulture of his bones—still, all defiled as he is, let him but hear a sentiment of natural mercy, or justice, or pity, drop from the lip of the kind-hearted Bishop, howbeit unused to such appeals, and how suddenly and surprisingly is it echoed back from the God within him: what a hearty ‘good, good,’ bursts forth from the voice of his better nature, dumb though it had been, as the son of Cræsus or the Samian wrestler, till this accident gave it a tongue. Or to take a more familiar and homely example—what a volley of applause issues from the one-shilling gallery of a theatre, filled, as it probably is at the moment, with the most abandoned part of a licentious populace, whenever any virtuous sentiment, any one of those ancient and approved *gnomai*, so familiar to the mouth of Joseph Surface, happens to be uttered.

‘Virtutem videant intabescantque relictâ,’

was thought by the satyrist the heaviest curse he could imprecate upon the oppressor's head; so lovely in its own shape did he reckon virtue to be, and so keen the remorse for having abandoned it.

Men, therefore, keep their word (to take Paley's own case) simply because it is *right* to do so. They feel it is right, and ask no further questions. Conscience carries along with it its own authority—its own credentials. The depraved appetites may rebel against it, but they are aware that it is rebellion. This nobler part is still admitted to be sovereign *de jure*. I see and reverence

reverence the better, and follow the worse. All experience confirms the truth of our position. It is acknowledged even by casuists themselves, by Bishop Taylor, for instance, though their craft would rather suffer by the confession, that in cases of duty *first* thoughts are generally best—that deliberation commonly perplexes, often misleads. Yet, on Paley's principle, the reverse of all this ought to happen, for who can imagine that a prospective view of the probable consequences of an action (and this is what supplies the rule) can be the affair of a moment? It would be as reasonable to expect one of De Moivre's Problems on Chances to be solved by intuition. And here we are led to another remark, which may at once serve for an objection to expediency as a rule of conduct, and an argument in favour of a moral sense. Half the good offices of life are required at a moment's warning. To put an extreme case :—I see a man in the act of drowning ; I cannot rescue him but at some risk ; what does expediency dictate ? Perhaps the man's life is not worth so much to society as mine ; perhaps he is a good man, and therefore death will be only a gain to him ; perhaps I am not so, and therefore cannot afford to die or run the chance of it ; perhaps the reverse of all this may be true ; or, perhaps the several particulars on which my conduct is to be regulated in this matter may so clash as to neutralise one another and leave me in suspense. Meanwhile one thing is pretty clear, that the wretch in the water is drowned some half hour or more, before my philosophy on the bank has come to the conclusion that it is expedient, and therefore right, to jump in and save him. What would be the worth of such a principle in the actual affairs of this world ? We do not now put it on its uncertainty, on the errors to which we are exposed in the process of applying it ; we only say, that it is too slow and heaving a principle to be of any practical use in half the cases where it would be called in. We should have a stammering captain to manoeuvre a regiment of sharpshooters. No doubt the fact is, that the law of expediency is that by which great numbers do regulate their conduct, and that in spite of this the world is not quite out of joint, as might be expected, if that principle were so very noxious : yet we are old-fashioned enough to think with Uncle Toby (when asked by Trim how it came to pass that churchmen had so much to do with the making of gunpowder) that an over-ruling Providence can bring good out of any thing. We are old-fashioned enough to think that such a Providence ' does shape our purposes, though hew them how we will ;' and that when it was declared to be '*expedient* that one man should die for the people,' God did make it turn out so, wicked as was the heart, and base as were the motives, that urged that expediency. Nor perhaps are there many con-

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siderations fitted to impress us with a higher notion of the *resources* of the Deity, than that whilst man, as a free-agent, is perpetually thwarting his schemes (as one might suppose), He is still able so to over-rule affairs as to work up these very errors into the web of His 'universal plan,' without the smallest appearance of a botch or a blunder. But this by the way.

We must not conclude our paper without noticing the attempts which have been made to class Paley with the Socinians in doctrines, and with the Wliffs in politics; more especially as the new sermons, published in the present edition of his works, throw some little additional light on the former question, and the new Life on the latter. We are not, indeed, very careful to argue in this matter; for, as we have already said, if we be idolaters of Paley, it is simply of Paley as a writer of Evidences, not as a moralist, not as a doctor, not as a politician. Let, however, justice be done him. Unfair advantage has been taken of particular expressions incidentally used by him. More it seems was meant by them than met the ear. He could not let fall, to be sure, a word or two at random, mere *επεα πτερόεντα*. Thus, for instance, he speaks of 'the excellent Hoadley,' and many have been the inferences to which this has given rise. But when and where does the phrase occur? In a short treatise of which he was afterwards ashamed, (for he never acknowledged it, and did not abide by its principles) written by him, we will not say when a boy, but when a young man, and full of a young man's faults; in defence, too, of a Law, a name which with reason he loved and honoured. What, then, could be more natural, or more excusable, than that taking the low-church side on the subject of subscription, as he was thus led to do, he should bestow a word of unsledged eulogy on the great champion of the low-church party, merely in his character of champion, for it was upon no doctrinal point, after all, that he sung the praises of Hoadley. But if it be meant to say that in his mature years Paley's *doctrines* and those of the Bishop of Bangor were alike, that we deny. Not, indeed, that the Bishop is to be confounded with the Socinian of the present day—they are wide enough asunder; but Paley was vastly farther from him still. Thus we are scarcely acquainted with any divine, not a professed Calvinist, who rates the moral powers and perfections of our nature more meanly than Paley. We hear from him of the 'deep, unfeigned, heart-piercing, heart-sinking sorrow of confession and penitence;' of 'imperfection cleaving to every part of our conduct;' of 'our sins being more than enough to humble us to the earth on the ground of *merit*.' These sentiments (which are not at all in the spirit of Dr. Hoadley) are not uttered by chance; they are the burthen of whole sermons, and

and of many of them. Now this is a cardinal question, for upon it hangs almost all the Socinian controversy. But repentance alone, it may be still said, is enough to blot out these offences, many as they may be, from the mind of the Deity. Paley, however, does not say so; on the contrary, a whole sermon (one of those now published for the first time) is taken up with proving the *natural inefficacy* of repentance even to expiate the sin, much less to procure the reward. But from these premises the doctrine of the atonement follows as a thing of course, and accordingly it is acknowledged by Paley in words as explicit as words can be; it would be illogical, indeed, to deny it, unless he were prepared to admit that mankind were to be left to perish.

‘Something beyond ourselves is the cause of our salvation, is wanting even according to the sound principles of natural religion. When we read in Scripture of the free mercy of God enacted towards us by the death and sufferings of Jesus Christ, then we read of a cause beyond ourselves, and that is the very thing which was wanted to us.’

Again,

‘Christ is the instrument of salvation to all who are saved. The obedient Jew, the virtuous heathen, are saved through him. They do not know this, nor is it necessary they should, though it may be true in fact.’

But it is a waste of words to vindicate Paley upon this head. The thing admits of no dispute.

Then, the Third Person of the Trinity is spoken of by him as ‘a real, efficient, powerful, active *Being*,’ (Ser. xxx.) whose co-operation is essential to the conviction, conversion, and moral welfare of man; whose aid is to be sought by prayer, ‘by constant and peculiar prayer.’ For this, again, is a duty on which Paley insists with as much emphasis, with as reverential a sense of its nature and efficacy, as almost any writer with whom we are acquainted. But it is said that Paley makes no explicit declaration of our Lord’s divinity. Let it be remembered, however, that it is quite characteristic of him to *understate* his argument. No one can read his writings, and not have this observation forced upon him numberless times. Indeed, he expressly avows the practice, and defends it in one of his sermons before the University, (Ser. iv. vol. vii.) It is the practice of many great masters of the art of reasoning, of none more than Bishop Butler. Now, we constantly find Paley speaking of Christ as ‘the *divine* founder of our religion,’ as ‘from the beginning,’ as ‘before Abraham,’ as ‘possessing glory with the Father before the world was,’ as ‘united with the Deity, so as no other Person is united,’ (Ser. xx. vol. vi.) And
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in one instance, (whether the language be his own actually, or only virtually, from having been preached by him), as 'in his death, exciting all nature to sympathise with her expiring Lord, and when he could have summoned the host of heaven to his aid, yielding up his soul an offering for sin.'—*Life*, p. 99.

This last is surely an acknowledgment of the Godhead of the Son; and even the former expressions, when coupled with the consideration we have named, imply, we think, that he who asserted so much believed more: indeed, upon any other supposition, it would not be easy for him to escape from the doctrine of a plurality of Gods.

But, after all, the department of Theology with which alone Paley was thoroughly conversant, was the Evidences. He had not the necessary qualifications for a complete investigation of the *doctrines*, and he knew it. The former was the circle within which alone he chose to walk, in all the theological works which he deliberately published. By these let him be judged. Thus, in order to examine the question of our Lord's Divinity, a knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquity was of the very first importance. The Apostles must have had an opinion upon a subject so serious, (we think, indeed, they express it clearly enough),—it was not likely that they would leave their immediate successors in ignorance of that opinion; or that these, in their turn, would fail to deliver it to those who came next. What their opinion was is shown to demonstration by Bishop Bull, by Bishop Horsley, and in a recent work, of a modesty and learning worthy the best ages of our church, by Mr. Burton, in his '*Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ.*' Paley, however, was unacquainted with the Fathers, at least, he had no further acquaintance with them than what was afforded him by Lardner. Such as it was, he no doubt turned it to great account in his own province; but that province, as we have said, was not the doctrines of Scripture. Had Paley, at his death, ordered all his unpublished papers to be burnt, there would have been little suspicion of his orthodoxy; for it is chiefly grounded on the negative evidence extorted from his sermons. As it is, there is little besides suspicion; and we cannot but feel that there is something ungenerous to the memory of the Prophet who is gone, (how great a one, will not be fully known till the day of account shall disclose the numbers that owe to him 'their own selves,') to fix an obnoxious opinion upon him, on the authority of posthumous documents, and to pick holes in the mantle which he left behind him in his haste. On the whole, this, we think, has been proved,—that he was nothing like a modern Socinian; that he was, at least, something

something more than an ancient Arian; but that the precise shade of his creed cannot be determined by us, and, perhaps, had not been determined by himself.

A word upon the politics of Paley. We have already hinted that the Life of him, by his son, prefixed to these volumes, will tend to set the public right upon this point. It was not easy, indeed, to believe that he was the political priest which his liberal biographer makes him—actuated, we are sure, by no intention to mislead, but simply by the natural disposition of all polemical persons to lay claim to a respectable name. Paley took in his daily newspaper, (a ministerial one by the bye,) read it with avidity, as people in the country are apt to do, and made a vernacular comment or two upon the state questions that chanced to be uppermost, at the club in the evening betwixt the deals, much more concerned as to whether he should cut the king than whether the king would cut him, and as little dreaming that he was a politician, as Sganarelle, the fagot-maker, dreamed that he was a doctor of physic. What, then, would have been his surprise to find himself held up to posterity in the character of a devout Whig, somewhat embarrassed, indeed, by his profession, but in his heart a determined opponent of restrictions in church and state; and even unwilling to accept the Mastership of Jesus College, Cambridge, from a conviction that he should not be able to keep in with Pitt for a month! Has a Master of Jesus College so much to do with the prime-minister of the day, and are the concerns of that learned body, in addition to his other troubles, the subject of so much of a premier's official solicitude? Paley talks, it is true, of the divine right of kings being the same as the divine right of constables; and puts the case of the flock of pigeons striving to gather corn for one, and that, perhaps, the weakest of them all, in a manner, for aught we know, to the satisfaction of a Whig; but if these passages, and a few others such as these, are adduced as fair samples (*medio ex auro*) of Paley's politics, the spirit he was of is not perceived. It was not the humour of the man to wrap up his propositions in cotton wool, otherwise how little could have been made of either of these formidable bug-bears. Suppose he had said that he did not hold the doctrine of divine right, nevertheless that he submitted to every ordinance of man, whether to the king, as supreme, or to the constable, as appointed by the king—what would have been alleged then? Or suppose he had said that the extremely unequal division of property has a very unnatural aspect—that there must be some very great good resulting from it, to justify the state in securing to one subject half a county and to another scarce half-a-crown; and then suppose (as he actually does) he had

had gone on to show that there really was such a good—what would have been said then? Indeed a desire to recur to first principles in *practice*, or to stir the foundations of society, was as alien from the nature of Paley as anything we can imagine. He had a great deal too much of the epicurean in him for any such exploits. He was apt to think (perhaps too apt) all well that ended well. The construction of the House of Commons may be open to a thousand objections:—Paley was not blind to them, nor are we: indeed we know few sights more lamentably ludicrous than an election. Let a stranger be introduced, for the first time, to such a scene—let him be shown a multitude of men reeling about the streets of a borough-town, fighting within an inch of their lives, smashing windows at the Black Bear, or where

‘High in the street, o’erlooking all the place,

The Rampant Lion shows his kingly face.’

and yelling like those animals in Exeter ‘Change at supper time; and then let him be told that these worthies are choosing the senate of England—persons to make the laws that are to bind them and their children, property, limb, and life, and he would certainly think the process unpropitious. Yet, in spite of it all, a number of individuals are thus collected, who transact the business of the nation, and represent its various interests tolerably well. The machinery is hideous, but it produces not a bad article, and with this Paley is satisfied.—The House of Lords, again, is composed, in a great degree, of officers of the army and navy, courtiers, ecclesiastics, young men of one and twenty, and country gentlemen, occupied in the care of their farms, their studs, or their game. This description does not include all, but very many of the members. What should qualify such an assembly for being the court of last appeal in the gravest and most intricate causes? Paley is well aware of the apparent anomaly; the machinery looks unpromising, but still it works well; and again he is content. A standing-army is the bye-word of every liberal politician; it is a ready instrument of oppression in the hands of an arbitrary government, and may stifle the voice of law and reason—*inter arma toga silet*. Paley, of course, perceives all this, but he believes that a certain quantity of military strength is necessary for the well-being of the commonwealth, and he thinks one good soldier and two industrious peasants better than three raw militiamen, too clownish to drill men, and too military to drill turnips. The machinery, he will allow, is dangerous, but again it works well; and again Paley is pleased. It need not be denied, that he now and then puts forth a bold dictum, which artles for a moment—but only let us hear him out. The sting of Paley’s chapters is much more often in the head than the tail.

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He throws in qualifications, and exceptions, and restrictions ~~so~~ numerous (though often inconsiderable when taken individually), that the man-mountain, which at first sight looked ready to turn and overwhelm a nation, is wholly unable to stir, and may be safely gazed at by Lilliputian naturalists, as a very curious and a very innocent monster. For instance, 'government is to be obeyed so long as the interest of the society requires it, and no longer.' 'A second Daniel!' is now the cry set up. *But every* invasion of the constitution, of the liberty and rights of the subject, every stretch of power or prerogative, every breach of promise or oath, does not justify resistance. *But* the positive evil of the abuse, whatever it is, must outweigh the probable evil of the attempt to correct it. *But* the interest of the *whole* society must be consulted, not that of one or more of its parts; so that it was the duty of an American, for instance (the case is Paley's own) (Mor. Philosoph. b. vi. c. 2), to weigh what England was likely to lose by his revolt, as well as what America was likely to gain by it, before he could strike a blow with a clear conscience. *But* the case of oppression must be strongly made out; a species of necessity for opposition must arise; the advantage proposed must be, not indeed certain, yet all but certain:—nothing extravagant, nothing chimerical, nothing doubtful in any considerable degree, can be deemed a sufficient reason for putting the tranquillity of a nation to hazard, and disturbing the calm in which a good man desires to pass the days of his sojourn upon earth. (See Fast Sermon, xvi. vol. vii.) Now, with all these drawbacks, (which we have given as nearly as possible in Paley's own words,) we say the proposition in question is as harmless as the sentence against Antonio, that the Jew might exact the pound of flesh, provided he shed no blood, and did not cut off more or less by the estimation of a hair. Nay, no sooner does he find the people actually in a disposition to vote that the interest of society no longer required government to be obeyed, and that the time was come when redress was to be sought in a change of system, than he hastens to send out a judicious damper (which caused Dr. Parr, we are told, to hang his picture the wrong side upwards,) in the shape of 'Reasons for Contentment, addressed to the Labouring Classes;' and in one of his Fast-day Sermons (vol. vii. ser. xv), he positively goes out of his way to remark that Nineveh was saved, not by a *political change*, for of that we hear nothing, but by a personal reformation among all classes of the community. The truth was, when the question became serious, and the *application* of principles was called for, Paley had too much common sense to be satisfied with that 'enlarged view' of his subject for which Mr. Meadley commends him on an occasion

sion that little justified his praise. Then his 'enlarged view,' if he had ever entertained it in his closet, narrowed surprisingly, and well it might. We do not dispute, that in the obnoxious passages of his Moral Philosophy to which we have referred, and in others like to them, Paley may seem to treat princes and potentates with less ceremony than is their due. But in all this, we are persuaded, there was no mean jealousy of high station at work, much less anything like studied insult intended. It was the Sabine simplicity of Paley's mind, which quite unfitted him for being a respecter of persons. The pomp, the circumstance, the chivalry of rank were lost upon him. He had a touch in him of Peter Bell,—

‘ A primrose on the river's brim,
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more.’

When the idea of a king presented itself to Paley, it was merely that of an individual invested with great substantial power, to be wielded for the benefit of his people. Crown and sceptre, beef-eaters, state-coaches and guardsmen, the trappings, in short, of royalty, did not enter in as elements. Not that he affected contempt of such matters, for he knew human nature too well to think that they were to be despised, but they were not the matters to make any impression on his mind; to use an engraver's phrase, they would not *bite*. He preaches before the judges and grand jury—wigs, trumpets, javelins, white wands, all vanish at once, and he sees nothing before him but a set of fallible men, called upon by their country to rule with diligence; and he suggests to them the true principle, and exhorts them faithfully with all his power. He delivers another sermon to the younger clergy:—he is nothing moved by the gowms, cassocks, and clerical apparatus which offer themselves to his eye; all he can find is an assembly of men of like passions as others, and with some temptations of their own, needing admonition; and admonition he gives them, with a hearty good-will not to be mistaken:—‘Mimic not the vices of higher life, hunt not after great acquaintance;’ ‘be sober, be chaste;’ ‘keep out of public-houses;’ ‘learn to live alone;’ ‘divide your sermons into heads—it may be dispensed with in the hands of a master; in yours, the want of it will produce a bewildered rhapsody.’ These are very homely maxims, and conveyed in very homely phrases, yet there is no assumption of authority in it all, no desire to give offence, no acrimony, no suspicion of the character of his hearers. It was simply the plain speech of a single-hearted man, earnest in his calling, looking upon different stations as merely bringing out different types of man's nature, which was radically the same
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in all; and, indeed, making so little account of artificial distinctions, that whether his congregation were gentle or simple, peasants or prebends, city or village, Paley would give them the very same sermon in the very same words. Let us not make him a politician against his will, and against the general evidence of his life and pursuits. In his serious hours he was occupied, abundantly occupied, in concerns for a clergyman more appropriate, and for any man more weighty.

‘He never seemed to know,’ says his son, ‘that he deserved the name of a politician, and would probably have been equally amused at the grave attempts made to draw him into, or withdraw him from any political bias.’—Life, p. 191.

He would employ himself in his Natural Theology, and then gather his peas for dinner, very likely gathering some hint for his work at the same time. He would converse with his classical neighbour, Mr. Yates, or he would reply to his invitation that he could not come, for that he was busy knitting. He would station himself at his garden wall, which overhung the river, and watch the progress of a cast-iron bridge in building, asking questions of the architect, and carefully examining every pin and screw with which it was put together. He would loiter along a river, with his angle-rod, musing upon what he supposed to pass in the mind of a pike when he bit, and when he refused to bite; or he would stand by the sea-side, and speculate upon what a young shrimp could mean by jumping in the sun.

‘With the handle of his stick in his mouth, he would move about his garden in a short hurried step, now stopping to contemplate a butterfly, a flower, or a snail, and now earnestly engaged in some new arrangement of his flower-pots.’

He would take from his own table to his study the back-bone of a hare or a fish’s head; and he would pull out of his pocket, after a walk, a plant or stone to be made tributary to an argument. His manuscripts were as motley as his occupations; the workshop of a mind ever on the alert: evidences mixed up with memorandums for his will; an interesting discussion brought to an untimely end by the hiring of servants, the letting of fields, sending his boys to school, reproving the refractory members of an hospital; here a dedication, there one of his children’s exercises—in another place a receipt for cheap soup. He would amuse his fireside by family anecdotes:—how one of his ancestors (and he was praised as a pattern of perseverance) separated two pounds of white and black pepper which had been accidentally mixed—‘*patiens pulveris*,’ he might truly have added; and how, when the *Paley arms* were wanted, recourse was had to a family tankard which was supposed

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to bear them, but which he always took a malicious pleasure in insisting had been bought at a sale—

‘ Hæc est
Vita solutorum miserâ ambitione gravique ;’

the life of a man far more happily employed than in the composition of political pamphlets, or in the nurture of political discontent. Nay, when his friend Mr. Carlyle is about going out with Lord Elgin to Constantinople, the very head-quarters of despotism, we do not perceive, amongst the multitude of most characteristic hints and queries which Paley addresses to him, a single fling at the Turk, or a single hope expressed that the day was not very far distant when the Cossacks would be permitted to erect the standard of liberty in his capital.

‘ I will do your visitation for you (Mr. Carlyle was chancellor of the diocese), in case of your absence, with the greatest pleasure—it is neither a difficulty nor a favour.

‘ Observanda—1. Compare every thing with English and Cumberland scenery: e. g., rivers with Eden, groves with Corby, mountains with Skiddaw ; your sensations of buildings, streets, persons, &c. &c.; e. g., whether the Mufti be like Dr. —, the Grand Seigneur, Mr. —.

‘ 2. Give us one day at Constantinople minutely from morning to night—what you do, see, eat, and hear.

‘ 3. Let us know what the common people have to dinner; get, if you can, a peasant’s actual dinner and bottle: for instance, if you see a man working in the fields, call to him to bring the dinner he has with him, and describe it minutely.

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‘ 4. The diversions of the common people; whether they seem to enjoy their amusements, and be happy, and sport, and laugh; farm-houses, or any thing answering to them, and of what kind; same of public-houses, roads.

‘ 5. Their shops; how you get your breeches mended, or things done for you, and how (i. e. well or ill done); whether you see the tailor, converse with him, &c.

‘ 6. Get into the inside of a cottage; describe furniture, utensils, what you find actually doing.

‘ All the stipulations I make with you for doing your visitation is, that you come over to Wearmouth soon after your return, for you will be very entertaining between truth and lying. I have a notion you will find books, but in great confusion as to catalogues, classing, &c.

‘ 7. Describe minutely how you pass one day on ship-board; learn to take and apply lunar, or other observations, and how the midshipmen, &c. do it.

‘ 8. What sort of fish you get, and how dressed. I should think your business would be to make yourself master of the middle Greek. My compliments to Buonaparte, if you meet with him, which I think

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is very likely. Pick up little articles of dress, tools, furniture, especially from low life—as an actual smock, &c.

‘9. What they talk about; company.

‘10. Describe your impression upon first seeing things: upon catching the first view of Constantinople; the novelties of the first day you pass there.

‘In all countries and climates, nations and languages, carry with you the best wishes of, dear Carlyle,

‘Your affectionate friend,

‘W. PALEY.’

Such was Paley. A man singularly without guile, and yet often misunderstood or misrepresented; a man who was thought to have no learning, because he had no pedantry, and who was too little of a quack to be reckoned a philosopher; who would have been infallibly praised as a useful writer on the theory of government, if he had been more visionary—and would have been esteemed a deeper divine, if he had not been always so intelligible; who has been suspected of being never serious because he was often jocular, and before those, it should seem, who were not to be trusted with a joke; who did not deal much in protestations of his faith, counting it proof enough of his sincerity (we are ashamed of noticing even thus far insinuations against it) to bring arguments for the truth of Christianity unanswered and unanswerable—to pour forth exhortations to the fulfilment of the duties enjoined by it, the most solemn and intense—and to evince his own practical sense of its influence, by crowning his labours with a work to the glory and praise of God, at a season when his hand was heaviest upon him—a work which lives, and ever will live, to testify that no pains of body could shake for a moment his firm and settled persuasion, that in every thing, and at every crisis, we are God’s creatures, that life is passed in His constant presence, and that death resigns us to His merciful disposal.

ART. II.—*Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the years 1825-26-27.* By John Franklin, Capt. R. N., F.R.S., &c., and Commander of the Expedition; including an Account of the Progress of a Detachment to the Eastward, by John Richardson, M.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., Surgeon and Naturalist to the Expedition. London. 4to. 1828.

IF Pope had lived in our days, we cannot help thinking that his Muse might not have been indisposed to appropriate one little niche in her

‘Stupendous pile, not rear’d by human hands,’
for the reception of ‘a class of candidates for fame, whom he has
only

only condescended to notice, by huddling them together among the millions who are described as rushing forward, with clamorous din, to pay their devotions at the shrine of the goddess. We allude to those high-spirited, disinterested, and undaunted TRAVELLERS and VOYAGERS engaged in the discovery of unknown regions, who, at the risk of health and life itself, and the sacrifice of every personal comfort and convenience, voluntarily and knowingly subject themselves to the baleful effects of tropical heat and arctic cold, of pestilence and famine—in a word, to the certain endurance of every species of misery that can possibly be inflicted on, or borne by, the human frame. Why men like these should be denied their proper station in the records of that ‘stupendous pile,’ in which the poet, the philosopher, the historian, and the warrior, have been enrolled, it would be difficult to assign any cause but that of inadvertence. If, as the same poet tells us,

‘The proper study of mankind is man,’

those who subject themselves to the perils and hardships which attend the collecting of materials for the pursuit of the ‘study,’ not of man only, but of all the works of creation, are most unquestionably entitled to have their names handed down to the admiration and gratitude of succeeding ages. Let it be recollected, that from those who sustain the dangers and the sufferings

‘Of storms at sea, and travels on the shore,’

we derive all our knowledge of the most interesting portions of the little ball of earth we inhabit. We are well assured that no poet, nor historian, nor biographer of the present day, would think of excluding from their due share of fame such names as those of Cook, and PARRY, and Franklin, or of Park, Denham, Clapperton, and Laing, and many others not necessary for us here to enumerate, whose labours have contributed so much to the knowledge, the benefit, and the rational amusement of their kind.

Captain Franklin must be considered, beyond all dispute, as one whose name has a right to be enrolled, eminently conspicuous, and in durable characters, in that sacred temple to which we have alluded. When we consider what the intensity of his sufferings were on his first expedition along the shores of the Polar sea, how very narrowly he escaped from perishing, by that most lingering and painful process of gradually wasting away—by famine,—almost without the faintest ray of hope that he would be relieved; and that the spark of life had, for some time, been only prolonged, by pieces of bones and scraps of skin, picked out of the ash-heap, and boiled down into a wretched mess of acrid soup; that his lodging was in a ruined hovel pervious to wind and snow, with a temperature of 20° below *zero* of Fahrenheit’s scale; and that the delay

delay of another day, without the arrival of assistance, would, in all human probability, have put an end to his existence and sufferings together—when we contemplate this excellent officer, in this most distressing of all conceivable situations, we cannot sufficiently admire the fortitude and resolution that prompted him to embark a second time on the very same kind of service, liable to the same accidents, and necessarily to the danger of the same kind of hardships. Happily he has succeeded, and brought home himself, and all his people, in as good, and perhaps better, health than when they started. The following testimony, given by Dr. Richardson, is so honourable to his character, that it cannot be made too public.

‘It would not be proper, nor is it my intention, to descant on the professional merits of my superior officer; but, after having served under Captain Franklin for nearly seven years, in two successive voyages of discovery, I trust I may be allowed to say, that however high his brother officers may rate his courage and talents, either in the ordinary line of his professional duty, or in the field of discovery, the hold he acquires upon the affections of those under his command, by a continued series of the most conciliating attentions to their feelings, and an uniform and unremitting regard to their best interests, is not less conspicuous. I feel that the sentiments of my friends and companions, Captain Back and Lieutenant Kendall, are in unison with my own, when I affirm, that gratitude and attachment to our late commanding officer will animate our breasts to the latest period of our lives.’—pp. 236, 237.

Nor can we overlook the able and distinguished services of his coadjutor, Dr. Richardson, to whose energy of character, and promptitude of action, may, in fact, be ascribed the safety of Franklin, and those of the party who survived on the first expedition. He, too, on the late occasion, voluntarily came forward to solicit permission to accompany his friend, though at the temporary sacrifice of abandoning a comfortable situation on shore, which his former services had earned for him, and the still greater sacrifice of leaving behind him a wife and family; so anxious was he to complete the geography, and the natural history of that particular portion of the North American continent lying between the rivers of Hearne and Mackenzie, which he had but partially accomplished on the first journey, but which he has successfully done on the second, as the volume now on our table bears ample testimony.

We deem it unnecessary to follow Captain Franklin and his party through the numerous obstructions and difficulties they encountered, sometimes hurried away with, and sometimes struggling against, the streams of rivers, and dragging their boats and baggage across the portages which separate the waters, or which are

crossed to avoid dangerous or impracticable rapids; still less necessary is it for us to enter into any details of the journey over a large portion of North America, which has already been described in the narrative of a former expedition. No portion of this country is by any means inviting; and the wandering groups of native Indians are better calculated to excite compassion than any pleasurable feeling. We shall, therefore, take up the present journal at that part of it where the Great Bear Lake River, flowing out of the lake of the same name, joins the Mackenzie River. It was on the banks of the former, that the party resolved to take up their winter-quarters, and to build a habitation and store, to which, when completed, they gave the name (in honour of their revered commander) of Fort Franklin. This was done in imitation of the North West Fur Company, who give to all their stations the name of *forts*, they being to a certain degree places of defence against, as well as depôts for trade with, the native Indians.*

Having reached this spot so early as the 7th August, Franklin calculated that, by setting off immediately, sufficient time would be allowed him to reach the sea at the mouth of the Mackenzie, and return to winter-quarters before the severity of the cold should have set in. He conceived that, by taking a view of the state of the Polar Sea, at that season, with regard to ice, and of the trending of the coast to the westward, he would be enabled to form a tolerably correct notion as to the probability of next year's success. Accordingly, while those best fitted for the purpose were left to complete the construction of the houses, he, with another party, set out on an expedition down the Bear Lake River and the Mackenzie, to the junction of the latter with the sea. We perceive nothing in his progress that deserves particular notice, except the following passage:—

'A few miles above the Bear Lake River, and near its mouth, the banks of the Mackenzie contain much wood-coal, which was on fire at the time we passed, as it had been observed to be by Mackenzie in his voyage to the sea. Its smell was very disagreeable. On a subsequent trial of this coal at our winter-quarters, we found that it emitted little heat, and was unfit for the blacksmith's use. The banks likewise contain layers of a kind of unctuous mud, similar, perhaps, to that found on the borders of the Orinoco, which the Indians, in this neighbourhood, use occasionally as food during seasons of famine, and even, at other times, chew as an amusement. It has a milky taste, and the flavour is not disagreeable. We used it for whitening the walls of our dwellings; for which purpose it is well adapted.'—p. 19.

The Mackenzie falls into the sea in numerous large branches,

* The position of Fort Franklin was determined to be in lat. $65^{\circ} 11' 56''$ N., long. $123^{\circ} 12' 44''$ W. The variation of the compass $39^{\circ} 9' E'$, dip of the needle $82^{\circ} 58' 15''$.
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intersecting an extensive delta of alluvial soil. Captain Franklin was satisfied, on reaching the Whale Island of Mackenzie, the extreme of that enterprising traveller's progress, that he too had reached the sea, but, on tasting the water, found it to be perfectly fresh; which circumstance may have influenced Mackenzie in not making any mention of what might have raised a doubt whether he had really succeeded in reaching the sea. Franklin, however, did taste the water; and, though perfectly fresh, was not the less certain, from the great expansion of water to the northward, and the sudden diverging of the shore, that, at this point, he had in fact entered into the Polar Sea; and he states that he was the more confirmed in this opinion by the appearance of a seal sporting about the boat. The presence of these animals, however, is by no means a test for the presence of the ocean: they have no objection to fresh water; as is proved by the abundance that are found in the lake Baikal, which is more than a thousand miles from the sea. That they *sometimes* visit fresh-water rivers was not unknown to Virgil:

. . . insolitæ fugiunt in flumina phocæ.

Franklin, however, with a determination to leave no doubt remaining as to the fact, pushed on towards an island much farther out, which looked blue from its distance; and, 'under its shelter, the boat passed a line of strong ripples, which marked the termination of the fresh water, that on the seaward side being brackish; and in the further progress of three miles to the island, we had the indescribable pleasure of finding the water decidedly salt.'

To this island Franklin gave the name of Garry. Its latitude $69^{\circ} 29' N.$, longitude $135^{\circ} 41' W.$, variation of the needle $51^{\circ} 42' E.$; temperature of the air 52° —of the sea water 51° —of the fresh water 55° . It abounded with layers of wood-coal, similar to that found in the Mackenzie, besides a bituminous liquid trickling down the sides of the cliff. The discovery of this bituminous shale might have been attended with dangerous, perhaps fatal, consequences. 'In the course of the evening,' says Captain Franklin, 'I found that a piece of the wood-coal from Garry's Island, which I had placed in my pocket, had ignited spontaneously, and scorched the metal powder-horn by its side.' Small as this island is, numbers of moose and reindeer, and foxes, were seen upon it; and several kinds of gulls, dotterels, geese, cranes, and swans were flocking around its shores. The vegetation consisted of various shrubby plants in flower, grasses, and mosses; the beach covered with pebbles of granite, greenstone, quartz, and lydian-stone.

When Captain Franklin left England to proceed on this expedition, he had to undergo a severe struggle between the feelings of affection and a sense of duty; his wife then lying at the point

of death, and, with heroic fortitude, urging his departure at the very day appointed—entreating him, as he valued her peace and his own glory, not to delay a moment on her account: she died, we believe, the day after he left her. This will explain the allusion to personal sorrows in the following passage—a passage which will speak to the heart of every one who is capable of understanding the grace that domestic tenderness lends to the gallant fortitude of public enterprise:—

‘ During our absence, the men had pitched the tent on the beach, and I caused the silk union-flag to be hoisted, which my deeply-lamented wife had made and presented to me, as a parting gift, under the express injunction that it was not to be unfurled before the expedition reached the sea. I will not attempt to describe my emotions as it expanded to the breeze; however natural, and, for the moment, irresistible, I felt that it was my duty to suppress them, and that I had no right, by an indulgence of my own sorrows, to cloud the animated countenances of my companions. Joining, therefore, with the best grace that I could command, in the general excitement, I endeavoured to return, with corresponding cheerfulness, their warm congratulations on having thus planted the British flag on this remote island of the Polar Sea.’—p. 36.

Being fully satisfied and highly delighted with the favourable prospect of the land and sea to the westward, from this advanced position, the party made the best of their way back, and joined their companions at winter-quarters on the 5th September. About the same time Dr. Richardson returned from the north-eastern shores of Great Bear Lake, where it approached nearest to Coppermine River, whither he had proceeded, for the purpose of fixing upon a spot to which he might bring his party, the following year, from the mouth of that river, in the event of his reaching this ultimate object of his research.

The several northern expeditions have rendered the passing of a long dreary winter so familiar, that little now is thought of it. Employment, however, to shorten the time is quite necessary; and the party under Franklin appear to have had a sufficient share of it. The Canadians and the Indians were engaged in fishing and hunting for the support of the whole party: during the autumn the fishing was so successful, that the nets yielded daily from three to eight hundred fish of the kind called ‘ herring salmon,’ and occasionally trout, tittameg, and carp. The rein-deer furnished them but scantily with flesh-meat, and in the winter the supply of this article ceased altogether. The officers had ample employment in making and registering the thermometrical, magnetical, and atmospherical observations, in writing up their journals, finishing the charts, drawings, and sketches, examining and arranging the objects of natural history which had been collected, and in various other matters. Persons of education
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and intelligence seldom find any difficulty about selecting such means to occupy the mind and pass away the time; but this is not the case with the uneducated. Aware of the necessity of providing occupation for these, Captain Franklin adopted the plan he thus describes:—

‘As the days shortened, it was necessary to find employment during the long evenings, for those resident at the house, and a school was, therefore, established, on three nights of the week, from seven o’clock to nine, for their instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic; and it was attended by most of the British party. They were divided in equal portions amongst the officers, whose labour was amply repaid by the advancement their pupils made: some of those who began with the alphabet learned to read and write with tolerable correctness. Sunday was a day of rest; and, with the exception of two or three of the Canadians, the whole party uniformly attended Divine service, morning and evening. If, on the other evenings for which no particular occupation was appointed, the men felt the time tedious, or if they expressed a wish to vary their employments, the hall was at their service, to play any game they might choose; and on these occasions they were invariably joined by the officers. By thus participating in their amusements, the men became more attached to us, at the same time that we contributed to their health and cheerfulness. The hearts and feelings of the whole party were united in one common desire to make the time pass as agreeably as possible to each other, until the return of spring should enable them to resume the great object of the expedition.’—pp. 54, 55.

Every thing seems to have gone on pretty well till the end of the year, but, owing to the extreme severity of the weather in the months of January and February, the sources from whence they had derived their food failed them. All the animals but the wolf and the fox had migrated to the southward; the stock of dried meat was expended; the fish caught did not allow more than three or four small herrings to each man, and being out of season, not only afforded very little nourishment, but caused frequent and general indisposition. Under such circumstances they were obliged to have recourse to their provision of pemmican and portable soup, which had been set apart for the voyage along the sea-coast. Towards March, however, their situation began to improve.

‘From this period we had a sufficient supply of provision, because the fisheries improved, and we received deer from time to time. The men who had been indisposed gained strength, from the increased quantity, and amended quality, of the food; and we had also the gratification of seeing the dogs daily fatten, amidst the general plenty. The conduct of the men during the season of scarcity was beyond all praise; and the following anecdote is worthy of record, as displaying the excellent feeling of a British seaman, and as speaking the sentiments

men of the whole party. Talking with Robert Spinks as to the difference of his present food from that to which he had been accustomed on board ship, I said I was glad the necessity was over of keeping them on short allowance. "Why, Sir," said he, "we never minded about the short allowance, but were fearful of having to use the pemmican intended for next summer; we only care about the next voyage, and shall all be glad when the spring comes, that we may set off; besides, at the worst time, we could always spare a fish for each of our dogs."—p. 72.

In the winter season of this severe climate, the poor Indians suffer greatly, and numbers of them perish for want of food; and this difficulty of procuring sustenance frequently induces them to destroy their female children at their birth. Captain Franklin mentions two women who, just after leaving the fort, were delivered, one of a male the other of a female child, the latter of which was immediately put to death. This custom, however, is by no means common, as would appear from the following incident:—

'The wife of one of our Dog-Rib hunters brought her only child, a female, for medical advice. As she entered the room it was evident that the hand of death was upon it. In the absence of Dr. Richardson, who happened to be out, all the remedies were applied that were judged likely to be of service; and as soon as he returned, there being yet a faint pulsation, other means were tried, but in vain. So gentle was its last sigh, that the mother was not at first aware of its death, and continued to press the child against her bosom. As soon, however, as she perceived that life had fled, she cast herself on the floor in agony, heightened by the consciousness of having delayed to seek relief till too late, and by apprehension of the anger of her husband, who was dearly attached to the child. The Indians evinced their participation in her affliction by silence, and a strong expression of pity in their countenances. At the dawn of day the poor creature, though almost exhausted by her ceaseless lamentation, carried the body across the lake for interment.'—pp. 64, 65.

It has often been remarked with what exactness the migratory animals observe the periods of their arrival and departure. In the northern regions of America, they serve as infallible guides to point out the change of seasons to the untutored Indians. Thus the appearance of swans, and the departure of geese, are the certain signs, the one of the approach of spring, the other of winter. Dr. Richardson has kept a curious 'register of phenomena connected with the progress of the seasons at Fort Franklin.' From this it appears, that on the 11th of September the muskitoes cease to be troublesome; on the 2d of October the *first* ice was observed, and on the 5th, the *last* swan passed to the southward; on the 7th, the *last* rain fell—on the 11th, the *last* brown

brown duck was noticed. On the 6th of May, the *first* swans were seen; on the 7th, the geese appeared; on the 8th, the ducks; and on the 9th the gulls arrived;—on the 11th, the *first* shower fell; on the 16th, the mosses began to sprout; on the 17th, various singing birds and orioles made their appearance, and some swifts and white geese arrived; on the 27th, the laughing-geese were *first* seen; and on the 31st, the goat-suckers brought up the rear;—on the 3d of June, the dwarf-birch, willows, and shrubby-potentilla were in leaf—and the anemones, tussilagons, and the Lapland rose, (*rhododendron lapponicum*,) and several other plants, were in full flower; and on the 26th July, ripe whortle-berries were brought to the Fort. The lowest temperature occurred on the 1st of January, when Fahrenheit's thermometer descended to -49° ; the highest, between the 1st and 10th, was $-8^{\circ} 8'$; and the mean, $-29^{\circ} 7'$.

By the 15th of June the equipments of the boats were completed. Fourteen men, including Augustus, (the Esquimaux interpreter,) were appointed to accompany Captain Franklin and Lieutenant Back, in the Lion and Reliance, the two larger boats; and ten, including Ooligbuck, (another Esquimaux,) to go with Dr. Richardson and Mr. Kendall, in the Dolphin and Unicorn,—the former party to proceed to the westward, the latter to the eastward, of the mouth of the Mackenzie river. On the 28th of June they all quitted the fort, descended the Mackenzie, and on the 4th July reached that part of the river where it divides into various channels, and where the two parties were to pursue different directions. 'We felt,' says Capt. Franklin, 'that we were only separating to be employed on services of equal interest; and we looked forward with delight to our next meeting, when, after a successful termination, we might record the incidents of our respective voyages.' Augustus, he says, was rather melancholy, as might be expected, on his parting from Ooligbuck, to proceed he knew not whither; but he recovered his wonted flow of spirits by the evening.

The western party had scarcely cleared the branch of the river down which they descended, when they discovered a crowd of tents on an island, with a number of Esquimaux strolling among them. Captain Franklin wished to open a communication with these people, but gave orders that the boats should be kept afloat, and that on no account should any one fire upon them, even if they showed any marks of hostility, until himself or Lieut. Back should set them the example. On approaching the island they made signs to the Esquimaux to come off. They did so, and 'we endeavoured,' says Franklin, 'to count their numbers as they approached, and had proceeded as far as seventy-three canoes and five

five *oomiaks*, when the sea became so crowded by fresh arrivals that we could advance no farther in our reckoning.' An amicable trade speedily took place, till an incident happened which produced unforeseen and annoying consequences :—

' A *kaiyack* being overset by one of the *Lion's* oars, its owner was plunged into the water with his head in the mud, and apparently in danger of being drowned. We instantly extricated him from his unpleasant situation, and took him into the boat until the water could be thrown out of his *kaiyack* ; and Augustus, seeing him shivering with cold, wrapped him up in his own great coat. At first he was exceedingly angry, but soon became reconciled to his situation, and looking about, discovered that we had many bales, and other articles, in the boat, which had been concealed from the people in the *kaiyacks*, by the coverings being carefully spread over all. He soon began to ask for every thing he saw, and expressed much displeasure on our refusing to comply with his demands ; he also, we afterwards learned, excited the cupidity of others by his account of the inexhaustible riches in the *Lion*, and several of the younger men endeavoured to get into both our boats, but we resisted all their attempts.'—pp. 101, 102.

They now pressed forward in crowds, and stole every thing they could lay their hands on. They began to drag the *Reliance* towards the shore, and soon after her the *Lion* :—

' Two of the most powerful men, jumping on board at the same time, seized me by the wrists and forced me to sit between them ; and as I shook them loose two or three times, a third *Esquimaux* took his station in front to catch my arm whenever I attempted to lift my gun, or the broad dagger which hung by my side. The whole way to the shore they kept repeating the word "*teyma*," beating gently on my left breast with their hands, and pressing mine against their breasts. As we neared the beach, two *oomiaks*, full of women, arrived, and the "*teymas*" and vociferation were redoubled. The *Reliance* was first brought to the shore, and the *Lion* close to her a few seconds afterwards. The three men who held me now leaped ashore, and those who had remained in their canoes taking them out of the water, carried them to a little distance. A numerous party then drawing their knives, and stripping themselves to the waist, ran to the *Reliance*, and having first hauled her as far up as they could, began a regular pillage, handing the articles to the women, who, ranged in a row behind, quickly conveyed them out of sight.'—p. 104.

In short, after a furious contest, in which knives were brandished in the most threatening manner, and several of the men had their clothes cut through, Lieutenant Back ordered his people to seize and level their muskets, but not to fire till the word was given ; this had the desired effect ; the whole party taking to their heels, and hiding themselves behind the drift timber on the beach. Captain Franklin still thought it best to temporize while the boats were lying

lying aground, for, armed as they were with long knives, bows, arrows, and spears, fire-arms could not have been used with advantage; and he states his conviction, that such was the high excitement to which they had wrought themselves, that the first blood his party had shed would instantly have been revenged by the sacrifice of all their lives.

Augustus now volunteered to go on shore and remonstrate with his countrymen on their bad conduct; they pleaded in mitigation thereof that they had never seen white people before, and that every thing was so new to them and so desirable, that they could not resist the temptation of stealing; they promised they would never do the like again; and as a proof of their sincerity, restored the articles that had been stolen. Their real intention, however, as it afterwards appeared, was to possess themselves of all the property by murdering the whole party. After this, the exploring party met with no interruption from the natives, with whom they had frequent intercourse as they proceeded along the coast, sometimes meeting with very numerous parties, taking the precaution, however, of keeping the boats afloat, as far as it was possible, whenever they approached their stations.

It was observed that the farther they advanced to the westward the native Esquimaux bore a nearer resemblance to those well-known Tartar features of high cheek bones and small elongated eyes:—

‘Every man had pieces of bone or shells thrust through the septum of his nose; and holes were pierced on each side of the under lip, in which were placed circular pieces of ivory, with a large blue bead in the centre, similar to those represented in the drawings of the natives on the N.W. coast of America, in Kotzebue’s Voyage. These ornaments were so much valued, that they declined selling them; and when not rich enough to procure beads or ivory, stones and pieces of bone were substituted. These perforations are made at the age of puberty; and one of the party, who appeared to be about fourteen years old, was pointed out, with delight, by his parents, as having to undergo the operation in the following year. He was a good-looking boy, and we could not fancy his countenance would be much improved by the insertion of the bones or stones, which have the effect of depressing the under lip, and keeping the mouth open.’—p. 118.

With regard to the women, Captain Franklin observes,

‘Their own black hair is very tastefully turned up from behind to the top of the head, and tied by strings of white and blue beads, or cords of white deer-skin. It is divided in front, so as to form on each side a thick tail, to which are appended strings of beads that reach to the waist. The women were from four feet and a half to four and three-quarters high, and generally fat. Some of the younger females, and the children, were pretty. The lady whose portrait adorns this
work,

work, was mightily pleased at being selected by Lieutenant Back for his sketch, and testified her joy by smiles and many jumps. The men, when sitting for their portraits, were more sedate, though not less pleased, than the females; some of them remarked that they were not handsome enough to be taken to our country.'—p. 119.

Having passed the first range of the Rocky Mountains, and between it and the second, a large river, at least two miles broad, was observed to empty itself into the Polar Sea, after coming, as the Esquimaux informed them, from a distant part of the interior. Near to Herschel's Island, in latitude $69^{\circ} 33' N.$ longitude $139^{\circ} 3' W.$, was another river, which they call the Mountain Indian River. Here they fell in with a party of Esquimaux, who traded up that river and to the westward with their countrymen, who obtain their goods from white people, and which Franklin had no doubt, from the appearance of the articles, were of Russian manufacture. There is another large river, to which they gave the name of Clarence: they found among the drift timber on the beach a pine-tree, seven feet and a quarter in girth and thirty-six feet long, and many others were seen of not much inferior size, which must have grown considerably to the southward.

From the moment the expedition left the mouth of the Mackenzie River scarcely a day passed that the atmosphere was not, at some portion of it, so loaded with fog as to hide every object that was distant only a few miles, and sometimes so dense as to prevent them from seeing one end of the boat from the other. This state of the air is undoubtedly, of all others, the most hazardous for boat navigation in an icy sea. On the former expedition to the eastward of the Coppermine River they had generally clear weather; here a clear blue sky was a rare phenomenon. Captain Franklin asks, 'whence arises this difference?' and answers it, as we think, satisfactorily enough. By reason of the low and swampy land that lies between the Rocky Mountains and the sea coast—the very shallow sea washing that coast, which at the distance of three or four miles, in some places, was found to be scarcely deep enough to float their boats—and the numerous masses of ice brought down by the northerly winds, and grounded every where along this low coast—there is a constant exhalation of moisture during the summer months, which the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains prevents being carried away, and which is therefore condensed into a thick fog.

It was the 16th of August before the boats had reached the half-way point between the Mackenzie River and Icy Cape. At this early period the young ice began to form at night on the pools of fresh water; the summer, if a constant succession of northerly gales (and fogs could be so called, was nearly at an end, as experience

experience on a former voyage had taught Franklin to conclude. He had then witnessed at a day later, and at two degrees more southerly, the commencement of severe storms of wind and snow, and found that, in the course of another fortnight, winter had fairly set in with all its severity. The sun had now begun to sink below the horizon; the temperature rarely exceeded 37° of Fahrenheit; the autumnal flight of geese and other birds had commenced; the deer were hastening from the coast; no Esquimaux had recently made their appearance, and no longer any indication of winter-houses, to denote this part of the coast to be frequented by these people—in whom, as recent experience had taught, little reliance can be placed with safety. Under all these circumstances, one course only was left for Franklin to pursue.

‘Till our tedious detention at Foggy Island, we had no doubt of ultimate success; and it was with no ordinary pain that I could now bring myself even to think of relinquishing the great object of my ambition, and of disappointing the flattering confidence that had been reposed in my exertions. But I had higher duties to perform than the gratification of my own feelings; and a mature consideration of all the above matters forced me to the conclusion, that we had reached the point, beyond which perseverance would be rashness, and our best efforts would be fruitless. In order to put the reader completely in possession of the motives which would have influenced me, had I been entirely a free agent, I have mentioned them without allusion to the clause in my instructions which directed me to commence my return on the 15th or 20th of August, “if, in consequence of slow progress, or other unforeseen accident, it should remain doubtful whether we should be able to reach Kotzebue’s Inlet the same season.”

In the evening I communicated my determination to the whole party; they received it with the good feeling that had marked their conduct throughout the voyage, and they assured me of their cheerful acquiescence in any order I should give. The readiness with which they would have prosecuted the voyage, had it been advisable to do so, was the more creditable, because many of them had their legs swelled and inflamed from continually wading in ice-cold water while launching the boats, not only when we accidentally run on shore, but every time that it was requisite to embark or to land upon this shallow coast. Nor were these symptoms to be overlooked in coming to a determination; for though no one who knows the resolute disposition of British sailors can be surprised at their more than readiness to proceed, I felt that it was my business to judge of their capability of so doing, and not to allow myself to be seduced by their ardour, however honourable to them and cheering to me.’—pp. 162, 163.

It was fortunate he came to this resolution. Captain Beechey, who proceeded one hundred and twenty miles beyond Icy Cape, arrived on the 24th of August at a low sandy spot, extending so far to the northward, as to make it impossible to proceed round it; and

and the weather was so tempestuous, that it was with the utmost difficulty that officer's barge got back to Kotzebue Sound, to rejoin the Blossom.

' Could I have known, (says Franklin) or by possibility imagined, that a party from the Blossom had been at the distance of only one hundred and sixty miles from me, no difficulties, dangers, or discouraging circumstances should have prevailed on me to return; but taking into account the uncertainty of all voyages in a sea obstructed by ice, I had no right to expect that the Blossom had advanced beyond Kotzebue Inlet, or that any party from her had doubled Icy Cape. It is useless now to speculate on the probable result of a proceeding which did not take place; but I may observe, that, had we gone forward as soon as the weather permitted, namely, on the 15th, it is scarcely possible that any change of circumstances could have enabled us to overtake the Blossom's barge.' *—p. 165.

The distance of the coast, traced westward from the mouth of the Mackenzie, was three hundred and seventy-four miles, without discovering in all that space one harbour in which a ship could find shelter. It is, in fact, one of the most dreary, miserable, and uninteresting portions of sea-coast to be found in any part of the world.

On their return the party had to encounter a more severe gale than any which occurred in their advance.

' As the afternoon wore away, gloomy clouds gathered in the north-west; and at six a violent squall came from that quarter, attended with snow and sleet. The gale increased with rapidity: in less than ten minutes the sea was white with foam, and such waves were raised as I had never before been exposed to in a boat. The spray and sea broke over us incessantly, and it was with difficulty that we could keep free by heaving. Our little vessels went through the water with great velocity under a close-reefed sail, hoisted about three feet up the main-mast, and proved themselves to be very buoyant. Their small size, however, and the nature of their construction, necessarily adapted for the navigation of shallow rivers, unfitting them for withstanding the sea then running, we were in imminent danger of foundering. I therefore resolved on making for the shore, as the only means of saving the party, although I was aware that, in so doing, I incurred the hazard of staving the boats, there being few places on this part of the coast where there was sufficient beach under the broken cliffs. The wind blowing along the land, we could not venture on exposing the boat's side to the sea by hauling directly in, but, edging away with

* Captain Franklin adds, in a note, 'I have recently learned, by letter from Captain Beechey, that the barge turned back on the 25th of August, having been several days beset by the ice. He likewise informs me, that the summer of 1827 was so unfavourable for the navigation of the northern coast of America, that the Blossom did not reach so high a latitude as in the preceding year; nor could his boat get so far to the east of Icy Cape, by one hundred miles. The natives, he says, were numerous, and, in some instances, ill-disposed.'

the wind in that quarter, we most providentially took the ground in a favourable spot. The boats were instantly filled with the surf, but they were unloaded and dragged up without having sustained any material damage. Impressed with a sense of gratitude for the signal deliverance we had experienced on this and other occasions, we assembled in the evening to offer up praise and thanksgiving to the Almighty.—pp. 172, 173.

On the 21st of September this western expedition reached Fort Franklin, where they had the happiness of meeting all their friends, the eastern detachment under Dr. Richardson having arrived on the 1st, after a most successful voyage, at which we must now take a passing glance.

Dr. Richardson was much more fortunate than the western party in the nature of the navigation he had to perform, and of the coast between the mouths of the two rivers. It is a voyage of about five hundred miles, which he accomplished between the 4th of July and the 8th of August. The Esquimaux they met with on various parts of the coast, as well as on the islands formed by the reaches of the Mackenzie River, were more numerous, more peaceable, and, apparently, more wealthy, than those to the westward; but, like all savage nations, they missed no opportunity of stealing, while carrying on barter, whatever they could lay hands on. However, with the exception of one party, who had about fifty kayacks, no violence was attempted. This exception was occasioned by the boats grounding, when an attack, similar to that on Franklin, was made, but immediately repelled by the show of fire-arms, the use of which the aggressors appeared perfectly to understand, the result, no doubt, of experience acquired in contests with the neighbouring Indians.

Their winter-huts are of a superior kind; they are met with in whole villages, constructed of driftwood trees, planted generally in the sand with their roots uppermost. 'These villages,' says Dr. Richardson, 'when seen through a hazy atmosphere, frequently resembled a crowd of people, and sometimes we fancied they were not unlike the spires of a town appearing above the horizon.' The size and quantity of this timber is quite surprising. One straight log of spruce fir is mentioned, thirty feet long, seven feet in circumference at the small end, and twelve a short distance above the root. 'There is such an abundance of drift-timber,' says Dr. Richardson, 'on almost every part of the coast, that a sufficient supply of fuel for a ship might easily be collected; and,' he adds, 'should the course of events ever introduce a steam-vessel into those seas, it may be important to know that, in coasting the shores between Cape Bathurst and the Mackenzie, firewood sufficient for her daily consumption may be gathered.' The following

following is the description of an Esquimaux village, in which was one very curious building :—

'The large building for an assembly-room was, in the interior, a square of twenty-seven feet, having the log-roof supported on two strong ridge poles, two feet apart, and resting on four upright posts. The floor in the centre, formed of split logs, dressed and laid with great care, was surrounded by a raised border about three feet wide, which was, no doubt, meant for seats. The walls, three feet high, were inclined outwards, for the convenience of leaning the back against them, and the ascent to the door, which was on the south side, was formed of logs. The outside, covered with earth, had nearly a hemispherical form, and round its base there were ranged the skulls of twenty-one whales. There was a square hole in the roof, and the central log of the floor had a basin-shaped cavity, one foot in diameter, which was, perhaps, intended for a lamp. The general attention to comfort in the construction of the village, and the erection of a building of such magnitude, requiring an union of purpose in a considerable number of people, are evidences of no small progress towards civilization. Whale skulls were confined to the large building, and to one of the dwelling-houses, which had three or four placed round it. Many wooden trays, and land-barrows for carrying whale-blubber, were lying on the ground, most of them in a state of decay.'—pp. 216, 217.

One more extract respecting this people, and we have done with them.

'The females, unlike those of the Indian tribes, had much handsomer features than the men; and one young woman of the party would have been deemed pretty even in Europe. Our presents seemed to render them perfectly happy, and they danced with such ecstasy in their slender boats as to incur, more than once, great hazard of being upset. A bundle of strings of beads being thrown into an oomiak, it was caught by an old woman, who hugged the treasure to her breast with the strongest expression of rapture, while another elderly dame, who had stretched out her arms in vain, became the very picture of despair. On my explaining, however, that the present was for the whole, an amicable division instantly took place; and to show their gratitude, they sang a song to a pleasing air, keeping time with their oars. They gave us many pressing invitations to pass the night at their tents, in which they were joined by the men; and to excite our liberality the mothers drew the children out of their wide boots, where they are accustomed to carry them naked, and holding them up, begged beads for them. Their entreaties were, for a time, successful; but being desirous of getting clear of our visitors before breakfast-time, we at length told them that our stock was exhausted, and they took leave.'—pp. 225, 226.

On the 8th of August, the party reached the mouth of the Coppermine River, after a prosperous, and, as it appears, a pleasant

sant excursion, the weather being generally fine, and the atmosphere clear, differing altogether from that which the western expedition had to encounter. The following paragraph states what is so highly creditable to Lieut. Kendall, that it would be unjust to withhold it.

‘The completion of our sea voyage so early in the season was a subject of mutual congratulation to us all; and to Mr. Kendall and myself it was highly gratifying to behold our men still fresh and vigorous, and ready to commence the laborious march across the barren grounds, with the same spirit that they had shown in overcoming the obstacles which presented themselves to their progress by sea. We all felt that the comfort and ease with which the voyage had been performed were greatly owing to the judicious and plentiful provision of stores and food which Captain Franklin had made for us; and gratitude for his care mingling with the pleasure excited by our success, and directing our thoughts more strongly to his party, the most ardent wishes were expressed that they might prove equally fortunate. The correctness of Mr. Kendall’s reckoning was another source of pleasure. Having been deprived of the aid of chronometers, by the breaking of the two intended for the eastern detachment of the Expedition, during the intense winter cold, our only resource for correcting the dead reckoning was lunar observations, made as frequently as opportunities offered; yet when we approached the Coppermine River, Mr. Kendall’s reckoning differed from the position of that place, as ascertained on Captain Franklin’s former Expedition, only twenty seconds of time, or about two miles and a half of distance, which is a very trifling difference when the length of the voyage and the other circumstances are taken into consideration. The distance between Point Separation and the mouth of the Coppermine River, by the route we pursued, is nine hundred and two statute miles.’—pp. 261, 262.

Though geographical discovery was the first object of Franklin’s expedition, the officers engaged in it were eminently qualified to collect materials and make observations on all subjects connected with science. In the winter evenings, at Fort Franklin, Dr. Richardson delivered a course of lectures to the party on practical geology, from which most of them gathered a general knowledge of what specimens of earths and rock it was desirable to collect. Captain Franklin is an admirable navigator, and fully acquainted with the use of every kind of instrument for astronomical, meteorological, and magnetical purposes. Commander Back is no mean draughtsman, as the numerous and well-executed prints in the volume, all taken from his drawings, sufficiently testify; and Lieut. Kendall draws charts in a very superior manner. The result of their scientific labours are chiefly thrown into an Appendix, but incidental notices are interspersed throughout the narrative. Of these we select a few instances.

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In various parts of the coast bituminous shale was noticed, which in two or three places was on fire, giving out much smoke. Dr. Richardson informs the general reader, that the shale takes fire in consequence of its containing a considerable quantity of sulphur in a state of such minute division, that it very readily attracts oxygen from the atmosphere; and the combustion is rendered more lively by the presence of bitumen. A coast situated so high within the Arctic circle cannot be expected to furnish either an ample or luxuriant Flora. The following is a summary of the vegetable products of that part of the coast visited by Dr. Richardson.

'We noticed on the coast about one hundred and seventy *phænogamous*, or flowering plants, being one-fifth of the number of species which exist fifteen degrees of latitude farther to the southward. The grasses, bents, and rushes, constitute only one-fifth of the number of species on the coast, but the two former tribes actually cover more ground than all the rest of the vegetation. The cruciferous, or cross-like tribe, afford one-seventh of the species, and the compound flowers are nearly as numerous. The *shrubby plants* that reach the sea-coast are the common juniper, two species of willow, the dwarf birch (*Betula glandulosa*), the common alder, the hippophae, a gooseberry, the red bearberry (*Arbutus uva ursi*), the Labrador tea plant (*Ledum palustre*), the Lapland rose (*Rhododendron lapponicum*), the hog whortleberry (*Vaccinium uliginosum*), and the crawberry (*Empetrum nigrum*). The kidney-leaved oxyria grows in great luxuriance there, and occasionally furnished us with an agreeable addition to our meals, as it resembles the garden sorrel in flavour, but is more juicy and tender. It is eaten by the natives, and must, as well as many of the cress-like plants, prove an excellent corrective of the gross, oily, rancid, and frequently putrid meat, on which they subsist. The small bulbs of the Alpine bistort (*Polygonum viviparum*), and the long, succulent, and sweet roots of many of the *astragaleæ*, which grow on the sandy shores, are eatable; but we did not learn that the Esquimaux were acquainted with their use. A few clumps of white spruce-fir, with some straggling black spruces and canoe birches, grow at the distance of twenty or thirty miles from the sea, in sheltered situations, on the banks of rivers.'—pp. 264, 265.

Captain Franklin has inserted a brief account of a journey made into the Rocky Mountains by Mr. Drummond, the assistant botanist, which is extremely interesting, as shewing the hardships to which these 'cullies of simples' voluntarily expose themselves for the sake of adding one or two new specimens of plants to the thirty or forty thousand species already known. Thus, in the midst of snow, and without a tent, sheltered only from the inclemency of the weather by a hut built of the branches of trees, and depending for subsistence from day to day on a solitary Indian

dian hunter, 'I obtained,' says the amiable and enthusiastic Mr. Drummond, 'a few mosses; and, on Christmas day, I had the pleasure of finding a very minute *gymnostomum*, hitherto undescribed.' We shall not, we hope, be classed with those "who see nothing but food for merriment in such devotion—in the true heroism of science. The following passage may afford some idea of a winter thus passed at the feet of the Rocky Mountains.

'Soon after reaching our wintering-ground, provisions became very scarce, and the hunter and his family went off in quest of animals, taking with them the man who had charge of my horses to bring me a supply as soon as they could procure it. *I remained alone for the rest of the winter, except when my man occasionally visited me with meat; and I found the time hang very heavy, as I had no books, and nothing could be done in the way of collecting specimens of natural history.* I took, however, a walk every day in the woods, to give me some practice in the use of snow shoes. The winter was very severe, and much snow fell until the end of March, when it averaged six feet in depth; in consequence of this, I lost one of my horses, and the two remaining ones became exceedingly poor. The hunter was still more unfortunate, ten of his young colts having died.'—p. 310.

This modest man of science says 'nothing could be done;' we are informed, however, that his collections in these mountains amounted to about fifteen hundred species of plants, one hundred and fifty birds, fifty quadrupeds, and a considerable number of insects.

Dr. Richardson and his party were not less industrious; the number of specimens collected is immense, and the drawings of them by Lieutenant Kendall so faithful, that we understand the Treasury have consented to afford pecuniary assistance in bringing them before the public. In the meantime, we have in the appendix several valuable scientific documents. The 'topographical and geological notices' employ fifty-eight pages, and specimens of rock and organic remains are referred to as high as to number 1032. Many tables are given of the temperature of the air; the duration and direction of the winds; of the velocity of sound, &c. We have 'a register of phenomena connected with the progress of the seasons, kept at Fort Franklin;' and a meteorological journal for that and other places in the course of the route.

The lowest temperature witnessed in North America was on the 7th of February, of the second winter passed on the shores of Bear Lake. At eight in the morning, the mercury in the thermometer descended to 58° below zero; it had stood at -57.5° , and -57.3° in the course of that and the preceding day; between the 5th and the 8th, its general state was from -48° to -52° , though it occasionally rose to -43° . At the temperature of -52.2° , Mr. Kendall froze some mercury in the mould of a pistol-

tol-bullet, and fired it against a door at the distance of six paces. A small portion of the mercury penetrated to the depth of one-eighth of an inch, but the remainder only just lodged in the wood. The extreme height of the mercury in the tube was from 71° at noon to 73° at three o'clock.

In the course of experiments made with the magnetic needle, Captain Franklin comes to the conclusion, that the deviation of the needle is affected by changes in the weather; in a gale of wind or a snow storm, always considerably so; but remains stationary during their continuance. He observes,

'During this month I noticed that on several occasions the magnetic needle oscillated when I approached it in a dress of water-proof cloth, although it remained stationary when others of the party examined it in their ordinary garments. The water-proof dress probably acted by exciting electricity in the body, although this opinion is rather contradicted by the fact of a fur cap, which had been rubbed by the hand until it affected the gold leaf electrometer, producing no change in the needle, and my approach to the electrometer not causing the gold-leaf to expand.'—p. 76.

We remember to have heard something of the same effect on a magnetic needle, produced by the approach to it of Mr. Troughton's head, which puzzled the philosopher not a little, until he called to mind that his wig was kept firm to his head by *steel springs*.

The numerous observations made by Captain Franklin and his party, during two long winters, as to the influence which the aurora borealis exerts on the direction of the magnetic needle, have put this disputed point beyond all question. The conclusion is at variance with that which Captains Parry and Foster arrived at, from their observations at Port Bowen,—those officers being of opinion that the aurora does not influence the motion of the needle; but Captain Franklin, we think, has satisfactorily explained this discrepancy. He states that it required brilliant and active coruscations almost invariably before a deflection of the needle was observable;—that to render it so they should appear through a hazy atmosphere, and that the prismatic colours should be exhibited in the beams or arches. When, on the contrary, the atmosphere remained clear, and the aurora presented a steady, dense light, and without motion, the needle remained unaffected. Now, it appears, that at Port Bowen the aurora was without much motion in its parts, and never exhibited the vivid prismatic colours, or the rapid streams of light, which are constantly recorded in the registers kept at Fort Franklin. Hence Captain Franklin infers, what we always supposed to be the case, from the feebleness of the electric fluid in very high latitudes, that
the

the parallel of 65° N. is more favourable for the frequency, the brilliancy, and the activity of this phenomenon, than those higher latitudes of 70° or 80° .

It may be recollected, that Captain Parry in his second voyage crossed the line from east to west, or, in other words, passed from one side to the other of the magnetic pole, whose position he was thus enabled to compute pretty nearly. Captain Franklin, for eight successive months, appears to have paid a constant and minute attention to the variation of the needle, having noted down not only the daily but almost hourly variations; the result of which, as compared with that of Captain Parry, is not only interesting but highly important, as fixing almost to a point the present position of the magnetical pole.

'The position of the magnetic pole, as computed from our observations by Professor Barlow, is in $69^{\circ} 16'$ north latitude, and $98^{\circ} 8'$ west longitude, and by the observations of Captain Parry in lat. $70^{\circ} 43'$ north, long. $95^{\circ} 51'$ west, its mean place being in lat. $70^{\circ} 0'$ north, long. $95^{\circ} 31'$ west, which is between Port Bowen and Fort Franklin; the former being situated in lat. $73^{\circ} 11'$ north, long. $88^{\circ} 51'$ west, and the latter in $65^{\circ} 12'$ north, long. $123^{\circ} 12'$ west. It appears, therefore, that for the same months, at the interval of only one year, Captain Parry and myself were making hourly observations on two needles, the north ends of which pointed almost directly towards each other, though our actual distance did not exceed eight hundred and fifty-five geographical miles; and while the needle of Port Bowen was increasing its westerly direction, ours was increasing its easterly, and the contrary,—the variation being west at Port Bowen and east at Fort Franklin; a beautiful and satisfactory proof of the solar influence on the daily variation.'—p. cxlii.

It will scarcely be denied, that these northern expeditions of discovery have not only been the means of making great additions to, as well as rectifying the geography of that part of North America which lies within the Arctic circle, but also of clearing away much, if not the whole, of that doubt which hung over the practicability of a navigable passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, round the northern coast of America. It is now twelve years since we assigned reasons for concluding that a communication did exist between the waters of the Pacific and the Atlantic, though all our old navigators had failed in their attempts to establish that fact, or lay down any data for coming to that conclusion. This question, however, is now completely set at rest, and the practicability of a navigable passage, in our opinion, now admits of little doubt. We consider the door as completely thrown open, and that the thresholds at the two extremities of the passage have been crossed. 'It is scarcely necessary to remark,' says Captain Franklin, 'that the opinion I ventured to

express in my former work, as to the practicability of the passage, has been considerably strengthened by the information obtained during the present expedition.'

We cannot but think, however, on a close examination of the journals of the several voyages so ably conducted by Captain Parry, and of the present expedition by Captain Franklin, that by a change of the principle on which the former have been conducted, the result might prove more successful. It was found by experience that a channel of open water generally existed along the western and southern shores of the land, through which it has been the practice to attempt the passage. In doing this, great inconvenience, obstruction, and delay have been occasioned by dangerous rocks and shoals, the shallowness of water, and most of all, by the great body of ice setting down upon the shore, by a change of wind, to the imminent danger of the ship, as in the case of the *Griper*, which was ho've high and dry, and of the *Fury*, which was lost.

We should be much disposed, therefore, to try a different plan; to avoid the shores as much as possible, keeping out to sea, or in the middle of a strait, taking the chance of being occasionally beset, which happens every year almost to every Greenlandman, and generally without much risk. In such a situation they seldom remain long; the winds, or tides, or currents separating the ice, and setting them free. But besides this, there is every reason to believe that at all times a very large portion of the Polar Sea is entirely free from ice. The immense quantities that are brought down by the frequent northerly winds, choking up all the straits, and encumbering the shallow shores, must necessarily leave large spaces of water to the northward, which they before occupied. Captain Parry has supplied us with some curious facts on the subject of open water. In the very depth of winter, when at Winter Island, in January, 1822, when the thermometer was from 20° to 30° below zero, he says, 'We were no less surprised than gratified to see almost as much open water to the south-east and north-east of the island, as we had ever yet observed. It was covered, indeed, with a very thin coating of young ice, but a cloud of frost-smoke rose freely from it, which is never the case many hours after its formation.'* Again, on his second wintering towards the head of Fox's channel, he talks of 'the enlivening prospect from the south-east point, where there was, on the 1st of May, (thermometer at zero,) so large a space of clear water in sight, that it was generally remarked, we had not seen any so extensive since we entered Hudson's Strait.'† Indeed, during the whole winter there appeared to be a perpetual current setting

* Parry's Second Voyage, p. 152.

† Ibid. p. 223.

down Fox's Channel. Again, when wintering in Port Bowen, the ice and water were observed in motion towards the middle of Prince Regent's Inlet. When about to depart, he says, 'Lieutenant Ross, returning on the 15th, brought the welcome intelligence of the sea being perfectly open and free from ice at the distance of twenty-two miles to the northward of Port Bowen, by which I concluded, what, indeed, had long been a matter of probable conjecture, that Barrow's Strait was not permanently frozen during the winter. From the tops of the hills about Cape York, beyond which promontory Lieutenant Ross travelled, no appearance of ice could be distinguished.*'

We think then that these statements add strength to our opinion, that, a navigator who should launch out into the wide expanse of sea, or, when necessary, keep in the middle of a strait, would be more likely to succeed and to make a greater progress, with much less labour, than he who adheres to the plan of boring along a narrow channel of water, liable to the obstructions we have mentioned. With a ship made as strong as wood and iron can make her—like the *Hecla*, for instance—we do not conceive any danger is to be apprehended, whether in summer or winter. A few years ago, a Dutch whaler was caught in the ice between Spitzbergen and Greenland, and found herself in the month of February off the coast of Ireland, the crew having suffered dreadfully for want of provisions, but the ship not at all.

Whether the government mean to prosecute farther these geographical and scientific discoveries, in the northern regions, is no business of ours; we have taken every opportunity to express our own humble approbation of their value in a scientific point of view, independent of all national or selfish considerations; and we know that we have had with us, in so doing, the sentiments of every civilized nation of Europe, and of the United States, who, perhaps, more than others, are competent to estimate the real and solid value of what our unparalleled (we bestow the epithet advisedly)—our unparalleled countrymen have accomplished. Nor can we allow this opportunity to pass without acknowledging the gratitude which is due to those in power who have given countenance to these expeditions of discovery and scientific investigation, more especially to two noblemen who, to the great satisfaction of the intelligent public, once more hold high and responsible situations in his Majesty's government—the Earl Bathurst and the Viscount Melville. To these patriotic noblemen the highest praise is justly due, for the readiness with which they have entered into the views of those who laid before them the objects of science which such expeditions might accomplish, and the facilities which they gave, and alone could give, for the attainment of

* Parry's Third Voyage, pp. 83, 84.

those objects. We can assure them that their cordial assistance and patronage are duly appreciated, and this not only in their own country, but, perhaps, in a still higher degree among foreign nations. We now take leave of the subject—perhaps for ever—in the words, which we are proud to adopt, of Captain Franklin :—

‘ Arctic discovery has been fostered principally by Great Britain ; and it is a subject of just pride that it has been prosecuted by her from motives as disinterested as they are enlightened ; not from any prospect of immediate benefit to herself, but from a steady view to the acquirement of useful knowledge, and the extension of the bounds of science. Each succeeding attempt has added a step towards the completion of northern geography ; and the contributions to natural history and science have excited a general interest throughout the civilised world. It is, moreover, pleasing to reflect that the loss of life which has occurred in the prosecution of these discoveries does not exceed the average number of deaths in the same population at home under circumstances the most favourable. And it is sincerely to be hoped that Great Britain will not relax her efforts until the question of a north-west passage has been satisfactorily set at rest, or at least until those portions of the northern shores of America, which are yet unknown, be laid down in our maps ; and which, with the exception of a small space on the Asiatic continent eastward of Shelatskoi Noss, are the only intervals wanting to complete the outline of Europe, Asia, and America.’—p. 319.

ART. III.—*Georgica* Publii Virgilii Maronis, in quinque linguas conversa :—*Hispanicam* a Joanne de Guzman ; *Germanicam*—Johanne Henrico Voss ; *Anglicam*—Gulielmo Sotheby ; *Italicam*—Francisco Soave ; *Gallicam*—Jacobbo Delille. Lond. 1827. Folio.

THE general merits of Virgil's *Georgics* have long ago been settled, and by much more competent judges than ourselves. The number of facts collected in that beautiful poem, some of them valuable and all of them curious—the wide extent of country which the author's mind had evidently travelled over to collect these facts, bearing, as they do, upon almost every possible variety of soil and climate, and illustrating every diversity of pastoral habits and manners—the dexterity with which the didactic part of the subject has been treated, not so superficial as to want interest, nor so minute as to fatigue attention—the skilful adaptation of the parts to the whole, and the gradual rise in the interest of the subject ;—these alone had been sufficient to place the author of the *Georgics* in the highest rank of his art. But, with these facts have been interspersed episodes of so masterly a kind, some of
them

them so singularly minute and accurate in observation, and others so rich and vivid in description; some conceived in the most touching pathos and sensibility, and others flashing forth in a most extraordinary grandeur and sublimity; and all wrapped up in a diction so exquisitely polished, and a verse so richly harmonious and appropriate, that, if the name of perfect can be applied to any human composition, it undoubtedly belongs to this noblest production of the Latin muse.

But, amidst the shower of praises, which these complicated excellencies have justly brought down upon the author of the poem itself, one person seems to us to have been occasionally overlooked, and that is, the friend and patron to whose suggestion the poem owed its commencement, and to whose superintendence we are inclined to attribute much of its execution. It is the poet's own confession, that all that was^{*} grand and lofty in his own conceptions was but the reflex of another's mind; and we are almost inclined to take him at his word. Tenderness and elegance were the natural characteristics of Virgil's genius; and a mind thus constituted and left to itself, where would it have sought its food and enjoyment? It would have hung, in fond remembrance, over his lost and lovely Mantua; it would have haunted along the streams of his native Mincius, dreaming of the white swans that breasted its silver waves, and the lovely herbage which grew along its banks, so fruitful and benignant that the dews of a brief night sufficed to repair the devastations of the longest day. A short rivalry with him who, at once originated and, in our opinion, brought to perfection the sylvan dialogue—a picture for idealists and enthusiasts to hang over—a succession of those delicious reveries and images which form for the mind so delightful a world of its own within, and leave it so unfit for the real world without; such would, perhaps, have been the summit of the poet's wishes, and the furthest scope of his labours. The voice of a statesman dispersed these dreams of the closet; and what the unguents of the dervise were to the eyes of the boy in the eastern tale, the discourses of Mæcenas were to Virgil's mind. They opened, on his admiring gaze, a flood of riches, those better riches which lie upon the earth's surface, and not the fictitious wealth which lies below it; they taught him a better estimate of his own powers, and encouraged him to strike out a path, which should render him a model for others, instead of being a mere imitator himself; and, if we

* 'Te sine nil altum mens inchoat.'—III. 42.

† 'Et qualem infelix amisit Mantua campum,
Pascentem niveos herboso flumine cygnos,
Non liquidi gregibus fontes, non graminia desunt,
Et quantum longi carpent armenta diebus,
Exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet.'—II. 198.

consider that it was when the name of Rome was almost synonymous with the world itself, and amidst every allurements which art and luxury could furnish, that a statesman's eye could thus descend to the spade and the plough, as the surest means of individual happiness, and the truest source of national greatness, the connexion of Mæcenas with all the genius of his day will not give us a higher opinion of his fine taste, and intellectual powers, than the advice thus given will afford of his plain week-day wisdom and foresight; offering another to the many strong contrasts and contradictions which existed in the mind of that very extraordinary man.

It is to this connexion of the poet with statesmen and politicians that the *Georgics*, no doubt, owe what to us appears their most marked and valuable distinction—their practical tendency; and, whoever does not bear this constantly in mind, will form but an imperfect estimate of the poem itself, and be an incompetent judge of the attempts made by others to render it into modern languages. It is for this reason that the poet so frequently recalls to mind the difficulties attendant on husbandry, and the skill and patience by which alone those difficulties are to be removed; it is for the same purpose that he scruples not to introduce occasionally a homely word or thought, as if to familiarise the reader with some of those coarser operations which, however they may be removed from the theory, must ever belong to the practice of husbandry; and it is for a similar reason, we apprehend, that even his sweetest digressions are often broken by a common parenthesis, or by some passing stroke of darkness or harshness, as if the poet felt like the northern revellers, who, over their cups and potations, were said occasionally to twang the strings of their bows, that a spirit of softness or effeminacy might not creep into their very relaxations. The *Georgics*, therefore, are not to be lightly treated as a poem meant to soothe the ear, or while away a passing hour: they are a solemn legacy left to mankind, applicable to all places, and times, and persons; they are the conjoint product of a politician and a poet, both of the highest order; and they bear on their brow the marks of the sources from which they emanated, the strength of the statesman's mind, and the softness of the poet's—the serene majesty of the one, and the practical wisdom of the other.

That these ideas are not confined to ourselves may be gathered from the zeal and activity with which all the great languages of Europe have sought to naturalize among themselves the contents of the *Georgics*; and no slender praise is due to Mr. Sotheby, who has collected into one magnificent volume these different efforts of skill and learning, and who may justly feel a poet's and a patriot's pride in the reflection that among all these various ver-

sions

sions there is not one which in general fidelity of conception and splendour of execution surpasses, if it even equals his own.

And could we persuade ourselves that modern statesmen ever find, amid the incessant toils of office, an opportunity of recurring to the studies of their earlier years, and of repairing their powers in the purest and sweetest of all human enjoyments, we would fain hope that this costly volume might find its way into some of their hands, and as they ponder over its glowing pages some kindred reflections might be awakened in their own breasts. Is that reverence, which is here said to be so emphatically due to the plough, one of the distinguishing marks of the present day? Is that protection given to agriculture which should incline a wise man to embark his property and his feelings (we might, from its late changeful and gambling tendency, almost say his morals) in the practice of it; and are all those relations, which grow out of the rural system, in that sound and healthy state in which a statesman's eye would wish to see them? Have we a resident gentry, kind, hospitable, generous—living and willing to let live—lovers of the manly* sports of their ancestors—able by their knowledge to explain and by their firmness to enforce the laws of their country, and almost rendering those laws of no necessity by throwing the influence of their own kindly spirits into the happy circle around them; or is an overgrown, luxurious metropolis gradually drawing them into its vortex, to consume in frivolous or guilty pleasures the wealth which should have gladdened the hearts of their tenantry and labourers, and finally, perhaps, to drive them into foreign countries, there to be reminded of their own fair fields only by the reluctant driblets which occasionally find their way into their famished hands? Have we, again, a body of yeomanry, realizing to the eye those images of substantial comfort and rural wealth which the Camachos and Van Tassels of the novelists† have supplied to the delighted mind in the closet, and lodging in their hearts that British spirit, of which it never yet belonged to Dutch boor or Spanish labrador to form a remote conception? Have we, above all, a bold and hardy peasantry, attached to the soil which finds them nutriment as well as birth; holding their heads erect beneath the canopy of heaven, and feeling that the winds which blow upon their cheeks are not more

* Among these we include not, of course, those enormous preserves of game, which were utterly unknown to our forefathers, and of which the effect is, to nourish an indolent, cowardly, and vindictive spirit in their possessors; to load our county jails with poachers; to increase the already heavy burdens of the agricultural interest in the shape of county-rates; and to add another *suble* item to those accursed provisions for the poor, which, in their proper administration, are dictated alike by policy and humanity. But we have already said enough on these subjects.

† Don Quixote and the Legend of Sleepy Hollow,

free nor independent than themselves? Do smiling cottages (that brightest picture of national bliss) adorn our lands, and do the household virtues gather round their hearths? Are fidelity and attachment on the one side, and a grateful protection on the other, the golden links which bind together the employer and his labourer? Is the act of giving and receiving twice blest, as it ought to be, between man and man; or is it becoming a spot upon the village-hand, the mark of shame in him that receives, and a mixture of meanness and injustice in him that doles the miserable pittance? Thanks to that invaluable body of men, who, bound only to administer to the spiritual wants of their flocks, have too often to task their limited means to supply their bodily wants also, many of the more important of these questions may yet be asked with safety; but let a few more years of carelessness and inattention pass over, and they may assume a difficulty which the most selfish cannot contemplate with indifference nor the most sanguine without alarm. But it is time for us to recollect that we are neither priests nor politicians, and that the volume before us furnishes abundant material for the exercise of our own vocation, without impertinently intruding ourselves into that of others.

It has already been hinted, that of the various satellites whom Mr. Sotheby has here drawn round the great luminary of Latin poetry, there is none which more reflects the warmth and brightness of the original than himself; and if we proceed to make a few extracts from his labours, it is less for the purpose of adding to the celebrity of a translation which has been long before the public, and of which we had an opportunity of recording an opinion at a very early* period of our career, than of adorning our pages with the fruits of Mr. Sotheby's labours, and of showing that the preceding remarks are by no means irrelevant to the subject before us.

The beautiful land of Italy is, we learn from some of his own poems, well known to Mr. Sotheby by personal residence and inspection; and it is, therefore, con amore, that he renders Virgil's description of that paradise of earthly sweets, an Italian spring:—

' Spring comes, new bud the field, the flower, the grove,
Earth swells and claims the genial seeds of love;
Then the etherial Father, lord of life,
Sinks on the bosom of his blissful wife,
With showers prolific feeds the vast embrace,
That fills all nature, and renews her race.
Then rings with tuneful birds the pathless grove,
The cattle then renew their yearly love;
Bath'd in soft dew, and fann'd by western winds,
Each field its bosom to the gale unbinds:

* See No. I. of this Journal.

The * blade dares boldly rise new suns beneath.
The tender vine puts forth her flexile wreath,
And, freed from southern blast and northern shower
Spreads without fear each bud, and leaf, and flower.'—n 322.

We regret that our limits will allow us to insert but a small portion of the fine episode which concludes the second book:—

' Ah! happy swain! ah! race belov'd of heaven!
Too blest, if conscious of the blessing given!
For thee just earth, from her prolific beds,
Far from wild war, spontaneous plenty sheds.
Though not high domes through all their portals wide
Each morn disgorge the flatterer's refluent tide,
Though not thy gaze on tortoise columns rest,
The Ephycian brass, and gold-wrought vest,
Nor poisoning Tyre thy sn'wy fleecy soil,
Nor casia taint thy uncorrupted oil,
Yet peace is thine, and life that knows no change,
And various wealth in nature's boundless range,
The grot, the living fount, the unobscured glade,
And lowing herds, and sleep in soothing shade;
Thine, all of tame and wild, in lawn and field,
That pastur'd plains or savage woodlands yield;
Content and patience youth's long toils assuage,
Repose and reverence tend declining age,
Thine hallow'd shines, and, as she fled mankind,
Thine Justice left her last lone trace behind'

Beautiful as these descriptions are in the original (and he must be dead to all sense of poetry who does not do justice to the extreme elegance with which they are rendered in our own lan-

* Instead of *gramina* Mr. Southey would have done better to read *germina*, is the Italian and German translators have done. The poet is evidently speaking of the gradual burst of vegetation, not of that of pasture land only. There is something to us so soft and peculiar in the Italian translation of this whole passage that our readers may not perhaps be displeased at having an opportunity of comparing it with the English version. Both Southey and Soave it should be observed, have neglected the connecting particle *adco* with which the passage begins. The French translator, who excels all his fellow-labourers in the skill and propriety of his connections, has preserved it, and so has Voss. —

Al frondeggiar de' boschi, ed a le selve
Utile e l'umore Primavera
Lungide al suo teporansi le terre,
E desiose col aperte fibre
Chiccon le muniti virtù dei semi
L'onnipotente allora i tereos Pulcro
Con li fecondi umori a l'alma Sposa
Disceso in grembo nel immenso corpo
Si mesce immenso e de le cose tutte
Il lieto pullulu sviluppa, e move.
De' pinti agelli risconur Al canto
S'odon allora i solitari boschi,
I ornati lieti d'amore a l'opie usate

Ne' fissi tempi i mansueti armenti,
Non crebe putore e novi fiori
Vedesi il campo, ed a le tepidi aune
De' Zefiri amorosi aprir il grembo.
In ogni germe il nutritivo amore.
I chicci ubbonza, a rai del nuovo sole
Monstru in sicure le crescenti erbetto
L'aperta fronte, ed il furor non pave
D' Austro sorcente la pampinea vite,
Ne il sibilar d' Aquilon nevoso
Di nembi apportator, ma fuor la gemme
Mette sicura, e le novelle frondi.
Su per le vie del ciel, &c.

guage)

guage) the poet knew that they were of too general a nature to effect the purpose which he had most at heart, and he has therefore introduced into the following homelier lines a picture of humble, individual, practical happiness, which is not less creditable to his skill as an artist than to his feelings as a man :—

‘ Yes, I remember, where Galæsus feeds
Beneath Æbalia’s tow’rs the golden meads,
Once I beheld an old Corycian swain,
Lord of a spot, in a forsaken plain,
Where never shepherd gave his flock to feed,
Nor Bacchus grac’d, nor oxen brows’d the mead.
There with * scant herbs he set the bushy ground,
And planted lilies, vervain, poppies round ;
Nor envied kings, when late, at evening’s close,
Beneath his peaceful shed he sought repose,
And cull’d from earth, with changeful plenty stor’d,
With feasts unpurchas’d his o’erloaded board.
At spring-tide first he pluck’d the full-blown rose,
From autumn first the ripen’d apple chose ;
And still when winter split the rocks with cold,
And chain’d the rapid torrent as it roll’d,
E’en then he cropt th’ † acanthus’ bloomy spray,
Which the slow sun and zephyrs long delay ;
Hence first his bees new swarms unnumber’d gave,
And press’d from richest combs the golden wave :
Limes round his haunt diffus’d a grateful shade,
And verdant pines with many a cone array’d ;
And every bud, that gemm’d the vernal spray,
Swell’d into fruit beneath th’ autumnal ray.
He ‡ lofty elms transpos’d in order plac’d,
Luxuriant pears at will his alleys grac’d,

And

* This we conceive to be an unsatisfactory rendering of the words ‘rarum olus.’ The epithet is not applied to the quantity of herbs in the old man’s garden, but to the manner in which they were planted—at distant intervals ; and so Voss renders it—*‘weitzeitsig Gemüss in dem Dornwall.’*

† Mr. Sotheby gives one reading in his text and another in his version. We think he had better have adhered to the reading of ‘hyacinth’ in both cases. The flower, whatever it was, was evidently planted by the old rustic for the sake of his bees, and as the hyacinth is mentioned at *vr* 183, among the flowers of which these insects are particularly fond, we may rest assured that this, and not the acanthus, was the plant mentioned in the text. The German translator, who rarely if ever mistakes his author, prefers hyacinth ; M. Delille, who, with Mr. Sotheby, prefers the acanthus, is obliged to suppose that the old bee-master had anticipated the construction of green-houses.

‡ If the old Corycian’s skill as a planter has suffered some injury in the preceding lines, his extraordinary, his really Allantonian, success as a planter does not seem to have full justice done to it in the present lines. Nothing can be more strong than the epithets selected in the original for the purpose :—

*Ille etiam seras in versum distulit ulmos,
Eduramque pirum, et spinos jam pruna ferentes,
Jamque ministrantem platanum potantibus umbras.*

The

And grafted thorns that blushing plums display'd,
And planes that stretch'd o'er summer seats their shade.'—iv. 125.

It is with no view of detracting from the merit of these admirable versions, that we proceed to notice a few passages where Mr. Sotheby appears to have been less successful in divining the sense of his author, or in rendering him with the same felicity of closeness and elegance.

It is almost unnecessary to say that in the following description the line marked in *Italics*, though beautiful in itself, derives no countenance from the original, and that to retain it, is to confound modern and ancient modes of thought, a practice which, if pursued, would soon put an end to the benefits to be derived from translations. We do not believe that a second such interpolation is to be found in Mr. Sotheby; and we suspect that in this, as well as in a few other instances, he has allowed himself to be misled by the French translator:—

'But chief with frequent prayer the gods implore,
And Ceres, chief, with annual feasts adore;
When winter flies, and spring new robes the ground,
When mild the wind, and lambkins gaily bound,
When sweet to slumber on the grass reclin'd,
When the thick foliage murmurs to the wind;
The sky her temple, and the turf her shrine,
Her pure libation, honey, milk, and wine.'—i. 338.

'Choisis pour temple un bois, un gazon pour autel,
Pour offrande du vin, et du lait, et du miel.'—*Delille*.

A confusion of ancient and modern ideas must also necessarily result from the manner in which Mr. Sotheby renders the well-known direction of the poet to his husbandman:—'*nudus ara, sere nudus*,'—'plough naked, naked sow.' We cannot suppose that Virgil either misunderstood the Greek author from whom he derived the precept, or that he gave a meaning to the word *nudus* which does not belong to the *γυμνός* of Hesiod: and bitter as the old Ascræan was accustomed to be, in the place of his birth, (or residence,) he surely never meant to assert, that its climate was so sultry that it was necessary to pursue the operations of husbandry in a state of absolute nudity. The term *γυμνός*, as every scholar

The elms transplanted are not merely 'lofty,' as Mr. Sotheby translates, but of 'advanced age;' the pear trees are not 'luxuriant,' but of hard, or rather very hard substance; the climax rises with the plane and the grafted thorn; for the one is represented as *actually* in fruit, and the other of as so large a growth that convivial spirits could enjoy their cups beneath its shade. Voss has neglected none of these epithets:—

Jener wusst' auch in Reihen noch spät zur verpflanzen den Ulmbaum,
Birken erhartetes Stamms, und schon pflaumtragenden Schlehdorn,
Auch, die dem festlichen Trunk schon Kühlungen bot, die Platane.

knows,

knows, implies frequently the mere laying aside of the* upper garments, and in eastern countries, where the person is so carefully enveloped, this was considered almost as synonymous with nakedness. What reader of Hajji Baba does not remember the ideas of indelicacy and ridiculousness which the Persians attached to the swallow-tailed coats of our own countrymen?

Occasionally Mr. Sotheby misses the *single* word in which the whole emphasis of the passage consists. For instance, the poet (i. 272), who never willingly allows his husbandman to lie idle, specifies certain works which might be done even on the holier days. Among these is mentioned the act of washing sheep, *whose health might require it*; for to have immersed the woolly people merely for the benefit of their fleeces, would have been an act of irreligion. This distinction is marked in the original by the word *salubri*, of which no trace is observable in the version.

‘Balantumque gregem fluvio mersare salubri.’

‘And lave the bleating flock and fence the corn.’

It is, perhaps, to the unfortunate necessity of finding a rhyme, that we owe the following change of scenery; a change which is certainly in no way to the advantage of the original.

‘Ipse cava solans ægrum testudine amorein

Te, dulcis conjux, te *solo* in littore secum,

Te veniente die,’ &c.

‘He lonely on his harp, ‘mid wilds unknown.’

Among the many curious notices which Delille has collected from Réamur and Swammerdam on the habits of bees, one, not the least remarkable proof of their good sense is, that, while the cells containing the honey for daily consumption are left open, those which form the deposit of their winter stores are sedulously closed with wax. This trait has not escaped the most splendid of their eulogists, and he designates the practice by a strong word, which signifies to throw up intrenchments or fortifications.

‘Grandævus oppida curæ

Et *munire* favos, et dædala fingere tecta.’—iv. 178.

It is observable, that the English translation is the only one which

* By a similar construction of language in the sacred writings, the Prophet Isaiah, when he had thrown off the coarse outer garment peculiar to the prophet, is said to have walked ‘naked and barefoot.’ In the same manner David, when girded only with his linen ephod (2 Sam. vi 14.) is said (v. 20) to have danced *naked* before the ark. See, also, Parkhurst’s Hebrew Lexicon, under the word ער. Voss, who renders the word *nudus* in the same literal manner as Mr. Sotheby in the Georgics, has, we observe, given its equivalent, γυμνός, that sense for which we contend in his translation of Aristophanes. The ladies, in that licentious but singularly witty drama, the *Lysistrata* (v. 151), would, indeed, have come to a singular conclusion, if they had resolved to work upon their husbands’ feelings by a display of their charms so utterly without reserve, as the word γυμνός, translated in its primary sense, would imply.

does not, more or less, betray a sense of this little characteristic trait.

‘Der bejalrteren Sorg’ ist die Festung,
Schanzen zu baum dem Gewirk, und dädalische Häuser zu wölben.
Loss,

‘La vieillesse d’abord préside aux bâtiments,
Dessine des ramparts les longs compartiments.’—*Delille*.

‘Gobiernan las colmenas las ancianas,
Y sus panales siempre fortalecen,
Y forman dehcados aposentos.’—*De Guzman*.

‘De l’alvear la cura
Han le più vecchie, di munire i favi,
Di costruire l’ingegnose case.’—*Saure*.

‘To each his part ; age claims th’ entrusted care
To rear the palace and the dome repair.’—*Sotheby*.

If Mr. Sotheby stands alone in this error, there are others in which he has all his brother translators, except the German, to keep him in countenance : such, among others, is the following passage.

‘Nullo tantum se Mysia cultu
Jactat, et ipsa suas mirantur Gargara messes.’—*I. 102*.

‘More rich the crop on Mysia’s fertile fields,
And Gargarus wonders at the wealth he yields.’

The reader will surely not understand by this, as he ought, that the poet who, in his usual manner, has been inculcating the necessity of incessant labour in husbandry, concludes his admonition by observing, that Mysia and Gargarus are the only places which produce abundant crops *nullo cultu*—without * cultivation.

It is with the same solitary exception, that we find the translators at a loss to understand two lines in that episode which concludes the third book of the Georgics, and which the poet has wrought up with such wonderful power and pathos.

‘Nam neque erat coriis usus ; nec viscera quisquam
Aut undis abolere potest aut vincere flamma.’

The meaning of which we conceive to be this. The poet having mentioned the prodigious number of animals, that fell victims to the contagious disorder which he has been describing, adds, that at last experience taught their owners to bury them in deep pits,

* In a specimen of translation of the Georgics given in Luzan’s ‘Poetica,’ the passage is not badly rendered as follows :—

‘Labradores, pedid nublado estro,
Sereno invierno : el invierno polvo
Al trigo alegría, la heredad abona ;
Que si Gargara admira sus cosechas,
Y de fertilidad Misia blasona,
Mas que al cultivo con que las promueven
A esta sazon benéfica las deben.’—*Tom. i. 377*.

‘for the skins,’ says he, ‘were of no use, and the quantity of carcasses was so great, that it was found impossible to float them away in the rivers, or consume them by fire.’ Mr. Sotheby, apparently misled by a wrong punctuation, and confounding two separate chains of thought, translates as follows :—

‘Through fire, through flood, contagion inly cleaves,
No shepherd shears the fleece, no virgin weaves.’

We have not the advantage of Mr. Voss’s notes; but it is manifest, from his text, that he read the passage as we do.

‘Denn nicht war zum Gebrauche die Haut; und die Menge des Fleisches

. Weder den raffenden Fluten, noch selbst der Flamme bezwingbar.’

We shall notice but one instance more, and that at the hazard of being thought somewhat hypercritical. To many readers, there will appear to be no great difference between the following line and its version.

‘Quum sitiunt herbæ, et pecori jam gratior umbra est,’
‘I, I myself, when noontide burns the blade,
And cattle pant beneath the o’erhanging shade.’

To us, however, it seems a little sin against that *riant*, which the ancient pastoral delighted as much as possible to preserve, and of which those, who begin to find themselves driven to antiquity for such pastoral reading as may bring with it unmixed pleasure, must be as tenacious as possible. While the forge and the conventicle are throwing their dark shadows over the actual features of sylvan life in this country, need we add, that some of the most powerful poets of the day seem to delight in contracting as much as possible the sphere of its imaginative pleasures. Mr. Wordsworth rejoices to place maniacs under his hay-ricks, and leech-gatherers in his ponds, and pedlars upon the everlasting hills; and who does not feel the very flesh creep on him when the solitary walk accidentally brings him on such scenes as recal the pictures of Mr. Crabbe’s terrific muse? And the same sort of unwelcome accompaniments too often cross us in those powerful prose compositions, which have lately made all Europe familiar with pastoral life as it exists among our northern neighbours, where ‘green July brings in a remembrance of bleak December;’ where reaped corn is generally an image for slaughtered men; where ‘the cattle find a refuge from the mid-day heat among graves;’ and the beautiful Nith has its ‘steep rock, where the wild-cats rear their young, and the eagle finds a resting-place, where he chooses his first spring lamb from the flock.’ How different from the joyous strains of the old Sicilian muse, full of ‘all sports, delights, and jolly games, that shepherds hold right dear,’ and heaped up with
the

the pleasures of eye, and ear, and smell, till the senses reel and stagger beneath the overpowering intoxication and delight,

‘De olor, sonido y lumbre

Poniendo al mundo en celestial costumbre.’—*Barahona de Soto.*

To those who may have inclination or leisure to make this volume subservient to a purpose for which it seems admirably adapted, that of instituting something like a philosophical inquiry into the principles on which the translators of different countries have constructed their labours, we cannot recommend too close an attention to the French and German versions. No two works can exhibit a more marked and systematic contrast; and the question naturally occurs, by which mode of translation is the sense of the original best conveyed to the reader, and that impression finally left on the mind, to which every author looks most as the result of his labours? Again—did this difference originate with the translators themselves, or was it imposed on them by the genius and manners of the respective nations for whom they wrote; and, lastly, by which mode of translation are the great interests of literature best consulted—by that which the brilliant versifier of the ‘Jardin des Plantes’ has adopted, or that which is sanctioned by one of the most delightful and original of German poets;—the true-hearted, warm-hearted, learned, eloquent, and pious author of ‘Luise?’—These are speculations of some moment and interest; and in the prosecution of them we have found so many thoughts pressing upon ourselves, and some of them of so grave and serious a character, that, of two results, one seemed inevitable, either that we must leave our sentiments very imperfectly expressed, or trespass most unmercifully on the patience of our readers; nor are we so young in our trade as to be ignorant, when these two points come into competition, which of the two ought to give way. With no small respect for the talents and acquirements of M. Delille, we cannot, however, forbear the expression of our own opinion, that, in many of the essential qualities of a translator, and in the benefits to be derived from this department of letters, the Frenchman will be found as much below his German rival, as he was unquestionably inferior to him in compass and originality of natural genius. With a degree of scholarship and learning, which would have converted ten ordinary French abbés into comparative casts of the antique—with that expansive mind which discerns and feels the mighty powers of genius, under whatever diversity of aspect they appear,—with that plastic spirit which could mount the topmost flights of poetry, and descend to find sources of delight in the idioms and ideas of the humblest walks of life, the mind of Voss was, indeed, admirably adapted for the task to which he so assiduously devoted himself, and by which he was enabled

to enrich his country's literature with versions from the ancient tongues, so different in kind, and all so excellent in execution. Translation was not in his thoughts what it appears to have been in M. Delille's; a debt, of which the payment was good, provided the sum total agreed in value, though the items were paid in coin of a different kind; the honest German, in that good faith and loyalty which belongs to the Teutonic blood, seems rather to have viewed it as an almost solemn compact, by which he engages to render pound for pound, and pence for pence. Hence, that grasp of his author's mind, and that fidelity of purpose, which he maintains from the commencement of his labours to their conclusion, undeviating, untired, unseduced. 'These,' he seems perpetually to say, 'were the manners and modes of thinking entertained by such an age, and thus it was that one of the greatest spirits of that age expressed them—it is possible that neither the one nor the other may be to your taste; but that is your misfortune, not mine: like them or not, this is Homer, and this is Virgil, and this is Aristophanes; and Virgil, and Homer, and Aristophanes are what I engaged to give you!' And Virgil accordingly we have here before us, in sense and spirit, in matter and in metre; Virgil, in his noblest flights of poetry, and his most familiar descents, in his widest swell of harmony, down to the minutest pause and break, by which the most polished versifier that ever lived prevented the flow of his lines from running into monotony. Here are no false equivalents, nor substitutes, nor approximations of ancient and modern manners: here are no impertinent transpositions and arrangements, as if one of the greatest masters of poetry were ignorant of the art to which he had devoted himself: here are no in-steppings between the wind and nose of nice * gentility—no dexterous shifts, and shirkings, and looks cast round for applause, like the Irish chaise-driver, after avoiding the kicks of the Knockacroggery mare: but here is the homage which one man of genius pays to another, too deeply conscious of the workings and shapings of his own mind to permit him to trifle with those of another; and here is that large intellect, which, throwing its wide ken over the great interests of mankind, and the operations connected with them, allows not its possessor to convert into a fine but comparatively

* M. Delille softens or omits many expressions of his original, denying that the terms were ignoble in themselves, and for the following curious reason:—'Chez les Romains, le peuple étoit roi; par conséquent les expressions qu'il employoit participoient sa noblesse. Il y avoit peu de ces termes bas dont les grands dédaignassent de se servir; et des expressions populaires n'auroient pas signifié, comme parmi nous, des expressions triviales.' M. Delille, we believe, lived long enough to know, that a people-king can be as gross in its language, as it can be base in its thoughts and brutal in its deeds.

frivolous pleasure for the few, what was intended for the practical benefit of the many. That for this prodigious superiority over his brother translator, Mr. Voss is, in some degree, indebted to the strength, the copiousness, and flexibility of the language in which he wrote, we readily allow; and we should do the French translator a great injustice, if we did not advert to the sense which he himself* displays of the trammels of thought and language in which he was held, and of the efforts which he made to break through them both. It is impossible, indeed, to see a man of Delille's talents cribbed and confined—translating, we verily believe, frequently against his better knowledge, without rejoicing that the despotism of French literature is at length at an end, and that mankind are left to wonder at the petty chains in which they allowed their minds to be held. Diplomacy, and compliment, and conversation may still claim the language of Gaul for their own: but never more will it be allowed to adapt literature to a caste, to keep the great feelings and emotions of poetry in abeyance, to narrow the range of intellect, and to throw into the shade all those workings of the human mind, which a skilful hand knows how to draw from the humblest walk of life, and the meanest operations of human society.

If Mr. Sotheby has, upon the whole, furnished the most splendid, and Mr. Voss, beyond all measure, the most correct, version in this volume, there can be no doubt, that the translation the most deficient in both these particulars, the most faulty in conception, and the most spiritless in execution, is that which bears the name of Juan de Guzman; and to those who have viewed Spanish literature with any thing like the same eyes as ourselves, this will be as much a matter of surprise as of mortification. To the strict admirers of nationality in literature, Spain will want no other attraction than her old epics, her ballads, and her drama. We, however, are not entirely of this way of thinking. We confess, that as any individual's pretensions to literature seem to us exceedingly slender, who has not taken one draught at its fountain head; so we acknowledge that the general literature of any country looks to us poor and insignificant, till with its own—its native soil, there have been mixed up the rich loams of Grecian and Roman learning. It was not, at all events, for the land which gave birth to Martial and Lucan, Quintilian and the two Senecas, to deny herself these fertilizing helps; and hence, in the oldest and most national of Spanish poems are to be found some mementos of the great anterior ages, either in the outward form into which they have been thrown, in the materials from which they have been derived, or in the manners and opi-

* See his elegant *Discours Préliminaire*.

nions which they are found to express. Don Sanchez, the most learned of Spanish antiquarians, is of opinion, that the measure in which that oldest and noblest of his country's poems, the *Cid-Epic*, is constructed, is formed on the * hexameter and pentameter verses of antiquity: and, at all events, the † omens of the poem are decidedly classical. The next great epic of the olden time, the *Alexandriad*, (and, with all its absurdities, a most amusing production it is,) has still more the stamp of antiquity upon it. The materials, whether borrowed at second hand from Walter of Chatillon, or otherwise, are primarily derived from Arrian and Quintus Curtius; and never can we sufficiently admire the classical feelings of a band of warriors, who could patiently listen to a speech at least seventeen hundred lines in length, into which the speaker had woven no small portion of the *Iliad*. The facetious arch-priest of Hita has not less shown an ardent taste for antiquity. It involved him, indeed, in the contradiction of making the *Greek doctors* acquainted with the doctrine of the Trinity, long before the Christian æra, and led him to display a knowledge of the amatory poems of Ovid, which might be very well in laymen, like us, but did not show to quite so much advantage in a man of his cloth. But of all the writers of antiquity, none appears to have had a more decided influence on the literature of Spain than the poet whose most important work is under our consideration. It was, probably, from the writings of Dante, in which the Mantuan bard makes so distinguished a figure, that the Castilian admiration of him first began. The Marquis of Santillane, to whom the literature of Spain is so deeply indebted, was an eminent lover of the Italian poet, and the Marquis's friend, Juan de Mena, while he executed his translation of Homer, was not likely to leave untouched or unnoticed the rival work of the Roman bard. As early, however, as the age of Charles V., the Spanish attention had become so fixed on the *Æneid*, that the author of the *Araucana* actually expends the better part of two ‡ cantos in vindicating the character of the Carthaginian queen from the aspersions of the Latin poet under

* Sanchez, *Poesias Antiquas*, tom. i. p. 123. In his fourth Volume, speaking of the poems of the arch-priest of Hita, the same antiquary observes, 'muchos del arcipreste se asemejan mas à los exâmetros, y admiten facilmente sa medida; y quando no la admiten, ò hay vicio en el códice, ò se ignora la verdadera pronunciacion métrica de aquellos tiempos, las elisiones de ciertas vocales, y finalmente las licencias poéticas que se tomaban.'

† What reader is not reminded of his Virgil in the following lines?

'A la exida de Vivar ovieron la corneia diestra,
E entrando a Burgos ovieron la siniestra,'—xi., 12.

and of his Apuleius in the following,

'Al exir de Salón, mucho ovo buenas aves.'—867.

‡ Part 3, cantos 32, 33.

which it was supposed to suffer; and it was, probably, from some mistaken ideas, connecting the author of the *Æneid* with its hero, that in one of the old Spanish ballads, we find the poet, instead of being pourtrayed as a magician, (as the middle ages universally recognised him,) is represented as the * betrayer of innocence, and the audacious violator of the honour of his sovereign's palace.

But it was the pastoral writings of Virgil which were destined to produce the great effect on the literature of Castile; and Juan de Encina, we believe, had the honour of first making his countrymen acquainted with them, by a translation of the *Bucolics*. What merits this version possessed, in addition to the author's name, which was eminently pastoral, we have had no opportunity of examining; but from some passages of John's 'Arte de Trovar,' we should not conclude them to be of a kind much calculated to do justice to the simplicity or sweetness of the original. But whatever they were, they were soon to be eclipsed by one of those master-spirits, whose superior merits not only throw into the shade whatever of their own kind has preceded them, but stamp a character on their age, which transmits itself to many succeeding generations.

The softest genius and the bravest heart—a hand which could wield at will the pen or sword—a soldier's grave and a poet's epitaph above it, and all this at the early age of thirty-three—what Castilian could contemplate this union of dazzling, and often opposite qualities, and refuse his admiration to the name of Garcilaso? The eye which drinks in with avidity all beautiful forms and colours—the ear which is alive to every gradation of sound and harmony, from the sweep of mighty winds to the softest ripple of the streamlet, that fineness of the olfactory nerve, to which earth and air send forth showers of perfume; all these appear to have been his by nature; study and learning had made him master of the works of Virgil; and he drew at will on both. In compass of mind, in richness of illustration, in that logic of thought and unity of purpose, which belong to poetry as well as prose; in grandeur of idea, and that elevation of language which clothes sublimity of conception with diction almost as lofty, the pupil fell far, indeed, below his master. But in purity of thought and language, in harmony and sweetness, and above all, in the delineation of those tender feelings, of which shepherds' bosoms are supposed to be peculiarly susceptible, the distance was less great; there is not in human language a more sweet or elegant description of a young mind seized suddenly, amid almost childish

* There is something so exquisitely ridiculous in this ballad, that a reference to it may not be unacceptable to our readers. They will find it in *Depping's Sammlung Spanischer Romanzen*, p. 303.

sports, with the passion of love, and burnt at once with its raging and consuming fires, than that given by the young shepherd in Garcilaso's second Eclogue.

While Garcilaso thus made his countrymen masters of those parts of Virgil's pastoral writings, of which the senses may be said to be the best purveyors and expositors, the deep philosophical spirit which pervades the *Georgics* had sunk into the very heart of Luis de Leon, and mixing there with elements of a higher kind than the religion of antiquity could possibly furnish, they threw back a reflex of the original poet's spirit and power, heightened by a more intense feeling of devotion, and clothed in a * metre more exquisitely harmonious than will easily be found beyond the bounds of the beautiful language of Castile. The great wonders of nature which are above and around us; the moon in her silver, and the planets in their golden, light; the storms that sweep the air; the increase and the decrease of the mighty waters; the shaking-fits that occasionally seize upon this crazy earth; 'the bounds and limits to the great ocean set:' these and similar phenomena had excited the wondering and inquiring mind of the Spanish as well as the Mantuan bard; but, unlike the latter, the former soars to the great Being and Author of all—he looks through nature up to nature's God, his pastoral feelings follow him even to his topmost flight; and heaven itself is to his eye but the habitation of the great Shepherd of souls, who feeds his flock with immortal roses, with that flower which ever grows, and of which the re-production is still more plenteous than the consumption.† It was not for a mind fed on thoughts like these to banquet on a common food, or to throw a stake for the petty distinctions of life; and the contempt expressed for them as much reminds us of the expressions of the Virgilian muse, as the purer and more simple joys which are substituted in their place;—the sleep unbroken but by the song of birds;—the garden on the hill's side which his own hand had planted;—the simple repast where peace and quiet were the best attendants;—the seat beneath the shadowing tree, and the sound of a lyre not unskilfully touched: such was the noiseless and secluded path of life which this admirer of the Mantuan muse had chosen for himself, and such, in his opinion, had the few wise men, whom the world has seen, ever preferred.

* Its nearest rival, perhaps, in gratefulness of rhythm and dexterity of management is that stanza, in which some of the most characteristic pieces of Burns are composed; those genuine appeals to the deepest feelings of human nature, which among 'the lowly train in life's sequestered scene' are frequently found side by side with the Bible, and of which the secret but powerful influence on English, and, consequently, on European literature, has hardly yet, perhaps, been sufficiently appreciated.

† *Le siguen sus ovejas, do las pace* *Con flor que siempre nace,*
Con inmortales rosas, *Y quanto mas se goza, mas renace.*

‘ *La escondida
Senda, por donde han ido
Los pocos sabios que en el mundo han sido.*’

The elements of both these mighty minds entered, in some degree, into that of Herrera ; and though it was not for his bold and lofty genius to descend into the ranks of mere imitation, yet it is not more certain that his muse dipped her wings in the Sacred Writings, ere she ‘ flew her eagle flight, forth and far on,’ than it is clear to us, that it was in hanging over the writings of Garcilaso, and the model which inspired them, that the beautiful idyls and eclogues of Herrera derive those exquisite graces of thought and language which distinguish them. It was from their common master, more particularly, that Herrera learnt that art of painting to the ear, for which he is so much admired by the Spanish* critics, and that imitative harmony which makes the sounds of his poetry correspond with its imagery ; which breaks or suspends his words at will ; which now hurries them precipitately forward, now drags and trails them painfully along ; his numbers at this moment grating harshly and roughly upon the ear, and anon becoming

‘ *Soft as the down of Cytherea’s doves,
Or snows that fall upon a tranquil sea.*’

Pastoral ideas, whether expressed in verse or prose, became henceforth the leading feature of Spanish literature : and though some of its themes were undoubtedly original, yet most of them approached their primitive model. It was from the *Georgics* that Argensola borrowed that strain of courtly† flattery, in which the exquisite flow of the language almost excuses the impious turn of the idea ; it was to the same poem that Bañueña went for most of those pastoral thoughts and images, over which he has flung a richer colouring than the skies and fields of the old world could furnish ; and to the same healing fountain went Lopez de Vega when his heart was troubled, and images of peace and repose were more acceptable to his mind, than the applauses of towns and crowded ‡ theatres.

We spare the reader a further catalogue of names : from this hasty sketch it will be apparent that if, from any language of modern Europe, we had a right to expect a translation of Virgil, close in sense and vigorous in execution, it would be from that of Spain ; and yet our readers have been already apprized that a version more singularly deficient in both these qualities is hardly to be found than that of Don Juan de Guzman.

It has ever been held a bad omen to stumble at the threshold ;

* See Quintana’s Introduction to his ‘ *Tesoro del Parnaso Español*,’ p. 11.

† Cancion A Felipe II. on la canonizacion de San Diego.

‡ See his beautiful Cancion, ‘ *O libertad preciosa.*’

and the Don, tottering and feeble at the very beginning, absolutely breaks down at the fifth line of the original. The simple yet beautiful and appropriate opening of the Georgics has already been quoted in the course of these remarks. The poet having thus laid open the divisions of his subject, naturally proceeds to invoke those visible luminaries of heaven which have so manifest an influence on every operation of husbandry, and then those unseen deities of the old mythology, who were supposed more immediately to interest themselves in the concerns of rural life. The Spanish translator, however, whose general characteristic is by no means that of making short work with his author, actually confounds the two together, merging the sun in Bacchus and the moon in Ceres :—

‘ Vos, o clarissima mundi
Lumina, labentem cælo quæ ducitis annum,
Liber et alma Ceres, vestro,’ &c.
‘ Tú, alma Ceres, y tú, santo Baco,
Que al mundo sois clarificas lumbreras,
Y gobernais el año, que corriendo
Va presuroso por el alto cielo.’

If there have been interpreters foolish enough to justify this translation (and, from M. Delille's notes, we find, to our surprise, that there have been such) it would be difficult, we suspect, to find any that would countenance the following, which occurs at the distance of a few lines :—

‘ Dique deæque omnes, studium quibus arva tueri,
Quique novas alitis non ullo semine fruges,
Quique satis largum cælo demittitis imbrem.’
‘ Vosotros, almos Dioses, santas Diosas,
Que los campos teneis en vuestro amparo,
Y producis las mieses con simiente,
Y echais del alto cielo,’ &c.

Various explanations have been given of the following line in the original, but the Spanish translator, we believe, stands single in his interpretation of the passage :—

‘ Anne novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas.’
‘ O si acaso por nueva Estrella puesto
Tú fueres en los meses mas postreros.’

The Italian translator in this volume is by no means coy of adding occasionally to the original ; but de Guzman's interpolations are absolutely merciless. It is thus that four words in the original (*Eliadum [mittit] palmas Epirus equarum*) expand themselves into nearly as many lines, in this excellent judge of vigour and compression :—

‘ Tambien envia Epiro yeguas de Elis,

Para

Para alcanzar vitorias suficientes,
Quando el Olimpio Juego es celebrado.'

Every reader of taste knows that 'glance from earth to heaven' which pervades the Georgics throughout, and that poetical almanack which the poet has made use of for pointing out the various seasons for the different operations of husbandry. Will it be believed that his Spanish translator has actually taken the trouble to convert these indications into days of the month, and inserted the results of his labours in the text?

'At, si non fuerit tellus fecunda, sub ipsum
Arcturum tenui sat erit suspendere sulco.'

'Mas si fertil no fuere acaso el campo,
Una vez solo tastará sulcarlo,
Quando los trece fueren de Setiembre,
Al nacer de Bootes, ó de Arcturo,
Dando á las tierras una sola reja.'

It is needless to follow further such a blunderer as this: the whole of these errors occur within the first seventy lines of the original; and the old adage—*qualis ab incepto, talis ad imum*—is literally fulfilled by Don Juan de Guzman. If there be a word of more expressive meaning than another in his original, he misses it;—a fine connecting particle—it escapes him;—should the grammatical agent in his sentence be a person—he renders it by a thing. To miss a fine disjoining particle would satisfy some translators, but to miss it where it constitutes the whole force of the passage, and insert it where it is most out of place, is a method more agreeable to the perverse taste of De Guzman. If the merit of the original lies in particularizing, he generalizes:—he confounds sea and land, rather than preserve the uniformity of a metaphor;—his version hobbles for ever between something that is neither text nor note, but a medley of both; and if the extraordinary splendour of the original betrays him into something like a little spirit, it is an even chance that some portentous blunder is the result, and that the attempt at a gallop ends in a complete fall:—ordinario fin y paradero de las lozanas de Rocinante y de sus atrevimientos.

We cannot quit this costly volume (which does so much honour to the munificent spirit of Mr. Sotheby), without noticing the highly appropriate dedication with which it is inscribed to a prelate who, in the exercise of accomplishments and attainments which might bring him the richest guerdon of a scholar's fame, finds nothing more than a graceful relief from those onerous duties which belong to his high office.

ART. IV.—*Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain, engraved from authentic Pictures in the Galleries of the Nobility and the Public Collections of the Country: with Biographical and Historical Memoirs of their Lives and Actions.*
By Edmund Lodge, Esq., F.S.A. London, folio, three volumes (200 Engravings). 1821-8.

THERE are few national foibles, real or imaginary, wherewith we have been more frequently taunted by our neighbours, than that liberal patronage of portrait painters and bust makers, which accompanies, as is said, a culpable neglect of those who cultivate other and, as they are called, higher and more dignified branches of the fine arts. ‘Tis vain,’ says the satirist, ‘to set before an Englishman the scenes of landscape, or the heroes of history; nature and antiquity are nothing in his eye—he has no value but for himself, nor desires any copy but of his own form.’ So Johnson stated the charge half a century ago, and he thus answered it :—

‘Whoever is delighted with his own picture must derive his pleasure from the pleasure of another; every man is always present to himself, and has therefore little need of his own resemblance, nor can desire it but for the sake of those whom he loves and by whom he hopes to be remembered. . . . Genius is chiefly exerted in historical pictures, and the art of the painter of portraits is often lost in the obscurity of his subject. But it is in painting as in life: what is greatest is not always best. I should grieve to see Reynolds transfer to heroes and to goddesses, to empty splendour and to airy fiction, that art which is now employed in diffusing friendship, in reviving tenderness, in quickening the affections of the absent, and continuing the presence of the dead.’*

Dr. Johnson says nothing as to our alleged indifference for ‘landscape’ and ‘nature;’ these, indeed, were matters for which the doctor himself entertained no very ardent predilection—but the reproach, if it was ever justly cast on us, could not be repeated now without the very absurdity of injustice. The English school of landscape painting has come to be of the first rank, and the contemporaries of Turner, Constable, Calcott, Thomson, Williams, Copley Fielding, and others whom we might name even with these masters, have no reason to reproach themselves with any neglect of their merits. The *truth* with which these artists have delineated the features of British landscape is, according to general admission, unmatched by even the most splendid exertions of foreign schools in the same department. Nor have they confined themselves to the scenery, varied as that is, of their own country. Not a few have carried the same principles and practice with them into other lands, and one in particular has brought the mountains, the vallies, and the atmosphere of Greece herself so

* Idler, Feb. 24, 1759.

near to us in his excellent delineations, that we are persuaded many of the beauties of Sophocles, and Euripides, and Plato, (to say nothing of Childe Harold and Anastasius,) will be henceforth more strongly felt than in former days.

As to what are called exclusively 'historical paintings,'—as if portraits were not historical—we suppose we must still submit to share the reproach of our fathers; yet we cannot believe that the defect of patronage is by any means the main or most efficient cause of the rarity of such works among us. Our collectors pay as largely and as willingly, at least, as any others for the historical pieces of the old masters; and it is not easy to understand why they who certainly do this, and as certainly cannot be accused of neglecting either their own Wilkies or their own Turners, should be set down, unheard, as guilty of the inglorious condition of the English historical school. Walpole has been a hundred times vilified for saying 'want of protection is the apology for want of genius: a poet or a painter may want an equipage or a villa by wanting protection—they can always afford ink and paper, colours and pencils.' But though this was rather sharp and short language from the voluptuous virtuoso of Strawberry Hill, we fear there is homely truth at the bottom of his observations. That sarcastic 'silken baron' was, indeed, little likely to appreciate or to sympathise with the sickness and numbness which have so often crept from the heart to the hand of forlorn and friendless genius; yet, on the other side, he is no true friend to the young aspirant in any department either of letters or of art, who loses a suitable opportunity of reminding him that to conquer external difficulties and discouragements has been, in almost every instance, the highest praise of those whom impartial posterity place at the head of their class. There is no study which ought to be more cultivated by either painter or poet than the personal history of his predecessors; it is sure to furnish either, provided he be worth the teaching, with the best lessons of modesty, and at the same time with the best antidote to dependence, and stimulus to industry. Let any man produce a really good historical picture, and we shall then have the opportunity of judging whether the patrons of English art are or not in reality chargeable with distaste for that particular exercise of genius. We must in candour confess, that we prefer naked walls in our churches to walls covered with 'great' pictures, such as Somerset House has ever been accustomed to produce. Nor is it at all wonderful that we should be difficult to please. We have before us the efforts of British art in other walks, and the satisfaction of seeing our countrymen and contemporaries equal the most illustrious names among foreign nations and past ages. Of this we are naturally proud; and their just fame demands that we should cast jealous eyes

eyes on performances which demand not only similar but superior honours. Nor is it so difficult, as some would have us believe, to make experiments in the department which the nation is accused of neglecting. A large canvas will never, in all likelihood, be the *sine qua non* of a great genius.—In the successful and popular works of our great living artists in other departments, the historical aspirant might find better things than the food either of vanity or of envy. In them, if he would condescend to study them, he might perceive certain qualities, without which neither in poetry, nor in painting, nor in sculpture, will any artist, of whatever genius, be able to command the lasting favour of this nation—qualities which have been and might again be displayed in his own walk—namely, truth and common sense. Twenty years ago there were not wanting persons who bemoaned or vituperated, as it suited their temper, the national indifference to historical romance. Three duodecimos put an end to that clamour. Every tragedian of this day lays to his soul the flattering unction that the English public are insensible to tragic merits—that we will bear nothing but Shakspeare; nay, that, if Shakspeare were to rise from the grave, and produce another Macbeth, it would be damned the first night. It is easy to declaim in this fashion—rather easier than to ‘shame the fools’ either by a good play, or a good picture.

The Idler, however, is surely a little too hasty in his exclusion of personal vanity from among the prime and most active elements of the popularity of the portrait painter here as elsewhere. The good portrait painter always flatters; for it is his business, not, indeed, to alter and amend features, complexion, or mien, but to select and fix (which it demands genius and sense to do) the best appearance which these ever do wear. Happy the creature of sense and passion who has always with him that self which he could take pleasure in contemplating! Happy—to pass graver considerations—the fair one whose countenance continues as youthful as her attire! When Queen Elizabeth’s wrinkles waxed deep and many, it is reported that an unfortunate Master of the Mint incurred disgrace by a too faithful shilling; the die was broken, and only one mutilated impression is now in existence. Her maids of honour took the hint, and were thenceforth careful that no fragment of looking-glass should remain in any room of the palace. In fact, the lion-hearted lady had not heart to look herself in the face for the last twenty years of her life; but we nowhere learn that she quarrelled with Holbein’s portraits of her youth, or those of her stately prime of viraginity by De Heere and Zuccherò; on the contrary, it was a likeness of herself, painted during the lifetime of her father, that ‘she bestowed on her ‘illustrious spy,’ as the dearest token of her esteem, at a very advanced

advanced period of her reign, with the inscription (written by herself) :—

‘The queen to Walsingham this table sent,
Mark of her people’s and her own content :’

nor did she frown to the last at sight of another portrait by the same hand, executed immediately after her accession to the throne, and inscribed with these lines,

‘Juno potens sceptris, et mentis acumine Pallas,
Et roseo Veneris fulget in ore decor;
Adfuit Elizabeth; Juno perculsa refugit;
Obstupuit Pallas, erubuitque Venus.’

In this matter, as in many others, Dr. Johnson paid human-nature a compliment which it deserved not, in judging of the race in general from the mauliness of his own taste and feelings. The pettinesses of vanity were far enough *a Scævola studiis*; but they display themselves nowhere in more perfect efflorescence than in the artist’s studio, where the very light of heaven is trained and managed into a most delicate harbinger and minister of flattery. How often has every portrait painter muttered to himself the lines of Dryden,

‘Good heaven! that sots and knaves should be so vain
To wish their vile resemblance to remain,
And stand recorded, at their own request,
To future times a libel or a jest’—?

Is there one in the world who, in the absence of a sitter, would have the boldness to breathe a whisper in favour of this part of the doctor’s argument? Sir Joshua, had he heard him, would, no doubt, have shifted his trumpet.

It was as unlikely, no doubt, that Dr. Johnson should sympathize with this kind of vanity, as it was rash in him to deny its copious existence. He who has ‘neither done things worthy to be written, nor written things worthy to be read,’ takes the trouble of transmitting his portrait to posterity to very little purpose. If the picture be a bad one, it will soon find its way to the garret; if good, as a work of art, it will perpetuate the fame, probably the name, indeed, of the artist alone. These are the *obscurorum virorum imagines* which, as Walpole said, ‘are christened commonly in galleries, like children at the Foundling Hospital, *by chance*.’ Who will think of anything but the excellence of Sir Thomas Lawrence’s skill, when he surveys, a few years, or a few hundred years hence, the features of those pampered citizens and giddy beauties, which even that pencil attempts in vain to invest with the dignity and sobriety of intellect and virtue? How deep and reverential, on the other hand, is the interest with which all men contemplate the likenesses of the good and the great that have been; how powerful the feeling with which we peruse the
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features even of the illustrious villain of former times, in 'the very shape and habit as he moved.' We do not envy the man who can walk rapidly along the speaking walls of Windsor, or Lambeth, or Petworth, or Knowle, or Hatfield, or the Bodleian. He surely who best deserves the name of historian, statesman, or philosopher, will linger the longest amidst such collections, and learn the most.

The national predilection for portrait-painting, then, has at least been attended with this good effect, that as our history far surpasses that of any other modern nation in every element of interest and instruction, so far more largely than in any other case are the persons whose actions form its landmarks, familiarized to posterity; an advantage, which the merest utilitarian will hardly undervalue. There are, perhaps, many in these days, who bestow but a smile upon the gravity of Sallust, when he says, in his extraordinary preface, 'Sape audiui, Q. Maximus, P. Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros, solitos ita dicere : cum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissime sibi animum ad virtutem accendi; scilicet non ceram illam neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere; sed memoriâ rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit.' But must not even these persons acquiesce in the prosaic remark of Mr. Jonathan Richardson, viz., 'Let a man read a character in Lord Clarendon (and certainly never was a better painter in that kind), he will find it improved by seeing a picture of the same person by Vandycck.' Will the hardest of them object to Horace Walpole's dictum,—'a portrait of real authenticity calls up so many collateral ideas, as to fill an intelligent mind more than any other species of painting?' Can he dissent from much of the following passage, which occurs in the *prospectus* to the splendid work named at the head of this paper :—

'Little need be said on the extended information and delight which we derive from the multiplication of portraits by engraving, or on the more important advantages resulting from the study of biography. Separately considered, the one affords us an amusement not less innocent than elegant; inculcates the rudiments or aids the progress of taste; and rescues from the hand of time the perishable monument raised by the pencil. The other, while it is, perhaps, the most agreeable branch of historical literature, is certainly the most useful in its moral effects; stating the known circumstances, and endeavouring to unfold the secret motives of human conduct; selecting, and, as it were, condensing all that is worthy of being recorded; bestowing its lasting encomiums and chastisements,—it at once invigorates the mind and warms and mends the heart. It is, however, from the combination of portraits and biography that we reap the utmost degree of utility and pleasure that can be derived from them. As in contemplating

templating the portrait of an eminent person we long to be instructed in his history, so in reading of his actions we are anxious to behold his countenance. So earnest is this desire, that the imagination is generally ready to coin a set of features, or to conceive a character, to supply the painful absence of the one or the other. All sensible minds have experienced these illusions, and it is from a morbid excess of this interesting feeling that the errors and extravagancies of the theory of physiognomy have arisen.'

Mr. Lodge has not thought it worth his while to advert to the light which portraits throw on other matters, besides the history, properly so called, of the illustrious dead. Had the art not been practised among our forefathers, how many points are there in the language, how many allusions, above all, in the poetry and the drama of past times, which must have been altogether unintelligible even to our Stevenses and Malones! In order to read old poets, as well as chroniclers, with advantage, it is quite necessary that we should have a lively apprehension of the costume of their contemporaries; and the proverbial fickleness of English fashions has made this sort of illustration more indispensable here than elsewhere. Our constant changes of habit were the subject of ridicule at home and abroad, even at an early period. Witness the ancient limner's jest in 1570, who, being employed to decorate the gallery of the Lord Admiral Lincoln with representations of the costumes of the different nations of Europe, when he came to the English, drew a naked man, with cloth of various colours lying by him, and a pair of shears held in his hand, as in rueful suspense and hesitation; or the earlier conceit, to the same effect, of 'Andrew Borde of Physicke Doctor,' alias 'Andreas Perforatus,' who, to the first chapter of his '*Booke of the Instruction of Knowledge*,' (1542,) prefixed a naked figure, with these lines,—

'I am an Englishman. and naked I stande here,
Musing in minde what rayment I shal weare:
For nowe I wil weare this, and now I will weare that;
And now I will weare I cannot telle whatt.'

The changes from those days have been so numerous, that a complete series of English costume would fill a museum; and so decisive, that the 'rayment' worn by the grandson has, for the most part, differed as essentially from that of the grandsire, as if contempt of ancestry, and not the reverse, had been a national characteristic. It costs Granger, and his brethren, many a laborious page to trace *in words* the pedigree of the modern neck-cloth up to the close ruff that came in with Philip of Spain, the nether integuments of our fine gentlemen, to the 'bombastic' drawers and tight hose of Henry VIII. The hat, the shoe, the glove—

glove—each article has as intricate a genealogy—the beard alone might furnish matter for a volume. That, we thought, had at last, after all its changes and chances, become extinct; but the venerable ornament has come forth again from abeyance, and the Granger or Dallaway of the next century may probably have to trace it again from the *dies non* of George III. through another retrogressive score or two of pollings and trimmings—the triangle, the peak, the pantile—if not the patriarchal flood of mane itself,—

‘Even Aaron’s beard, that to the skirts

Did of his garments go.’

Without the aid of pictures, antiquaries would have been utterly baffled in such researches; but for the multiplication of engravings, even their *best* explanations would be comparatively unintelligible to the general reader. Fortunately, the best portrait painters have, in general, been the most careful to preserve the features of costume as they found them; and it were to be wished that there had been no exceptions to this rule. The admirable pictures of Holbein and Vandyke derive, from this fidelity, a species of interest, for the absence of which even genius like theirs could not have compensated. The latter, indeed, could hardly have improved on the reality before him—the era at which our taste in dress, as in architecture, and in many other things, was at its best, being that in which he visited our shores—to paint, fortunately for English history, the most interesting characters that figure in its page. Holbein was less fortunate, but he had too much sense and shrewdness to escape from real difficulties by fantastic evasions; and the same praise is due to Sir Joshua Reynolds. Lely and Kneller, on the contrary, for the sake of flimsy night-gowns and concombinal caps, have, in fact, done their best to leave a blank in our tables; we are often obliged to the performances of less fashionable and ambitious hands, for our liveliest notions of the real men and women of their days. It is well, for instance, that we have other pictures of John Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, besides that in which he appears with a voluminous wig, a naked neck, and Roman armour—Poor Jeanie Deans would hardly have suspected such a personage of having ‘a heart that would warm to the tartan.’ Who would not rather possess that portrait of the Duke of Wellington, which presents the very dress he wore at Waterloo,* than the same form and features surrounded even by the same inimitable hand, with the most graceful of imaginary concomitants? The great successor of Reynolds has chosen the better part also: wherever he condescends to the foppery of flaunting cloak and bare throat, we may be sure the blame lies in the capricious vanity of his subject.

* Now in the collection, we understand, of the Right Honourable Robert Peel.

Mr. Lodge proceeds to say,

‘It was not merely, then, with the view of perpetuating the histories or the portraits of the illustrious dead, of exhibiting the skill of the painter or the fidelity of the engraver, that this work was undertaken; but in the hope, by a combined effort, to make the strongest possible impression on the judgment and the memory, as well as on the taste; and to give to biography and portraits, by uniting them, what may very properly be called their best natural effect.’

This language, which would have been ridiculous from any author previously engaged on an English publication of the same class, comes without impropriety from Mr. Lodge. What share he has had in the selection of pictures to be copied, we are not told; and the promise of the prospectus has, in one important particular, been unfulfilled: but, on the whole, there can be no doubt that this is the most elegant, as well as extensive, collection of engraved portraits as yet produced either here or elsewhere, and as little, that the biographical accompaniments are of merit unrivalled in any other work of the kind.

The *prospectus* promised that the collection ‘would not be confined to the commemoration of statesmen and heroes, but include distinguished characters of all descriptions; insisting only on a very high degree of eminence as a qualification for the admission of its subjects.’ This is dropped in the *preface*, and rightly so; for, in the three volumes now completed of this most splendid collection, we cannot but observe and regret the absence of many distinguished characters, at least as worthy of commemoration as the loftiest personages whom they do include. Our poets, our authors of all kinds, however eminent, are omitted in this work as it stands, unless they have happened to possess also the advantages of illustrious birth, or high public station. We have Surrey, and Sidney, and Clarendon, and Selden, but look in vain for Spenser, or Jonson, or Dryden, or even Mr. Latin-Secretary Milton. And yet, in the prospectus of a fourth volume, Mr. Lodge returns to his original vein, and tells us that we are to have ‘all the most eminent persons of the country during the eighteenth century,’ mentioning, among others, *Locke*. Does the author of the *Essay on the Human Understanding* derive his title to this distinction from having been one of the Lords of Trade and Plantations here, or a *Cacique* of Maryland? Is Addison to accompany him because he was once a Secretary of State?—Sir Isaac Newton in virtue of his place in the Mint? The publishers have, in our opinion, sacrificed much by this curtailment of the original plan; but we willingly believe the fault is not with Mr. Lodge, and return to the merits of that which has been done—which, however, cannot be understood without some knowledge of the previous attempts in the same way.

We may spare ourselves the trouble of noticing, at any length, the early collections on the continent—some of which date more than a century before anything of the kind appeared here: the most interesting of these are described with all the luxury of gusto by Dr. Dibdin, in his *Bibliographical Decameron and Tour*, to which we refer the curious reader. The great ‘*Theatrum virorum eruditione singulari clarorum, in quo vitæ et scripta Theologorum, Jurisconsultorum, Medicorum et Philosophorum, a seculis aliquot ad hæc usque tempora florentium representantur*’ of Freherus (2 vols. folio, Nuremberg, 1688) is not mentioned by the learned bibliomaniac. It is of the same class with the collections of Rovillius, Beza, and Boissard, on which he expatiates, and contains, like them, a few British heads scattered here and there amidst hundreds of foreign *clarissimi*—never authenticated by reference to the pictures or medals from which they were taken, (if, indeed, they were taken, in some instances, from anything but the engraver’s fancy,) and accompanied by scraps of biography, so brief and jejune, that nothing but a few dates can be gathered from them. The engravings by Killian are often highly spirited; and the heads are grouped by dozens in the same page. The chief interest which these works possess for the student of English history, is, that they serve to point out those of our countrymen who had the honour to occupy the greatest share of attention on the continent at the time when they appeared.*

The first English collection which either Dibdin, or Walpole, or Lodge, has thought it worth while to speak of, is that of Henry Holland—the ‘*Heroologia Anglica, hoc est clarissimorum aliquot et doctissimorum Anglorum qui floruerunt ab anno Christi MD., usque ad præsentem annum MDCXX, veræ effigies, vitæ et elogia*’—which was published at Arnheim, and which contains in all sixty-six heads. The engravings in this celebrated book are criticised by Dr. Dibdin in the following characteristic style:—

‘There are other portraits which please me better than those published by Henry Holland. I admit the mechanical skill with which they are executed: softness, brilliancy, splendour—you have them all here to perfection! But there are some portraits in human nature which are neither soft, nor brilliant, nor splendid; and honest John Bayle, in the ancient woodcut representation of him, with his quick eye and bushy beard, “likes me better” than the silken touches bestowed upon his visage by the burin of Simon Pass. I could mention

* In a very rare tome, also omitted by Dr. Dibdin, and entitled ‘*Atrium Heroicum Cæsarum, Regum, aliorumque Summatum ac Procerum*,’ published at Augsburg in 1600, the only British portraits introduced are those of Elizabeth, her brother, her successor, and Leicester; in not one of which can we trace more than the most shadowy resemblance to the features of the originals. The inscriptions in this work are in verse—of the shortest and the vilest.

several other illustrations which support—either my prejudice—or my fair criticism. The women and men have also too close a resemblance to each other; that is to say, the male portraits are too much effeminised.’—*Decameron*, vol. i. p. 281.

We shall not dispute with Dr. Dibdin on matters which lie within his unquestioned province; but perhaps the reader may like to hear something of the literary part of Holland's work, on which the bibliomaniacal doctor has disdained to bestow any of his criticism. The volume is dedicated to James ‘*Britannorum Imperatori, &c., fidei verè Catholicæ et Apostolicæ Defensori, necnon Virginiae, Bermuda, Novæ Angliæ, aliarumque insularum in America legitimo regi.*’ The first portrait is that of Henry VIII.—altogether unlike him, by the way, except the bonnet; and below is this *eulogium* :—

‘*Fortibus Henricus solitus dare jura Britannis*

Fulmen erat Martis, veræ et pietatis alumnus

Unde armis regnum, populus pietate refulget.’

The *vita* which follows extends to the unusual length of four pages, and may be judged of sufficiently from a single sentence, viz.—

‘*Aliquot ex prædictis uxoribus summo supplicio ut afficerentur mandavit, sed quam justè nequeo pronuntiare; neque mihi libet, aut fortasse licet, in questionem vocare tam illustris Regis justitiam, prout quidam nimis audacter et petulanter fecerunt: et nonnulli dicuntant Ipsum fuisse meliorem Regem quam virum: sed (ut mea fert opinio) fuit cum bonus Rex tum bonus vir.*’

Of Sir Thomas More's death he merely says, ‘*justis de causis in judicium vocatur, et pœnam sequi oportuit, ut securi percuteretur.*’ Of the detestable Leicester—

‘*Utenuque aliquorum hominum linguis et calamis fuerit læsus et infamatus, etiamnumque ledatur et infametur, tamen præ explorato scio illum non solum fuisse in procuracione Reipub. egregium subditum, sed etiam potentem evangelii fautorem et ferventissimum ejusdem professorem.*’

And all this in 1620!—So much for the *Heroologia*, which, as Dr. Dibdin delights to tell us, sells commonly for 13*l.*, or even 15*l.*! It would be opening a field far too wide for our present opportunities, were we to enter at all upon works dedicated to the illustrated biography of particular classes of great men among us; such as the Lord Mayors of London, the parliamentary generals, the highwaymen, or even the poets, the admirals, or the kings. One book, however, we must be excused for mentioning, because it happened to be the first of the *genus* that fell into our own hands—the ‘*History of the Grand Rebellion*, by Edward Ward,’ 1713, three volumes, 8vo, consisting of portraits of the principal persons

persons on either side, with epitomes of their chief actions in verse. Rude as those engravings are, and doggrel those verses, the prints and rhymes together were in former days popular, and made on many a young mind an impression not to be erased; but the age is 'too picked' for confessions of this stamp—and we proceed.

The engravings for the 'Heroologia' were all executed in Holland; because, of course, the author had no Simon Pass at home. The egregious infidelity of the portraits may be in great measure ascribed to this circumstance; and something of the same defect may also be traced to the same cause in the far more valuable work of Houbraken and Birch—which, in fact, is the only production of the English press that can sustain even a momentary comparison, on any point whatever, with that now before us. The preceding performances were only fit for being used in the manner thus alluded to in the third day of the *Decameron*:—"Boissard is a fine illustrating fellow for cutting up. The *Heroologia* is the favourite volume of a thorough-bred Grangerite, who, without pity or remorse, plunges his trenchant scissors into the very abdomen of the tome!"

The 'Heads of illustrious persons of Great Britain, with their lives and characters,' (London, 1747) is a magnificent work. The engravings, as specimens of the art, are in the first rank; almost all beautiful, some exquisitely spirited. But they, like those of the *Heroologia*, were for the most part executed in Holland; and admirable as the effect of Houbraken's burin must ever be considered, it was on this occasion guided by a too careless hand. The pictures he could never have seen; and the drawings sent over to him might not have been true to them. The result is certain: many of the prints have little or no resemblance to any portraits of the originals with which we can now compare them. Mr. Lodge speaks thus in his preface:—

"Houbraken, as the late Lord Orford justly observes, "was ignorant of our history, uninquisitive into the authenticity of the drawings which were transmitted to him, and engraved whatever was sent;" adducing two instances, namely, Carr, Earl of Somerset, and Secretary Thurloe, as not only spurious, but not having the least resemblance to the persons they pretend to represent. An anonymous but evidently well informed writer (in the *Gentleman's Magazine*) further states, that "Thurloe's, and about *thirty* of the others, are copied from heads painted for no one knows whom."

When Mr. Lodge quotes the writer who makes this last statement, as 'evidently well informed,' he, in our judgment, makes himself responsible for the assertion—and it is a sweeping one. If such be in reality the case with thirty of the 'illustrious heads,'
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the value of the collection (which contains in all one hundred and eight) must sink considerably. That several portraits are wrongly named, in this superb volume, we have no sort of doubt ;* but we suspect *thirty* is too wide a word. More visages, we suspect, have been marred by Houbraken, than mischristened by Dr. Birch. The real source of all this mischief was the dismissal of Vertue at an early stage of the undertaking. That most industrious, painful, honest man, would have walked from the Land's End to Berwick rather than be accessory to a single imposition of any kind. Whether his caution was beyond the patience of the publishers, or their carelessness disgusted him, it is no business of ours to inquire. The few heads which bear his name in the work are excellent copies of undoubted and authentic originals ; would they had all been such, even although we had to regret some of the most felicitous specimens of the magical finishing of Houbraken !

Of his predecessor's biographical accompaniments, our author thus speaks :—

‘While Houbraken thus sacrificed the truth of his subjects to the delicacies of his art, Birch, on the contrary, was performing his part of the task, with the strictest fidelity, in his recital of facts ; but with an almost total inattention to delineation of character or grace of language, as though he feared that the simplicity of truth might be disguised by a decent garb, and that biography might be in danger of degenerating into romance, were it occasionally to endeavour to trace remarkable instances in human conduct to their proper intellectual sources.’

Mr. Lodge says nothing but what is true in this critical passage. The favourite maxim of Birch (as we are told, in the *Literary Anecdotes* of the late excellent John Nichols) was, that ‘no writer could have too many facts ;’ and this principle, which rendered his extended works clumsy, heavy, and provocative of nodding, turned his biographical attempts *in little* into total failures. They are unintelligible, even if one can keep his eyes open to read them. As for Birch's fidelity to facts, we do not mean to insinuate the least dissent from Mr. Lodge's statement ; but we are bound to say, that the party principles of the writer are often and offensively betrayed even in those dry and shrivelled anatomies, from which he has so carefully separated every thing that could have helped us to the living aspects and gestures of the subjects.

On almost every point, the superiority of the work now before us over this its most noticeable predecessor, is great and conspicuous.

* We may as well mention two instances as to which it will be easy to scrutinize our statement. The Thomas Howard, *third* Duke of Norfolk (both of Birch and of Houbraken) is Thomas, the fourth Duke of the Howards ; and to the life of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, is affixed the likeness of his son Edward.

It is something that it is the first of the kind entirely planned and executed in this country. In allowing that it has given us no specimen of engraving to be classed, for the mere beauty and spirit of execution, with some of the productions of Houbraken's bold and dashing burin, we have indicated the only circumstance wherein it is possible to set the elder collection before it. The engravings are already, in the first place, nearly twice as numerous: they are, secondly, so executed as to convey a more perfect notion of the portraits, we do not merely say than Houbraken's, but than any person who has not had the opportunity of comparing a considerable number of them with their originals, will readily believe.* Thirdly, they have this, to our view, eminent advantage over Houbraken's, that they give the whole picture, not merely the head, or, at most, the half-figure. Let any one compare Houbraken's head, from a Vandyck, with Mr. Lodge's fac-simile of the whole painting, and he will appreciate the importance of this circumstance. How much meaning is there in an attitude, when it has been fixed by such a painter as Vandyck, or Reynolds, or Lawrence! One studies the person of a great man rather to better purpose, by entering his chamber, than merely seeing him put his head out of his window. As to the matter of costume, it is obvious how much is lost in this latter fashion. When we add that the originals have been *selected*, after a most careful examination of the principal collections, public and private, throughout all parts of this island; and that many of the portraits now given to us were never copied or engraved at all, until the conductors of the present work took them in hand, we presume we have said enough as to the graphic department. In truth, the possessor of these two hundred exquisite prints is master, to all useful intents and purposes, of a larger and a better gallery of historical portraits, than could be matched from the walls of any given dozen of palaces in England.

As, however, another edition of the whole work is announced, we hope to be forgiven for suggesting to the conductors that, in the case of some of the most illustrious personages, it would be a great improvement in the plan to give copies of more good portraits than one, when such exist, and represent the mighty dead as they appeared at different periods of their lives, or in different moods of mind, characters, or functions. We are persuaded every one will agree with us, that it is a most interesting thing to trace the changes wrought by memorable years of action or of passion; on such countenances as those of Henry VIII., Charles I., Stratford, Cromwell. Houbraken has given us Cooper's famous head of the Usurper, in profile, now in the possession of Mr. Cromwell

* There are learned and skilful persons who object to the mixture of styles in the engraving. This we care little about; the *effect* is such as we have mentioned.

Frankland, of Chichester,—the very delineation, no question, which Crabbe was thinking of when he described the secret ornament of the domestic penetralia of his independent hero,—

‘ For there, in lofty air, was seen to stand
The bold Protector of the conquered land,
Drawn in that look with which he wept and swore,
Turned out the members, and made fast the door ;
Ridding the house of every knave and drone,
Forced, tho’ it grieved his soul, to reign alone.’

This is the miniature on which Walpole commented so eloquently.

‘ If Cooper’s works could be enlarged, I don’t know but Vandyck would appear less great by the comparison. To make it fairly, one must not measure the Fleming by his most admired piece, Cardinal Bentivoglio. The quick finess of eye, in a florid Italian writer, was not a subject equal to The Protector ; but it would be an amusing trial to balance Cooper’s Oliver, and Vandyck’s Lord Strafford—to trace the lineaments of equal ambition, equal intrepidity, equal art, equal presumption, and to compare the skill of the masters, in representing the one exalted to the height of his hopes, yet perplexed with a command he could scarce hold, did not dare to relinquish, and yet dared to exert ; the other dashed in his career, willing to avoid the precipice, searching all the recesses of so great a soul to break his fall, and yet ready to mount the scaffold with more dignity than the other ascended the throne.*

In the work now before us, again, we have the Lord Protector, as given in Walker’s masterpiece, in the collection of Earl Spenser—a very different phasis of that most extraordinary physiognomy—the solemn melancholy, mixed with heroic resolution, of one who had set his life on a cast, and not yet won it. ‘ How interesting to have the two representations together. In both, as Lord Corke said of the cast of the original countenance itself, taken a few moments after death, and still preserved at Florence, we recognize ‘ the strongest characteristics of boldness, steadiness, sense, penetration, and pride ;’ but it is in Cooper’s only that we have ‘ the muscles strong and lively, the look fierce and commanding,’ of his lordship’s description. In the other, we are more reminded of Oliver as he appeared on Lord Broghill’s sounding him as to the marriage of his daughter Frances with the exiled Charles, when, ‘ standing in a musing posture,’ he said, —and, after a pause, repeated—‘ the king will never forgive me the death of his father ;’ or rather, perhaps, as he may be supposed to have stood by the death-bed of his daughter, Mrs.

* Anecdotes of Painting, Dallaway’s Edition, vol. ii. p. 119.

Claypole, when she, 'the near approach of her dissolution giving her courage to speak what she formerly thought, but durst not express,' lamented and condemned the wickedness of his ambition, in terms which, Clarendon says, exceedingly perplexed him; insomuch that it was commonly reported he never smiled after that day.

Above all, perhaps, it is interesting to compare two portraits of the same eminent person, in two different aspects of his physiognomy, both painted by the same master—as, for example, in the instance of Sir Thomas More. In his brief sketch of More's life, in the 'Portraits of the Court of Henry VIII., from Holbein's drawings, in his Majesty's collection' (1792), Mr. Lodge himself says,

'it would be unnecessary to speak of his person, were it not for the *peculiar character* expressed in this fine portrait (i. e. the portrait which the tract accompanied), where the artist, to the archness of a lively fancy or the complacency of a benign mind, has *most judiciously* preferred the deliberating brow and the doubtful but penetrating eye of the judge on the bench, searching for truth in the features as well as in the words of the culprit or witness supposed to be in his presence.'

Is it not very pleasing to contrast the likeness thus justly characterized with the very different portrait of the same great man by the same artist, which Houbraken engraved somewhat carelessly, and of which we have a complete fac-simile in Mr. Lodge's present work—a portrait which brings before us the More, not of Westminster Hall, but of Chelsea; the More of Erasmus,

'conversing affably with his family—his wife, his son and daughter-in-law, his three daughters and their husbands, and eleven grand-children—no man living so affectionate to his children as he, and loving his old wife as if she were a young maid; so excellent of temper, that whatsoever happeneth that could not be helped, he loveth it as though nothing could have happened more happily.'

These two representations would go well together in another edition of the more enlarged and admirable tract which Mr. Lodge has since written on the biography of More, and in which he thus expresses himself,—

'To say that Sir Thomas More's was the brightest character of the age in which he lived, an age which exhibited the ferocity of uncivilized man without his simplicity, and the degeneracy of modern manners without their refinement, were praise beneath his merit: to challenge the long and splendid series of English biography to produce his equal at any period, might be deemed presumptuous; but if the wise and honest statesman, the acute and uncorrupt magistrate, the loyal but independent subject, constitute an excellent public man; if the good father, the good husband, and the good master, the
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firm friend, the moral though witty companion, the upright neighbour, the pious Christian, and the patient martyr form a perfect character—*Ecce Homo*.'

Of that beautiful work of the Holbein drawings, since it has been mentioned at all, we may as well observe that Mr. Lodge himself has given a just and impartial account in his present preface:—

'The defects of it were, in a great measure, unavoidable: it was intended rather to exhibit choice specimens of a particular master than portraits of distinguished characters. It presents, therefore, a motley mixture of eminence and obscurity; of the resemblances of princes, heroes, and statesmen who never could have been forgotten, with those of inoffensive country gentlemen and their wives, of whose very existence we should have remained ignorant, but for the immortalizing pencil of Holbein.'

It is proper to add, that Dr. Dibdin has pointed out *one* instance of flagrant infidelity in the engraving of the work, and thrown heavy suspicions on many more of the portraits—indeed, on the general character of Bartolozzi as a copier.—*Library Companion*, p. 512. The biographical notices in this book, however, must have sufficiently prepared the reader for excellences of a high order in the more elaborate pages accompanying the present more splendid, as well as extensive, collection. They must have satisfied every one that Mr. Lodge had studied the characters of the tempestuous period of Henry VIII. not less minutely than his '*Illustrations of British History* (1791),' had previously shown him to have scrutinized the personal details of the court of Elizabeth. The present performance will amply satisfy the expectations thus naturally excited; it will show the author not less accurately skilled in the whole history, public and personal, of the period of the Stuart princes. We venture to say that it will do more than all this.

Largely as we have been tempted to speak of the graphic part of these volumes, we do not hesitate to say that, were the engravings absent, they would still form a most valuable addition to the English library. This strong language we use deliberately. The author, in his preface, thus alludes to his own share of the task:—

'He claims no degree of merit beyond that which may justly belong to patient circumspection, laborious research, and impartial relation; and he has no other motive for asserting that these advantages really have been bestowed on his biographical notices, than a wish to procure for them the favour of a mere perusal. Without this caution, it is more than probable that they might sink unobserved under the weight of a general and most excusable prejudice; for when he recollects the vague and frothy essays which almost invariably wait on engravings, in ceremo-

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nious portions of what, on such occasions, is most properly called "letter-press," being, in fact, nothing else, he feels it necessary thus to bespeak for the fruits of his labours, humble as they are, at least a fair trial. He has employed the best powers of his mind, to give to these tracts as much of the true character of biography as the space allotted to them would allow. He has silently passed over minor and insignificant facts, and sought diligently for original and novel intelligence. He has lost no opportunities of correcting misrepresentations; of placing neglected or misconceived objects in their just lights; or of endeavouring to describe characters with strict impartiality and truth. It has been, indeed, his chief anxiety to distinguish himself from those "gentle historians," whose strains of unvaried panegyric were once honoured beyond their deserts by a sarcasm from the pen of the incomparable Burke. His judgment, however frequently it may be found erroneous, and his expression of it, have been wholly unbiassed by any private motives. He has described men and things as he thought they deserved, and his friends have told him that he has spoken sometimes too plainly, but they have not been able to convince him that he has done wrong.

Any one page of the tracts themselves would form a sufficient vindication of Mr. Lodge from the suspicion of belonging either to the tribe of the 'gentle historians,' or to that of the manufacturers of 'letter-press.' No one who has perused his 'Illustrations from the Howard, Talbot, and Cecil papers,' will be surprised to hear that in the course of the present work a considerable number of original letters are, for the first time, printed from the originals in the Museum, and other great repositories of manuscript wealth; and we may safely say that in hardly one instance have we found Mr. Lodge swelling his page with matter possessed of no claim to notice except mere novelty. But it is not on this sort of merit that we would advise our author to build his highest hopes. He has exhibited qualities not only more likely to win the ear of the reading public of the day than those which are usually connected with the notion of a diligent hunter of dates and documents—but calculated to secure for him a permanent place in the estimation of those best acquainted with the history of their country, and consequently best able to compare him with the English classics whose works he has thoroughly digested—whose lofty spirit he has often caught, whose grave simplicity and energy of diction he has not seldom approached.

These lives may be divided into two distinct classes—in each of which an extraordinary degree of excellence has been reached. The first—those of persons illustrious—not solely, be it granted, but chiefly—by reason of birth and other external advantages, in which circumstances hitherto scattered on the wide page of general history, or concealed in the lumber
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of dusty MSS., have now been, for the first time, collected, elicited, and set forth together in a comprehensive and intelligible form. These are, in fact, specimens of what a peerage ought to be—of what the English peerage would have been, had it happened to be not merely edited and enlarged but entirely digested and written by a person possessed not merely of the requisite knowledge of facts, but of judgment, sensibility, a philosophic candour and discrimination, and the power to express forcibly and elegantly what has been patiently weighed and deeply felt—by Sir Egerton Brydges—a name frequently mentioned by Mr. Lodge, and never without honour. The lives of the class now alluded to are compositions of real value—and will be, or ought to be, appreciated highly by those who make the details of our history their serious study, as well as all who happen to be descended from the distinguished personages in question, or connected in any way with the honours of their blood and fame.* But there are lives of another, and, in our opinion, a yet higher class, in this collection. In these the *chief* merit is not that of bringing unknown or obscure facts together in a pleasing manner;—but of extracting, in a small space, the essence of stories universally known, and even, to a certain extent, studied; compressing in a few pages the pith, substance, and spirit of laborious volumes; summing up, in short, the evidence of history, and directing the judgment of the student. In regard to the illustrious characters of our political history, through its two most picturesque and eventful centuries, Mr. Lodge has furnished us with *Epitomes*, which, were the authorities regularly quoted at the bottom of the page, would deserve to be put into the hands of every young person beginning his course of English historical reading, to guide him as to the course of his inquiries;—and in which the most ripe and experienced reader will find delight, as serving to refresh memory by a systematic and arranged exhibition of the common materials of thought, and not less as containing the reflections of a mind equally polished, sagacious, and candid, long exerted on those materials.

We heartily wish it were in our power to justify this praise by copious extracts from Mr. Lodge's volumes—especially as, from their bulk and costliness, they can hardly have as yet found their way into the hands of many readers of our Journal. The best

* For those whose insolence is founded on the possession of their privileges, but who turn with a stupid or affected aversion from any inquiry into their history, every sensible and rational mind must feel not only disapprobation but contempt. If they will not look back with curiosity and respect on those merits which have procured them their present enviable station, on what just grounds can they imagine themselves placed where they are? It is observable that the most insolent and haughty of our nobility are uniformly those who are least conversant about its history. Perhaps they are right: every page would teem with reproaches of their own sensual lives.—Sir E. Brydges' preface to Collins, p. viii.

service we could render the author would, no doubt, be to transcribe some one of the most important lives, as it stands; but this we find to be impossible. We shall, therefore, devote the rest of our space to a few passages, in which he gives the general results of his inquiry into the characters and fortunes of some of his most interesting subjects.

In the first volume, among the lives which may be said never to have been written until now, occur those of Henry Fitzallan, the last Earl of Arundel of that family, and of Thomas Radclyffe, third Earl of Sussex of the Radclyffes.*

The biography of Sussex thus opens:—

‘The circumstances, important as they were, of the life of this very great and good man, have been suffered till this day to lie scattered on the page of history; and in the pumber, which is not inconsiderable, of biographical omissions, no one has appeared to me so remarkable. Neither has his portrait (with one or two exceptions, so mean as scarcely to challenge recollection) been delivered to us by the graver. His conduct united all the splendid qualities of those eminent persons who jointly rendered Elizabeth’s court an object of admiration to Europe, and was perfectly free from their faults. Wise and loyal as Burghley, without his blind attachment to the monarch; vigilant as Walsingham, but disdaining his cunning; magnificent as Leicester, but incapable of hypocrisy; and brave as Raleigh, with the piety of a primitive Christian; he seemed above the common objects of human ambition, and wanted, if the expression may be allowed, those dark shades of character which make men the heroes of history. Such was the man whose story has never yet been collectively imparted to the world.’

The same volume, which is chiefly occupied with the Tudor period, (though it includes the lives of Bacon, Raleigh, and Mr. Lodge’s ancient favourite the Lady Arabella,) the articles dedicated to the successive wives of Henry VIII. appear to us to be exquisite specimens of the author’s manner. That of Anne Boleyn thus commences:—

‘Abstracted from the great events in the origin of which this unhappy fair became accidentally a passive instrument, there is little in her story but the facts of her sudden elevation and tragical fall to distinguish it from a common tale of private life, and the faint traces which remain of her conduct leave us little room to suppose that the character of her mind was of a cast less ordinary. Mild, lively, and thoughtless, she seems to have been formed rather to attract than to maintain affection—to inspire gaiety and kindness rather than confidence or respect. The barbarous injustice which she experienced has excited the pity of succeeding ages, and our unwillingness to abandon a tender and amiable sentiment has probably prevented any

* Born 1526, died 1593.

very strict inquiry into her errors. To add the unfounded imputation of another murder to the long catalogue of Henry's crimes seems a more pardonable mistake than to brand, perhaps unjustly, the memory of a most unfortunate woman, whose punishment, if she were really guilty, had fully expiated her crime.'

Catharine Par is introduced in these words:—

'Of this lady, in whose society Henry the Eighth, sated with the gratification of all the rudest passions and appetites, at length sought the charms of domestic comfort, history gives us less information than might have been expected. She certainly possessed considerable talents, and with less discretion might perhaps have acquired a greater fame. Suddenly elevated from private life to sovereign dignity, and by the hand of the most cruel and capricious prince of his time, she had to dread equally the envy of the rank from which she had been removed, and the jealousy of him who had raised her from it. To shun those perils, she avoided, as much as possible, all interference in public affairs; devoted to the studies for which an admirable education had qualified her, most of the hours which could be spared from the kindest attention to the king's increasing infirmities; and infused into her conversation with all others, an invariable affability, and a simplicity and even humility of manners, which, in one of her station, perhaps bordered on impropriety.'

The closing paragraph of this article we shall also transcribe:—

'Catharine was learned, and a lover of learning. The fame of her affection to literature, as well as to religion, induced the University of Cambridge to implore her intercession with Henry, on the occasion of the act which placed all colleges, chantries, &c. at the king's disposal. She published, in 1515, a volume of Prayers and Meditations, "collected," as the title informs us, "out of holy workes;" and in some editions of this little book, for it was many times reprinted, may be found fifteen psalms, and some other small devotional pieces, mostly of her original composition. She wrote, also, "The Lamentation of a Sinner, bewailing the Ignorance of her blind Life;" meaning the errors of Popery, in which she had passed the earlier part of it. This was printed after her death, with a preface written by Secretary Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley. In the former of these volumes we find this prayer, "for men to saye entering into battayle," which affords a fair example at once of the benignity and humility of her disposition, and of the character of her style:—"O Almighty Kinge, and Lorde of hostes! which, by thy angells therunto appointed, doest minister both warre and peace; and which diddest give unto David both courage and strength, being but a little one, unarmed, and unexpert in feats of warre, with his slinge to sette upon and overthrowe the great huge Goliath; our cause being just, and being enforced to entre into warre and battaile, we most humbly beseeche thee, O Lord God of hostes, sooe to turn the hearts of our enemyes to the desire of peace that no Christian blood be spilt; or els graunt, O Lorde, that, with small effusion

effusion of blood, and to the little hurt and domage of innocentes, we may, to thy glory, obtayne victory; and that, the warres being soone ended, we may all, with one heart and minde, knitte together in concorde and unitie, laude and prayse thee, which livest and reignest world without end. Amen.”

Our chief object being to show what new dignity of style Mr. Lodge has brought to the department, which he almost apologizes for having touched upon, we believe we cannot better attain it than by transcribing a few more of these *proemia*. How gracefully the author bends from this elevation to the plain tenour of narrative, and resumes it again whenever the subject admits of such ornament, every reader of the work itself well knows.

CARDINAL WOLSEY.—There is much reason to suspect that few eminent characters in history have been more misrepresented than that of Wolsey. The interests, the passions, and the prejudices of those by whom alone he could have been well known were combined against him. They consisted of the most enlightened and powerful of each important class of his countrymen, and consequently guided the opinions of the rest. The reformers, of course, shewed him no favour, and the heads of the Anglo-Romish church beheld, with secret anger, the monopoly which he had formed of the favour of the Papal See, and the alacrity with which he aided the project for Henry's divorce. The nobility were not less jealous and fearful of his influence, than indignant at the superior splendour assumed by a priest of obscure origin. When he suddenly declined from the enormous height on which his capricious master had placed him, policy, as well as inclination, prompted these several parties to pour the full tide of their vengeance on his reputation; to trample, at the foot of the throne, on the ruins of a fallen favourite; and, while they flattered Henry and Anne Boleyn by magnifying his defects, and depreciating his merits, to represent him to the nation as a singular instance of the injustice with which fortune sometimes showers her choicest gifts on the unworthy. The reformation, immediately succeeding, imposed silence on such as might have been able and willing to rescue his fame from undeserved obloquy, and consigned to utter oblivion all those little interesting and lively notices which are the safest guides to a correct judgment of the human character. The malice of his enemies could not, however, conceal from us that he ruled absolutely the political system of England during the many years in which Henry's credit, as a monarch and a man, remained unsullied, and that the enormities of that reign commenced as soon as his ministry had concluded; that his magnificence was equalled by his generosity, and his love of learning by his princely endeavours to diffuse it among his countrymen; that his wisdom was eminent, and that he possessed, in that rude age, the accomplishments of a gentleman and a courtier in a degree perhaps peculiar to himself.

CARDINAL POLE.—Reginald Pole, a noble example to the age in which he lived, stood almost alone, without acquiring the degree of distinction

distinction which he justly merited. The splendour of his birth forbade his mixing with a clergy generally sprung from the most ordinary ranks of the people, and the native candour and generosity of his heart restrained him from taking any share in those secret intrigues, those pious frauds, which were then the venial faults of the rulers of a falling church. He was in a great measure disqualified, not only by the sweetness of his temper, and the politeness of his breeding, but by the large scope of his mind, for controversies in which the most obscure and insignificant subtleties were always discussed with ill nature and ill manners. His aversion to persecution made him a silent and inactive member of those ecclesiastical commissions which, in his own country, derived credit from his name; and a sincere christian humility, joined to that dignified spirit which ruled his conduct in temporal affairs, detached him from the parties which agitated the Conclave, and besieged the Papal Throne. Thus, in his own time, more admired than understood; respected, but not imitated; and of habits too widely dissimilar from those of others of his own station, to admit easily of comparison; it is rather his character than his history that has been transmitted to posterity. It is the common fate of good counsels that have been rejected, and of worthy examples that have been contemned, to pass in a great measure unrecorded.

CROMWELL, EARL OF ESSEX.—'Henry the Eighth, in the great work of the Reformation, employed men of various characters and powers, and sagaciously assigned to each that share of the task for which he was best qualified. It was allotted, therefore, to Cromwell to spring the mine which others had secretly dug, and he accomplished it with a brutal vigour and celerity, which seemed to be the effect of zeal, while his heart and mind were wholly unconcerned. Cromwell was more remarkable for courage than prudence; for activity and perseverance than for reflection: nature, habit, and self-interest, had combined to render him implicitly obedient; and gratitude, perhaps, for his extraordinary elevation, had inspired him with an inflexible fidelity to his master. A soldier of fortune, a citizen of the world; unbiassed by parental example, or domestic affections; by prejudice of education, or solitary enthusiasm; indifferent about modes of religious faith, and ignorant of political systems; he fell into the hands of Henry at the very moment when such a man was peculiarly necessary to the accomplishment of his views; performed the service required of him; and, but for the singularity and importance of that service, would perhaps long since have been nearly forgotten.'

MARGARET TUDOR, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.—'In all respects but one, the character of this lady seems to have borne to that of her brother, Henry the Eighth of England, a remarkable similarity. Haughty, magnificent, luxurious; officiously active in affairs of state, but governing without a system; capricious in her politics, yet obstinately impenetrable by persuasion; highly amorous, but totally insensible to the delicacies of the tender passion, and not less versatile in her amours than careless of the public opinion of her inconstancy; like him,

him, she lived neither beloved nor respected, and died wholly unregretted. She was not, however, cruel. During twenty-eight years of power, sometimes nearly unlimited, sometimes abridged, but always in no small degree existing, not a drop of blood appears to have been shed by her order, or even with her connivance. Like her brother, she possessed an understanding at once solid and lively, with much of that mental refinement, nameless in her time, which has been since distinguished by the appellation of taste. There was a striking likeness, too, in their countenances. Those to whom the portraits of the youthful Henry are familiar, cannot but perceive the resemblance.

‘To those who may be desirous to gain a more clear and direct view of the power and weakness of her mind; of the elegance of her accomplishments, and the meanness of her follies; I beg leave to recommend the inspection of that vast treasure of her secret original correspondence in the British Museum, which I have not neglected. The character of Margaret Tudor will be found to stand almost alone among the curious anomalies of history.’

A singularly fine engraving of a noble portrait of Cardinal Allen, in the possession of Mr. Browne Mostyn, is accompanied by an article in Mr. Lodge's happiest style. We shall give the opening and the concluding paragraphs.

‘The face and the character of this remarkable person have hitherto been almost equally unknown. While he lived, and for several years after his death, to have possessed his portrait might have been deemed misprision of treason, and to have spoken favourably even of the slightest act of his life, would certainly have been considered as a high misdemeanour. He was, perhaps, the most formidable enemy to the reformed faith, and the ablest apologist for the Romish church, that England ever produced, for he was armed at all points, either for attack or defence, and indefatigable in the prosecution of each. He was generally learned, but in sacred and ecclesiastical history profoundly; and, while he reasoned with equal acuteness, boldness, and eloquence, used that urbanity of expression, so uncommon in the polemics of his time, which polishes, while it sharpens, the weapons of argument, and disarms an adversary at least of personal enmity. He exercised in fact, though without the name, the office of viceroy to the Pope for the affairs of his church in England; and in that character opposed, with a most honest zeal, the progress of a system which the most part of Europe then considered as a frightful schism, and which was, at that time, indebted for its support, perhaps, more to the vigilance and severity of Elizabeth's government, than to the affection of its professors. *But that system had already become firmly interwoven with the civil polity of England, and the most dangerous enemy to a state is he who would wound it through the shield of its religious establishment.* Elizabeth, therefore, would have acted but with strict justice had she put Cardinal Allen to death, as she certainly would, could she have got him into her power; and he would have been, as justly, canonized.

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'The utter failure of the great Spanish naval expedition, on which the Roman Catholics had founded such mighty hopes, seems to have broken his spirit. He retired to Rome immediately after that event, "under a great disappointment," says Camden, "and at length tired out with the heats and dissensions of the English fugitives, both scholars and gentlemen." That historian, zealous as he was for the reformed faith, and writing under the influence almost naturally produced by his servitude to Elizabeth, speaks of Allen with less asperity than might have been expected; while Anthony Wood, more independent, though perhaps not unjustly suspected of some leaning to the Romish church, having very fairly stated the invectives of several authors against him, adds—"Let writers say what they please, certain it is that he was an active man, and of great parts, and high prudence: that he was religious, and zealous in his profession: restless till he had performed what he had undertaken: that he was very affable, genteel, and winning, and that his person was handsome and proper; which, with an innate gravity, commanded respect from those that came near, or had to do with him." His taste in literary composition was admirable. Of his Latin, little need be said. The age in which he lived was ornamented by many distinguished writers in that language, and it would have been strange indeed had not such a man appeared in the foremost rank: but his English style was incomparable. At once dignified and simple; clear and concise; choice in terms, without the slightest affectation; and full of an impassioned liveliness which rivetted the attention even to his gravest disquisitions; it stood then wholly unrivalled, and would even now furnish no unworthy model. Such, however, is the weakness, and it is almost blameless, of human prejudice, that the merits of the writer were condemned to share in the abomination of his doctrines, and that an example which might have anticipated the gradual progress of nearly a century in the unimprovement of English prose was rejected, because he who set it was a rebel and a Papist. This very eminent person died at Rome on the 6th of October, 1594, and was buried in the chapel of the English College there.'

Mr. Lodge, in his biographies of the Elizabethan period, more frequently than in any other part of his series, gives vent to opinions in which we find it impossible to concur. The nature of this article, and the limits prescribed to it, would render it absurd for us to attempt any detailed examination of the views which he never fails to express, whenever the personal character of the Queen comes in his way. In our humble opinion, he has himself sufficiently answered all the graver charges (save one—that of the catastrophe of Mary Stuart) which he prefers. His life of the Sovereign herself thus opens:—

'It has been an inveterate fashion to place this Princess in the class of wise monarchs. Whether this has been founded on an impartial and judicious examination of her character, or on the report of certain great authorities, to whose sincerity, as well as judgment, a ready

credit has been given, may be, however, fairly questioned. Henry the Fourth of France, who, it should be recollected, anxiously sought her friendship, professed a high respect for her talents, and took care to make it known to her; and the acute but eccentric Sixtus the Fifth regretted that his vow of celibacy excluded him from the possibility of an union with her, the issue of which, he said, would have been naturally qualified to govern the world. Another great person, of equal fame with these, and, I think, of equal rank, answered to one who was inclined to depreciate the powers of her mind, and to ascribe the success and glory of her reign to the sagacity of her counsellors, by asking "whether he ever heard of a weak Prince who chose wise ministers?" a remark, by the way, not very applicable to her, who had but the negative merit of retaining in office those who had been chosen by her father and brother. A few such testimonies and smart sayings, from such sources, would be at all times sufficient to fix the opinions of those who read history for amusement, that is to say, of nearly the whole of mankind. It may seem bold to declare, that the history of Elizabeth's reign furnishes no substantial evidence that she possessed remarkable talents, either solid or brilliant. She had, however, violent passions, and the sudden bursts of these will frequently be mistaken by the multitude for proofs of exalted talent. Her's were all of the unamiable order, but their baleful effects were generally neutralized by counteraction on each other. Thus, it was her timidity that prevented her from emulating the horrible tyranny of her father, and her pride that saved her from the disgrace of open profligacy. We seek in vain, through the whole of her life, for instances of generosity, benevolence, or gratitude, those bright jewels of a crown which Princes, to whom nature has denied them, have generally been prudent enough to counterfeit.—But we must hasten to our brief compilation, and leave these few remarks to the censure which may await them. They will not be popular, but it will be difficult to contradict them.'

The conclusion is in these words :—

'Some remark may probably be expected here on the singularities which distinguish the portrait prefixed to this outline of Elizabeth's life; but little can be said in explanation of them. In an age which delighted in the pictorial riddles of inexhaustible allegory, it is, perhaps, not very strange that she should have adopted this mode of displaying such devices; still less, that one of the vainest women in the world should have invented, or accepted, such as might attribute to herself the beneficence and splendour of the sun, the wisdom of the serpent, and the vigilance of the most acute and watchful organs of the human frame. Besides, her wardrobe, at the time of her death, contained more than two thousand dresses, of the fashions of all countries, of all times, and of all contrivance that busy fancy could suggest; and in the gratification of this childish whim variety imparted the main charm. The portrait itself, however, were it a mere head, would be of great curiosity, inasmuch as it represents her much younger than any other extant, and with at least as much beauty as she could at any time have possessed.'

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The life of Leicester follows, and this is its commencement:—

‘ This mighty Peer, whose history will ever remain a memorial of the injustice and the folly, as well as of the unbounded power, of his Sovereign, was the fifth son of the equally mighty, but less fortunate, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, by Jane, daughter of Sir Henry Guldeford. The father’s greatness shot forth with the rapidity and the splendour of a vast meteor, and was as suddenly lost in darkness: the son’s, planet-like, rose somewhat more slowly, and traversed its hemisphere in a more regular obedience to the power from which it derived its motion and its brilliancy. It obeyed, however, no other power, for Leicester offended against all laws, both divine and human. He seems not to have possessed a single virtue, nor was he highly distinguished by the qualities of his understanding; but the unlimited favour of Elizabeth, which for many years rendered him perhaps the most powerful subject in the world, invested him with a factitious importance, while, on his part, by a degree of hypocrisy, so daring that it rather confounded than deceived the minds of men, he contrived to avoid open censure. Even flattery, however, seems to have been ashamed to raise her voice for him while he lived, and the calm and patient research of after times, with all its habitual respect for the memory of the illustrious dead, has busied itself in vain to find a single bright spot in his character.’

After a luminous sketch of his public career, Mr. Lodge speaks as follows:—(we are induced to quote largely, in consequence of the great liberties which the author of ‘*Kenilworth*’ has, contrary to his usual practice, been pleased to take with the personal history of Leicester:)

‘ I have hitherto excluded any particulars of the domestic life of this most remarkable person. They will be found, singularly enough, considering the cast of his character, to be little concerned with his public story, the chain of which they would therefore but have served to disconnect. All parts of his conduct, however, morally viewed, were in horrible harmony, for the man was as abominably wicked as the statesman and courtier.

‘ Leicester, at the age of eighteen, married Anne, or Amy, daughter and heir of Sir John Robsart, a gentleman of Norfolk, distinguished by antiquity, indeed splendour, of descent, and by his great possessions in that county. They were wedded, as Edward the Sixth, in whose presence the nuptials were solemnised, states in his journal, on the 4th of June, 1550, and lived together, with what degree of cordiality we are not informed, for ten years, but had no children. It is scarcely to be doubted that he caused this lady to be assassinated, and the circumstances of the time, as well as of the case itself, tend to press on his memory this dreadful charge perhaps more heavily than any other of the same character. Her death occurred on the eighth of September, 1560, at the very period when the lofty hope of obtaining the hand of his Sovereign may be clearly presumed to have reigned with the strongest sway in his overheated mind. He sent her, with what avowed

motive does not appear, to the solitary manor-house of Cumnor, in Berkshire, a village not far from Oxford, inhabited by one of his train, named Anthony Forster. Thither she was shortly followed by Sir Richard Verney, another of his retainers, and a few days after, these persons having sent all her servants to Abingdon fair, and no one being with her but themselves, she died in consequence, as they reported, of a fall down a staircase. But "the inhabitants of Cumnor," says Aubrey, in whose history of Berkshire all that could be collected on the subject is minutely detailed, "will tell you there that she was conveyed from her usual chamber where she lay to another, where the bed's head of the chamber stood close to a privy postern door, where they in the night came, and stifled her in her bed; bruised her head very much; broke her neck; and at length flung her down stairs; thereby believing the world would have thought it a mischance, and so have blinded their villany." Nor was this plan of violence adopted till after they had vainly attempted to destroy her by poison, through the unconscious aid of Dr. Bailey, then professor of physic in the University of Oxford, who had resisted their earnest importunity to make a medicine for her, when he knew she was in perfect health, suspecting, from his observation of circumstances, as he afterwards declared, that they intended to add to it some deadly drug, and trembling for his own safety. The disfigured corpse was hurried to the earth without a coroner's inquest, and to such a height did the pity and the resentment of the neighbouring families arise, that they employed the pen of Thomas Lever, a prebendary of Coventry, to write to the Secretaries of State, intreating that a strict inquiry should be made into the true cause of the lady's death, but the application had no effect. The strongest inference, however, of Leicester's guilt in this case is to be drawn from a string of reasons, noted down by Cecil himself, why the Queen should not make him her husband, one of which is—"that he is infamed by the death of his wife." The effect of such a remark, made by such a person, and for such a purpose, wants little of the force of positive evidence.

"The relaxations of such a man as Leicester are commonly sought in the gratification of mere appetite, and such were his. After a variety of amorous intrigues, not worthy of recollection, he became more than usually attached to Douglas, daughter of William Howard, first Lord Effingham, and widow of John, Lord Sheffield. Vulgar report, presuming on the known enormities of his life, proclaimed that he had disposed of her husband by those infernal secret means so frequently ascribed to him in other cases. Be this as it might, it is certain that he married her, or deceived her into a pretended marriage, immediately after the death of Lord Sheffield. By this lady he had a son, with whose future story, remarkable as it was rendered by the dispositions unhappily and infamously made by the father, this memoir has no concern, and a daughter. He stipulated with the unfortunate Douglas that their marriage should be kept profoundly secret; the children were debarred from any intercourse with their mother; and the Earl, having some years after determined to marry another, compelled her by threats,
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by promises, and at length by attempts on her life, to make a most effectual, though tacit, renunciation of all marital claims on him, by publicly taking to her husband Sir Edward Stafford. These nefarious circumstances were disclosed, shortly before the death of Elizabeth, in the prosecution of a suit in the Star Chamber instituted to establish the legitimacy, and consequent right of inheritance of her son; and on this occasion Douglas, after having proved by the testimony of many respectable witnesses her marriage to the deceased Earl, declared on oath the foul proceedings by which she had been forced to throw herself into the arms, and on the protection, of Stafford; concluding with a relation of the means which Leicester had previously used to take her off by poison, under the operation of which she swore that her hair and her nails had fallen off; that her constitution had been ruined; and that she had narrowly escaped with life.

'The object for whom he abandoned this miserable lady was Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, and relict of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex. The already strong suspicion that Leicester had caused by the same diabolical means the death of that nobleman, to which some slight allusion has already been made, was aggravated to the utmost by the indecent haste with which he wedded the widow, with whom there was no doubt that he had for some time before maintained a guilty intercourse. This was the marriage which so highly excited the displeasure of Elizabeth, and which she unremittingly resented towards the Countess by an insulting neglect, in spite of all the instances of the young Essex, her son, who succeeded his uncle in the Queen's extravagant favour. Leicester had by this lady one son, Robert, who died in childhood four years before his father. She survived the Earl for nearly half a century; and persecuted with tedious and ruinous suits his son by Lady Sheffield, whose legitimacy Leicester, with a folly equal to his injustice, had sometimes affirmed and sometimes denied, and to whom he had bequeathed his princely castle and domain of Kenilworth, of which the unfortunate gentleman was at last, in a manner, defrauded by the crown in the succeeding reign.

'Such, on the whole, was Elizabeth's most distinguished favourite. History, to its lamentable discredit, invariably asserts, in the same breath, his wickedness and the wisdom of his royal patroness—one or the other of those assertions must be false.'

Now, fully concurring, as we do, in all that Mr. Lodge says, or could say of the detestable character of this man, and admitting, the justice of his consequent censure of Elizabeth's profuse and unwearied patronage of Dudley, we must still remain in the old and general opinion, that it is merely absurd to mix up the private follies of this extraordinary sovereign with her public character. We must entirely dissent from Mr. Lodge, when he refuses to Elizabeth her credit which she has always received for her choice of her ministers, on the ground that she did not in fact select, but only retained them. We cannot, for a moment, admit that

that the merit of the new sovereign, who retains in place ministers employed by his predecessors, is in any case a mere negative merit—least of all can we listen to any such views as to the particular case of Elizabeth. The greater her intellectual vanity, the higher was her merit in abstaining from the gratification of it in the dismissal of tried hands and the raising up of new instruments of government. The more violent, the more culpable, the more to be condemned at once and pitied, was her womanish love for Leicester and other ‘proper men’—and the more to be admired her merit in having resisted the thousand temptations with which she was continually assailed, to dismiss those memorable persons, who still, after the lapse of two centuries, remain, by the common consent of all thinking persons of all parties, at the head of the long roll of English statesmen, whether for the prudence of their foreign, or the depth, forecast, and firmness of their domestic, policy.

Mr. Lodge, in our opinion, answers himself in many of these pages, and in none more satisfactorily than in the following; which occurs towards the end of his life of Burghley:—

‘He was the first person on whom Elizabeth called for advice, for on the very day of her accession he presented to her minutes of twelve particular matters which required her instant attention, and the first appointment of her reign was to *replace* him in the office of Secretary. To this, three years afterwards, she added that of Master of the Court of Wards, a post of considerable profit and patronage; on the 25th of February, 1570, O. S. created him Baron of Burghley in Lincolnshire; in 1572 gave him the Order of the Garter; and in the autumn of that year he succeeded the old Marquis of Winchester as Lord High Treasurer, and so remained till his death, on the fourth of August, 1598, having presided uninterruptedly in the administration of public measures for thirty of the most glorious and happy years that England has ever known.

‘In every feature of this very eminent person’s character we trace some one or more of the qualifications for a great statesman, and in every particular of his public conduct we discover their fruition. He burst forth therefore in his youth upon public observation in the possession, almost intuitively, of those rare faculties which deride the slow march of experience, and scarcely need the protection of power; a fact almost incredible, had we not ourselves of late years witnessed a similar phenomenon.

‘Perhaps no better proof of his profound sagacity could be found than in the fact of his having, throughout the unusually protracted term of his administration, enjoyed the uninterrupted confidence and esteem of a princess whom, if we can for a moment forget our own prejudices and her glory, we shall find little less capricious than her father, and almost as unprincipled. One solitary instance of an apparent suspension of her favour towards him accompanied the ridiculous
disavowal

disavowal of her intention to sign the death warrant of the unhappy Mary, and the infamous sacrifice of Davison, through which she sought to conceal one crime by the commission of another; but this was mere affectation and artifice; he is said to have besought her pardon with a show of the most humble contrition, and received it so speedily that the sincerity of her anger was even at that time doubted.

‘Burghley, a favourite without the name, was ever an overmatch for the unworthy Leicester, on whom that odious title was always bestowed. The fair fame which followed the one unsought was vainly pursued by the other; and thus will the steady and straightforward step of wisdom and rectitude always outstrip the eager and irregular efforts of cunning and deceit. *Flattery seems to have had no share in procuring or maintaining to him the unbounded grace of his mistress, nor* can an instance be found of his having used artifice to cultivate that popularity which he so largely enjoyed. He chastened with so just a judgment a naturally high spirit, and an ample consciousness of the dignity of his rank and place, as to obtain the reverence of many, and the esteem of the whole body, of the nobility, with the exception of a very few, the impotency of whose factious endeavours against him served but to increase the splendour of his reputation, and to strengthen the grasp with which he upheld the honour of the crown, and the interests of the nation. Though Elizabeth is said to have ruled by the dexterous opposition of parties, she ever abstained from involving him in the collision. Indeed there is good reason to suppose that he joined her in the prosecution of this policy, and, by affecting a careless neutrality, increased the vain hopes of faction, and encouraged it to disclose its views. In the long course of his ministry, history records not a single instance of erroneous judgment; of persecution, or even severity, for any public or private cause; of indecorous ambition, or thirst of wealth; of haughty insolence, or mean submission. In a word, moderation, the visible sign of a moral sense critically just, was the guide of all his actions, decorated the purity of his religious faith with charity to its opponents, and tempered the sincere warmth of his affection to the crown with a due regard to all the civil institutions of the realm: it has been therefore happily said of him, that “he loved to wrap the prerogatives in the laws of the land.”’

‘The same fine principle coloured the whole conduct of his private life. Without remarkable fondness or indulgence, he was the kindest husband, father, and master, among the great men of his time; with few professions of regard, a warm friend; a steady enemy, with passive resentment; a cheerful, and even jocose companion, with cautious familiarity; just in all his dealings, without ostentation; magnificent in his establishments, without profusion; tenacious of the powers and privileges of his own high station, and tenderly careful of the rights of others.’

The reader will also thank us for transcribing the following passage (in some part of which, however, we are far from agreeing) from Mr. Lodge's life of Archbishop Parker:—

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'The Church of England owes, perhaps, more to this wise and good man than to any of the reformers who preceded him, and who may have left a higher fame. They rased to the foundation the vast and venerable edifice of the ancient religion, and hastily erected in its stead a pile of discordant materials, without strength or symmetry; he cemented the unconnected parts, smoothed irregularities, and supplied deficiencies. They were the slaves of a furious and interested tyrant, and of their own yet baser interests; he the honest and incorrupt servant of a prudent sovereign, and the faithful minister of Christianity. They had incurred the suspicion of many, by eagerly adopting a new system of faith; he gained the confidence of all, by strenuously supporting that in which he had been bred. Their career had been marked by forced and persecution; his was distinguished by patience and benignity.'

'Elizabeth, on her accession, committed chiefly to Sir Nicholas Bacon, her Lord Keeper, and Cecil, afterwards the celebrated Lord Burghley, the arduous task of superintending the infant ecclesiastical establishment. The former of those great men had been the intimate friend and fellow collegian of Parker, and probably first recommended him to the Queen's especial favour; but the raising him, without intermediate steps, to the exalted dignity which awaited him, must have been the result of her own judgment of his character, and of her own private determination.'

So much for 'negative merit.' It is pity that one, who has such excellent eyes of his own, and who commonly makes such excellent use of them, should ever condescend to look at objects through the coloured and distorted lenses of Dr. Lingard.

The lives of Charles I., Strafford, Clarendon, Henrietta Maria, and indeed all those of the same cycle, are executed in a manner which commands our unqualified admiration. So are the more serious subjects, so to speak, of the Commonwealth and of Charles the Second's days. It is, indeed, on serious subjects alone, that we should ever desire to see Mr. Lodge's pen exerted. The habitual tone of his mind, if we may judge from the sentiments he expresses or the language he employs, is grave: characters and incidents of the lofty or of the pathetic cast inspire him to eloquence. On matters of a lower description he is less qualified to shine. On his sketches of the flimsy follies of a courtier or a fine lady, even of the petty manœuvres of inferior politicians, we cannot congratulate him. He is a writer of whom we may say, without flattery, that he not unfrequently reminds us of our Clarendons and Humes: we cannot compliment him on any near approaches either to the airy, playful graces of Count Hamilton, or the delicate, sharp-cut sarcasm of Horace Walpole, authors, from whose chosen province he might, perhaps, have abstained altogether, without diminishing the real value of his book—from whose pages, if he were
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to work on these subjects at all, he would have done well to borrow whatever suited his purpose.

His article on the old Duchess of Marlborough, for example, provokes a painful comparison with the corresponding one in the 'Royal and Noble Authors.' 'This favourite duchess,' says Walpole, 'who, like the proud Duke of Espernon, lived to brave the successors in a court where she had domineered, wound up her capricious life where it seems she had begun it, with an apology for her conduct. The piece, though weakened by the prudence of those who were to correct it, though maimed by her grace's own corrections, and though great part of it is rather the annals of a wardrobe than of a reign, yet has still curious anecdotes, and a few of those sallies of wit which fourscore years of arrogance could not fail to produce in so fantastic an understanding. And yet, by altering her memoirs as often as her will, she disappointed the public as much as her own family. However, the chief objects remain; and one sees exactly how Europe and the backstairs took their places in her imagination and in her narrative. The revolution left no impression on her mind but of Queen Mary turning up bed-clothes; and the Protestant Hero but of a selfish glutton, who devoured a dish of peas from his sister-in-law. Little circumstances, indeed, convey the most characteristic ideas, but the choice of them may as often paint the genius of the writer as of the person represented.'—(*Park's Edition*, vol. iv., p. 192.) Lord Orford was more likely to have treated us to bed-clothes and dishes of peas in an epitome of the life of Cromwell or Strafford than Mr. Lodge to make room for such things under even such a title as *Sarah Jennings*. As for the beauties of Charles II., their portraits and lives are, we see, in the course of publication in a separate form, under the guidance of a fair hand, and a touch more in harmony with the theme than Mr. Lodge would perhaps wish to possess.*

We observe with pleasure the announcement of an octavo edition of this book, in which the same portraits are to be re-engraved in a style of nearly equal elegance. This will, of course, reach and gratify certain classes of readers, who have shrunk from the purchase of the large and necessarily very costly folios now before us. But we are not satisfied with this. We are sure that Mr. Lodge's biographical essays, or rather a judicious selection from them—leaving out the lives already alluded to, as interesting chiefly to particular noble families—accompanied with faithful

* The Beauties of the Court of King Charles II., with Memoirs, Critical and Biographical. London, 1827. Parts I. and II.; an elegant publication—both in the graphic and the literary departments.

but less delicate prints, would form a work of a highly popular kind, and deserve and obtain a circulation hardly inferior to that of the best romances of the time. This book, if produced in a cheap set of duodecimos, would form in itself a library, both of 'useful' and of 'entertaining knowledge.' When Goldsmith boasted of having seen a splendid copy of his poems in the cabinet of some great lord, saying emphatically 'This is fame, Dr. Johnson,' the doctor told him that, for his part, he would have been more disposed to self-gratulation had he discovered any of the property of his mind thumbred and tattered in the cabin of a peasant.

- ART. V.—1. *Observations on the Cultivation of Poor Soils, as exemplified in the Colonies, for the Indigent, and for Orphans in Holland.* By William Jacob, Esq. 8vo. London. 1828.
2. *An Account of the Poor Colonies of Holland.* By a Member of the Highland Society. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1828.
3. *De la Colonie de Fredericks-oord.* Par le Baron de Keverberg. 8vo. Gand. 1821.
4. *First, second, third, and fourth Report of the Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Extent of the several Bogs in Ireland, and the Practicability of Draining and Cultivating them.* By Order of the House of Commons. 1814.
5. *A Letter to the Duke of Wellington.* By an Englishman. 8vo. London. 1828.

MANY persons seem to regard the extended, and still extending, use of machinery in this country, with feelings of apprehension, if not of dismay. They consider the substitution of machines for human labour, either in the cultivation of the soil, or in the fabrication of wrought commodities—of the plough for the spade, of the spinning-jenny for the wheel and distaff, as an evil, unavoidable indeed, but still an evil. Commiserating the sufferings which the manufacturing population occasionally experience from the introduction of machinery, they propose that a direct tax should be imposed upon machines, adequate, if not to put them down entirely, at least to check their future increase;—nor, if we really believed the use of machinery to be calculated to injure the interests, abridge the comforts, or abstract from the happiness of any class of the community, do we well see how we could refuse acceding to this recommendation. But we entertain no such belief. So far are we from regarding the increased use of machinery as an evil which requires to be checked, that we hail every such application of the discoveries of science as another step in the steady course by which the benevolent Author of Nature pushes

pushes forward the improvement of the human race. In our opinion, instead of being an evil to be deprecated, and, if possible, counteracted and repressed, the application of machinery, as a substitute for labour, serves to disengage a large number of human beings from manufacturing toil, in order that they may be employed in perfecting and extending our tillage; thereby increasing at once their own happiness and the resources of the empire.

We have arrived at a great and most important crisis of social arrangement. We are embarrassed with a superfluity of human labour—of animal machines, which cannot be absorbed in manufacturing operations. What is to be done with this superfluous or rather disposable fund of physical power: shall these men be compelled to eke out a miserable existence, with half employment and scanty wages? or shall they be thrown upon their respective parishes for eleemosynary relief?

To us it does not appear necessary that they should be exposed to either alternative. We would rescue them from the misery of subsisting upon an inadequate supply of food, or the degradation of eating, what they do not ask for, the bread of idleness. Employment should be given them: a field should be opened, in which, by the application of industry, they might be enabled to raise for themselves an abundant supply of the necessaries and conveniences of life. But where is this field? The manufactures of the country are, on all hands, acknowledged to be full, even to overflowing: the population of the agricultural districts is said to be excessive. What is the remedy? Emigration—emigration to the uncultivated wastes and unreclaimed bogs of Great Britain and Ireland. This is the species of emigration which we think it necessary at present to advocate. Here is an inexhausted field—here Nature offers us, at our own doors, a mine of wealth which, if properly worked, would furnish profitable employment for millions. To the people of this country we, therefore, say: if your limits have become too narrow, the remedy is in your own hands; enlarge your borders: you allege that the population has increased beyond the demand for labour; throw open to this excess your wastes and commons: you are now compelled to subsist a surplus population, in a state of unproductive idleness; remove them from the places which they encumber, and settle them on districts where they will not only support themselves by their own industry, but likewise prove a source of new and vast revenue to the state.

It is the manifest intention of the Author of Nature that the whole surface of the earth should, in the end, become occupied and tilled. But this process of cultivation can only proceed by slow and gradual steps. The population must swell into a sufficient

cient number to consume the produce of the land already raised by skill and industry to a high pitch of productiveness, before it becomes either necessary or expedient to undertake the cultivation of new land. Nature herself slowly but certainly ameliorates the wastes of every country, and prepares them, by the time they are wanted, for the operations of husbandry. Her activity never sleeps. She is ever, with unremitting energy, preparing the room required for the habitation of her multiplying sons. The line of fertility is never a fixed and immovable barrier—on the contrary, it is in every country constantly receiving a gradual extension. Enormous tracts of waste lands, which many centuries ago appeared barren and unfit for tillage, have been since reclaimed and rendered highly productive; they received a gradual accession of fertility from the hand of nature—the decomposition of even the smallest plants, carried on through a long succession of years, formed at length a vegetable mould of sufficient thickness to lay the basis of a profitable system of tillage, and to allure the operations of the husbandman. And other wastes, which at the present moment appear hopelessly barren, or at least not sufficiently prepared by nature for the enterprise of the farmer, will hereafter form a field on which his industry may be exerted with profit both to himself and the community. These considerations remove from our minds all the alarm which some persons feel on account of the increase of population: so far are we from considering this increase an evil, that we look upon it as the wise and efficient means which the Author of Nature adopts, in order to force man to take possession of the territory which He has with so much benevolence and assiduity prepared for his habitation.

It is, we know, assumed by those who overlook the silent operation of the natural causes to which we have just adverted, no less than the history of tillage in this country, that the present unproductive state of our wastes and commons furnishes a conclusive proof that they are not capable of being reclaimed, except at an expense of food and labour greatly exceeding any return which could be anticipated. It is argued that the waste lands remain uncultivated *because* they are barren—because their cultivation would not yield an adequate return for the outlay required for their tillage. We cannot accede to this opinion; we contend, on the contrary, that every division of the British dominions contains extensive and valuable tracts of waste lands which are not naturally barren—which, in their present state, are comparatively unproductive *because* they are not tilled; which require nothing but tillage to render them productive, and would make an adequate return for any outlay which a judicious and industrious occupier might find
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it necessary to expend in reclaiming and cultivating them. The various gradations of fertility and productiveness which different soils now exhibit, depend much more upon the length of the periods during which they have been cultivated, and upon the skill and industry with which their tillage has been conducted, than upon any peculiar properties inherent in their nature. A vast proportion of the land now cultivated in this country, was originally in no respect better than a very considerable proportion of the wastes and commons which remain to this day neglected and unreclaimed. It has been brought to its present state of productiveness by the long-continued industry of man; and the same perseverance which succeeded in fertilizing the inclosures of this country would produce a similar result on the wastes which abut upon them. If man will but labour the earth, and open its bosom, the atmosphere will deposit therein an increased supply of the fertilizing principles with which it is abundantly charged: these aerial deposits being the true food of plants, will yield an ample return for the labour bestowed by man on the cultivation of the soil.

It is, indeed, an interesting task to trace the slow and almost imperceptible steps by which cultivation has been pushed over extensive districts, which now yield an ample produce, but which in their unreclaimed state were wholly unproductive. On a barren waste first arose a baronial or monastic mansion; around this feudal or religious residence a few straggling huts sprung up; to these a few enclosed crofts and curtilages were gradually attached. The stock of cattle which these were capable of supporting were in the day-time permitted to roam at pleasure over the surrounding wastes; at night they returned to the enclosures, which they manured and fertilized. Over these enclosures the cottier also spread the sod or vegetable mould, which he frequently peeled from the surface of the waste. When the population of the village increased in number, and required more room, the limits of the enclosures were pushed outwards, and a new encroachment was committed on the waste. An additional hut was built—a new family was added to the community—the Baron or the Abbot acquired a new dependant. The occupier of every new hut became the reclaimer and cultivator of an additional croft. This was mostly effected by manual labour; encumbered with stones or the stumps of trees, the waste offered no scope for the use of the plough; and even when the soil was free from these impediments the poverty of the cultivator precluded the employment of this implement.

In this manner the centre of every manor or parish became an aggregation of cottages, having small curtilages attached to each
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of them ; together with the right of depasturing cattle in the neighbouring wastes.

‘ Every man,’ says Mr. Jacob, ‘ who has been far from home, must have observed, on every barren heath, some spots surrounding cottages which exhibit marks of productiveness, forming a striking contrast with the sterility that surrounds them. If inquiry has been made, it has been found that, at one period, all was alike barren,—that the difference has been created solely by the application of human labour. If the inquiry be pursued, and the history of the process be studied, it will be commonly found, that the labour which has achieved this amelioration has been principally that, which would have been either lost to the community or applied to its injury.’—*Observations on Poor Soils*, p. 4.

This system contributed towards fertilizing these enclosures, not only by the tillage and manure which the cottier laid out upon them, but in another way which deserves to be mentioned. These crofts and curtilages were necessarily of very limited dimensions, and consequently the ditches, banks, and hedges which surrounded them were of much greater length than those of larger enclosures. Every person, at all conversant with rural economy, is well aware how rapidly the mould formed at the bottom of ditches, and on the sides of hedge-rows, increases both in depth and fertility. The atmosphere is constantly charged with impalpable particles of sand—with the decomposed elements of vegetable and animal matter, in a volatile or gaseous form—with seeds of plants too minute to be perceived by the naked eye ; the ditches and banks form true skreens or barriers, which intercept these fertilizing materials thus constantly floating in the air—they arrest their further progress, cause them to fall down and settle—the trees composing the hedge-rows attract the moisture of the atmosphere, which then descends upon the fertilizing particles which the banks and ditches had arrested. Hence the sides of banks and ditches facing the wind which most generally prevails during the dry season of summer and autumn, when the earthy and vegetable particles suspended in the atmosphere are most easily conveyed from one place to another, are always found to be embellished with a variety of plants, possessing more than usual vigour.

So well known, indeed, in past times, was this influence of enclosures upon the fertility of the soil that, in upland parts, they were frequently formed for this sole purpose. In many of the open districts of Scotland, for instance, it was (perhaps in some it still is) the regular practice to enclose small crofts by mounds and banks of earth ; and to accommodate the cultivators of these curtilages, huts were constructed, having their sides composed of the same materials, and thatched with a covering of straw, rushes, or dried ferns. In the course of years, these raised banks,

as well as the huts, became so thoroughly saturated with vegetable matter, as to form heaps of rich manure : this tempted the crofter to demolish them ; their materials were carefully spread over the surface of the ground ; while, in another situation, he built for himself a new hut, and around his fields new enclosures. Under a system very similar to this, at least in its effects, was a very large proportion of the soil in England also raised to its present state of fertility.* Human labour, combined with the operation of natural causes, rendered these crofts productive. The period at length arrived when the consolidation of many of the small crofts into one farm appeared profitable to the owner. A substantial farmhouse was built ; two-thirds of the cottages were pulled down ; the enclosures were enlarged ; the rubbish of the demolished cottages, together with the materials of the banks and hedges which were removed, were spread over the land, and made a valuable addition to the depth and fertility of the soil.

In this arrangement we recognise the dispensation of a wise and benevolent providence, which wills that, in the economy of nature, nothing shall be lost. Enclosures are necessary to protect the growing crops against the depredations of animals ; but in order that the space which they occupy, and the earth of which they are composed, should not become entirely unprofitable, they, of necessity, arrest at the same time the progress of the volatile and fertilizing particles floating in the atmosphere ; and embankments which, to unreflecting persons, appear in the light of encumbrances, make in the end a very material addition to the productive capacity of the field which they enclose.

Mr. Malthus observes 'that, in any instance where a certain quantity of dressing and labour, employed to bring new land into cultivation, would have yielded a permanently greater produce if employed upon old land, both the nation and the individual are losers by the cultivation of new land.' Now, we really cannot exactly perceive what the learned economist had in view when he made this remark. We are not aware that any advocate of the cultivation of the waste lands of this country contends, or ever has contended, that it would be desirable to bestow a certain quantity of labour upon new land if, being employed on old land, it would yield a greater produce. But the whole of the modern theories on population tend to prove—if, indeed, they tend to prove anything—that an excess of labour does exist, for the employment of which there is no room on the old land ; and that it is expedient, nay indispensable, not only for the good of individuals but for the security of the state, that this surplus population should be removed to new land. It appears, therefore, that the only question between these writers and us, upon this part of the subject, is
where

where this new land shall be found?—whither this surplus population should be removed?

We are quite sure that the very estimable persons who have recently bestowed so much pains upon investigating the question of foreign emigration, will not misapprehend our object. We are willing to do the fullest justice to the purity and benevolence of their motives: we well know that the end which they propose to themselves is the improvement of the condition of the labouring classes; we differ from them only as to the best and principal (we by no means say the exclusive) means of arriving at this end; and, with the kindest feelings, we invite them to consider whether the plan which we suggest—the cultivation of our own wastes and commons—be not conducive, in an equal degree, at least, to the purpose which they, in common with ourselves, have in view, whilst its execution must appear to all parties considerably more practicable.

The gentlemen to whom we allude not only underrate the productive resources of the wastes of this country, but present a greatly exaggerated estimate of the fertility of the British colonies. They seem to imagine that nature has conferred on those distant possessions the gift of inexhaustible fertility. Experience teaches the North American farmer that no opinion can be more fallacious, or more surely lead to disappointment. Having removed the timber and underwood which encumber the soil, the cultivator, in the United States, obtains for a few years a succession of excellent crops; but if proper care be not taken to recruit its strength by fallowing or manuring, even this soil is soon reduced to a state of barrenness. There are few animals more destructive than man, where he conceives that his resources cannot fail. The Backwoodsman, having cleared a field, continues to plough it annually until it becomes so much exhausted that weeds choke up his grain. This compels him to give rest to the soil, and urges him to clear more land. The new conquest which he has made on the forest becomes speedily exhausted under the same scourging system, and he is called upon anew to extend his limits. Hence, millions of acres of American land, which the first settlers cleared of wood, and found highly productive for many years, have been rendered, at least for a time, utterly barren by an improvident and exhausting system of husbandry.

Without going the length of asserting that the uncultivated wastes of the British Isles offer, in the first instance, so abundant a resource for the colonist as the wildernesses and woods of Canada, we will venture to say, that we possess at home large tracts of neglected land covered by a depth of vegetable mould sufficient to render them available for the purposes of husbandry. We do not say that a very large proportion of the waste land of this country

country is not too barren to be cultivated with profit; but we run no risk in asserting that a considerable portion of it is, at this moment, sufficiently fertile to provide for the surplus population of which we all hear so much—provided its cultivation be undertaken on a proper system.

The intelligent author of the '*Observations on the Cultivation of Poor Soils*,' well remarks, 'that the practicability of achieving the object of bringing our worst lands to a degree of highly productive cultivation, and with enduring profit, after a course of years of perseverance, may be inferred from what has been performed in other countries at no great distance from our own. In the Netherlands, the district called *Waesland*, between Ghent and Antwerp, is a mere agricultural country. It is better peopled, better cultivated, and more productive than any other spot in Europe of similar extent. It was, in the time of the civil wars in Flanders, a mere sandy heath, without inhabitants, without cultivation, and without live-stock. The change has been effected by persevering labour through many generations; and the results of that labour are most strikingly exhibited in the fruitful fields, the beautiful cattle, the healthful and cleanly population, the comfortable residences, and all the other visible marks of rural prosperity.'—p. 12.

In a memoir on the agriculture of the Netherlands, the Abbé Mann says, 'It is well known that the Campine of Brabant, which is the northern part of that province, consisted originally of sand, covered with heath, interspersed with lakes and extensive marshes, and here and there with woods of fir. Tradition reports it to have been once a part of the sea. To this day, where cultivation has not extended, the soil of itself produces nothing but heath and fir; the sand is of the most barren and harsh kind, nor can it be rendered fertile but by continued manuring. As the property of this ground may be acquired for a mere trifle, many have been the attempts of private persons to bring tracts of it into cultivation; every means have been tried for that purpose, and government has given every possible encouragement to it. But I have not yet heard of any one, however considerable might be his fortune, that has succeeded in it, and many have been ruined by the project. What is cultivated in the Campine, is owing to the religious houses established in it, especially to the two great Abbeys of Tongerlo and Everbode. Their uninterrupted duration for five or six hundred years past, and their indefatigable industry, have conquered those barren harsh sands, and rendered many parts of them highly productive. The method they follow is simple and uniform; they never undertake to cultivate more of this barren soil at a time, than they have sufficient manure for, seldom more than twelve or fifteen acres in a year; and when it is brought by labour and manuring into a state capable of producing sufficient for a family to live on, it is let out to farmers on very easy terms, after having built them comfortable habitations. By these means many extensive tracts of the Campine are well cultivated and covered with villages, well built

houses and churches. I may here add, and that from the undoubted testimony of the historians of the Netherlands, that the cultivation of these rich provinces took its rise from the self-same means, eight hundred or a thousand years back, when they were in a manner one continued forest.'—*Communications to Board of Agriculture*, vol. i, p. 225.

Mr. William Cowling, an eminent civil engineer and surveyor, furnished the Emigration Committee with the following general statement of the territorial surface of Great Britain, Ireland, and the adjacent islands. It exhibits the quantity of cultivated lands; the extent of wastes which he conceives capable of being brought into a state of cultivation; as well as of those which he considers unfit for the production of grain, vegetables, or grasses :—

Territorial Divisions.	Arable Land and Gardens	Meadows, Pastures, and Marshes.	Uncultivated Waste, capable of Improvement	Surface incapable of any kind of improvement.	Summary of each Territorial Division.
England . .	10,252,800	15,379,200	3,154,000	3,256,400	32,312,400
Wales . . .	890,570	2,226,430	530,000	1,105,000	4,752,000
Scotland . .	2,493,950	2,771,050	5,950,600	8,523,930	19,736,930
Ireland . .	5,389,040	6,736,210	4,900,000	2,116,661	19,441,914
British Islands	109,630	274,060	166,000	569,469	1,119,139
Statute Acres	19,135,990	27,366,980	15,000,000	15,871,463	77,394,433

This estimate, founded as it is in some degree upon conjectural data, can only be considered as an approximation to the truth; but no man at all acquainted with the principles of fertility and the present state of British tillage, can for a moment doubt that a very large quantity of waste land is scattered over the different districts of this country, which is not only susceptible of improvement, but which would yield an ample return for any amount of labour which could, for centuries to come, be spared from the cultivation of our old land. To be fully convinced of this fact, no man need do more than ride twenty miles in any direction from the metropolis. Let him select whatever road he may choose for his excursion, and he will find tracts of land, forming in the aggregate a very considerable quantity, which at this moment remain in the hands of nature—which man has never made the slightest effort to reclaim. Even the hebdomadal excursions of the citizen will conduct him over or near many such scenes. What Gilpin, living within the sound of Bow-bells, does not

not know Epping and Hainault Forests, Hounslow, Putney, and Black Heaths, Brook Green, Turnham Green, Wandsworth, Esher, Sydenham, Hays, and various other Commons? Within a circle of twenty miles around the largest and most opulent city in the world, we thus discover a large quantity of land, which cultivation would render highly productive, but which, in its present state of waste, is of little or no value to the public. And this land, situate in the very outskirts of the metropolis, continues to be utterly neglected, if not entirely overlooked, at a moment when the whole kingdom resounds with the groans of those who argue that the population of this country has outrun the means of subsisting them.—As the traveller advances in his journey from the metropolis, the wastes become more extensive, if not more numerous. Mr. Cowling considers the English wastes, which amount to about five millions of acres, more valuable than those of Ireland; and these again as more improvable than the Scottish wastes.

For some reasons which he has not clearly explained, this gentleman seems to imagine that, although these wastes are all susceptible of improvement, still the enterprise would inevitably entail a loss upon the first undertaker. He therefore suggests that their improvement should be effected at the expense of the public; and that the loss which he contemplates as certain should be balanced against the saving in the poor rates, which the employment of paupers, for whose labour there is now no demand, would effect. He argues thus: 'You have now a surplus of labourers, whose maintenance imposes upon the poor-rates a burden of two millions per annum; if you employ these labourers on the improvement of your wastes, you will be losers to the amount of one million per annum by the undertaking; but as the poor-rates will be lessened two millions in amount, the public will be a gainer of one million by the undertaking.'—Upon this point, we will venture to go beyond Mr. Cowling: we are convinced that there exists within the limits of our home territories a large quantity of waste land—a much larger quantity, indeed, than could be wanted at present—which would be profitable, not only to the public, as the means of reducing the poor-rates (an object by no means to be undervalued), but also as a private speculation to the undertakers. That Ireland contains a vast extent of bogs, moors, and mountains, which are now barren and unprofitable, is a fact too well known to require proof; but that these neglected wastes are capable of being rendered, at a very trifling expense, highly productive, is a circumstance too frequently overlooked by their proprietors. The various reports of the commissioners appointed to

inquire into the condition and capabilities of these wastes, abound with details on this point: but these documents, from the form in which they have been published, are, unfortunately, much less accessible than they deserve to be made. Were they generally known, they would, we are certain, stimulate the capitalists of England to engage in an enterprise which could not fail to yield much better interest for their money than any other speculation which has been hitherto recommended to the public.

The engineers employed made twenty-five reports, respecting districts which they had carefully examined; and on the data thus furnished to them the commissioners are enabled to assert

‘that the extent of peat soil in Ireland exceeds two millions and a half of English acres; that, of these, at least one million and a half consist of flat red bog, which, in the opinion of various persons conversant with the subject, might be converted to the general purposes of agriculture; and that the remainder, being upwards of a million, and forming the covering of mountains, might, as they think, be improved at a small expense for pasture, or still more beneficially applied to the purposes of planting.’—*Fourth Report on Bogs of Ireland*, p. 11.

This is a statement on which the reflective reader may well pause. The bogs of Ireland do not, as strangers too frequently imagine, consist of a dozen or a score of large morasses; on the contrary, a bog, which is known in that country under one denomination, will generally be found subdivided into an indefinite number of smaller bogs, each of them surrounded by high ridges of dry land. The bogs, for instance, which lie to the eastward of the Shannon, and which occupy a considerable portion of the King’s county and the county of Kildare, are generally known by the name of the Bog of Allen.* But the tracts to which this generic name is applied, far from forming one great and uninterrupted morass, are perfectly distinct from each other, and so intersected by high and dry land, that no spot of those which lie to the eastward of the Shannon is more than two Irish miles distant from the upland and cultivated districts. It will be at once manifest, that this arrangement and subdivision of these bogs must greatly facilitate any attempt which may be made to reclaim them.

That such attempts would be crowned both with success and profit, is a fact which does not rest upon the mere reasoning of theorists or the reports of commissioners and surveyors: it is, on the contrary, placed beyond all dispute, by experiments which have been made over and over again, in various parts of that country. In a former paper, we alluded to a successful experiment of that description which had been made upon Lord Palmerston’s estate;† and we shall avail ourselves of this opportunity

* Vol. xxxviii., p. 63.

of presenting an account of other experiments, which have been made with similar success.

About the year 1800, Lord Dillon laid out a certain portion of red bog on his estate, which he granted to his labourers for a term of years *rent-free*. This acted as a great stimulus to their exertions; they commenced by building cabins on the driest part of the bog next the land already in tillage, and by cutting away the bog as fast as their means would permit. They have completely reclaimed ten or twelve acres, which, from being as bad and spongy as any bog in the country, now produces as good crops of potatoes, oats, and hay as any uplands in the neighbourhood. (*Third Report on Bogs of Ireland*, p. 2.)

In 1809, thirty-three perches of red bog land, about twenty feet deep, in the island of Cleeneagh, were drained and levelled; a sprinkling of gravel was then laid on, and the ground was sown with cabbage-seed. In 1810 it produced a crop of potatoes. In 1811 it was laid down with fescue strings, exactly in the way recommended by Dr. Richardson: the grass produced in that year, by this small piece of land, yielded no less than *two tons* of very excellent hay.

About the year 1790, the late Mr. Edgeworth undertook to reclaim a bog and moor, consisting of twenty-seven acres. At the commencement of the business, he offered to let it to the tenant of the neighbouring land, at half-a-guinea per acre. This was refused, and the able and persevering landlord took it into his own hands, accounting regularly for this rent to his agent every year. The capital employed in improving this moor, never amounted to one hundred pounds: and, by an accurate account which was kept of every particular, it appears that, after the payment of rent, and of every contingent charge, including wear and tear of instruments of husbandry, and overseer's wages, there remained, at the end of five years, beyond replacing the capital, a balance of seventeen pounds, as clear gain. At that period, it was let for thirty shillings an acre, on a lease for his own life, to the same tenant, who had before refused it when offered at half-a-guinea; and, at this moment, notwithstanding the depreciation which has since that period taken place in the value of agricultural property, it would let for a higher rent.

About the same time, Mr. Sadlier took upon lease, from Lord Digby, a tract of red and black bog, containing about three hundred and forty-three acres: at that time, a great part of these acres were valued at five shillings: they were intersected with main and cross drains on a small scale; having been thus drained, they were then levelled and burnt: they then yielded him abundant crops of rape, which reimbursed the whole expense of reclaiming them;

them; and, by this means, was created an estate, which now yields to the excellent improver from thirty to forty shillings per Irish acre.*

In the very middle of the bog of Derrinlough, on the side of the road between Crankee-bridge and Derrinlough, may be seen a remarkable instance of the possibility of changing the nature of the actual red bog and rendering it productive. About the year 1800, a few perches of this bog, situate a quarter of a mile from the main land, were reclaimed and cultivated by a poor man. This industrious improver died many years ago, when his patch was deserted and left in common with the other bog; but notwithstanding this disadvantage, it continues up to this day to produce good grass.† This instance not only shows what industry may effect in reclaiming these bogs; but it also proves that the commonly received opinion, that they will ultimately revert to their original state, is utterly void of foundation.

About 1760, the late Mr. French, of Wood Lawn, commenced one of the most unsuccessful experiments which has been made in reclaiming Irish bogs; it has been continued and completely finished by his son, the present Lord Ashdown. The tract thus reclaimed, amounts to two hundred and ninety-two acres; it was of the most impracticable character, being ‘a red bog, of a light, fuzzy substance, like a bed of tow, which would not burn in turf: it produced nothing but bog berries; a part of it so very wet, that the drains could not be cut, at first, wider than four feet and two spits deep.’‡ By address and perseverance, this most unpromising spot was reclaimed at an expense, in draining and manuring, which did not amount to ten pounds per acre. This improvement has now stood the test of nearly seventy years: without any additional expense, it has become so firm in its texture, that a horseman may ride over it without sinking in the least, or leaving even a visible mark. Its present firmness, combined with the great depth of the soil, makes it the best land on the estate; and it is estimated to be worth at least two pounds per English acre.

At Renville, in Connemara, a gentleman of the name of O’Flaherty has reclaimed a tract of bog land, to an extent of about one thousand acres. His plan was excellent, and deserves to be generally imitated. He removed the cottagers from the old stations which they had already brought into tillage, and where they had become too numerous, and settled them on the bog: this they reclaimed with potatoes and sea-weed, laying on it afterwards a coating of sand, carried from the sea-shore, and contain-

* Second Report on the Bogs of Ireland, p. 14.

† *Ib.*, p. 15.

‡ Young’s Tour in Ireland, p. 232.

ing no calcareous matter. The effect of this treatment has rendered the whole highly productive.

Here we must desist. Throughout every district of that island, the occupiers of land have made various attempts to reclaim small allotments of bog lying contiguous to their farms; and, in the greater number of instances, these efforts have been attended with advantages exceeding their most sanguine expectations. Tenants holding under short leases have discontinued their efforts, although fully convinced of the value of this species of soil when reclaimed. This alone has prevented large tracts of these unproductive wastes from being converted into pasture: wherever these undertakings have been prosecuted by the proprietors themselves, the result has, we believe, been uniformly successful;—the face of the country has been entirely changed—wild and useless wastes have been converted into ornamental plantations, luxuriant meadows, and rich pasture grounds.

The instances of successful cultivation which we have adduced, *ex medio aceruo*, are too well authenticated to admit of being disputed. They are notorious to all the world. It has, however, been asked, if the facts here stated be true, why have not all the bogs of Ireland been long since reclaimed? And it has been assumed, that their present desolation, where the inducements to improve them appear, *primâ facie*, so powerful, must be taken as an inrefragable proof that they are, either in quality or situation, less favourably circumstanced than the specimens which have been already brought under tillage. We, however, fully coincide with the opinion expressed by the commissioners, that the neglected state of these wastes is to be ascribed,—not to any physical obstacles—not to any natural incapacity—not to any unfavourable circumstances arising from their situation,—but entirely and solely to moral causes—to causes which the legislature can effectually remove.

‘The arable lands around the circumference of each bog belong (say the commissioners) pretty generally to a numerous body of proprietors; the wearings of whose estates, it is generally admitted, must be contained within the area of the interior of the bog, but the precise situation of which is seldom ascertained. The external boundary of the bog forms a turf-bank. The interior is a quagmire, in its present state inapplicable to any other purpose than the affording a very scanty summer pasture to a few wandering cattle, who are turned in to seek for it, at the risk often of being lost. The cultivators, who occupy the contiguous farms, have usually annexed to the enjoyment of the lands, a right of turning in their cattle on the part of the bog adjoining to their respective farms; and when these are tempted by hunger to wander farther, reciprocal convenience forbids its being considered as a trespass. These farmers have usually terms of lives or years on their

their holdings, too short to tempt them, even if possessed of capital and skill, to enter on the permanent improvement of the bog, while they are yet abundantly sufficient to render such an operation impracticable for the landlords. The landlord has demised to a tenant what he considered of little or no value: the shortness of the tenure obliges the tenant to leave his holding in its unprofitable state; but were the landlord to propose to improve it, the tenant having a present right to prevent him, that right would become valuable just in proportion to the intended exertions of the landlord, and would inevitably be let by the tenant.'—*Fourth Report, &c.*, p. 4.

This is, in truth, the principal, if not the sole, obstacle which has so long hindered surplus capital and labour of the community from spreading over the wastes of the empire, and bringing them under tillage. The extinction of these common rights would of itself, without any further encouragement from the public, lead to the cultivation of many of these neglected districts. And, when we look either at the present circumstances or future prospects of the British empire, we have no hesitation in pronouncing this subject to be by far the most important which can engage the attention of a modern statesman. It is a question which, as we shall presently show, involves, in the deepest degree, the morals, as well as the subsistence of the increasing population of the empire; and the minister who shall show firmness enough to remove the impediments to the progress of tillage, which arise from this source, must establish an everlasting claim to the gratitude of his country. That the settlement of a question, in which so many various interests are implicated, would be found a task of difficulty, is not to be denied; but that to patience, address, and perseverance, it would prove insuperable, we are not willing to admit.

We shall advocate no plan which can, in any respect, injure the real interests of any of the parties who are now entitled to common rights. It is well known that the soil and minerals which lie under the surface of a common belong to the lord, while the scanty herbage above belongs to the different occupiers of the inclosed land lying within the precincts of the manor. No arrangement can be more injurious, either to the parties themselves or to the public. This common property operates as an effectual barrier against every attempt at improvement. The first step, therefore, towards the cultivation of these wastes, must be the separation of these interests. To effect this object, some tribunal ought to be created in every county; or such a power might be vested in some local authority already in existence. Any of the individuals interested in the cultivation of a waste, should be empowered to call upon the members composing this tribunal to act, and assign him, in severalty, a portion which they might consider equivalent to his interest in the waste. It would not, perhaps, prove in practice an inexpedient plan, that an allotment should be laid

laid out for the lord, in lieu of his manorial rights, and that the remainder of the waste should be vested in the overseers of the poor, or some other body of trustees, as a property which, under proper restrictions, they might dispose of to the best bidder; the proceeds to be applied, in the first instance, towards the parish expenses—and the surplus, if any should remain, to be paid over to the occupiers and owners, in the proportion of their respective interests.

We have no ambition to be classed among theorists or inventors. This is precisely the system on which the heaths and wastes of Hanover have been reclaimed and brought under tillage within the last century. The first step was to make a survey of the whole of that territory. This was executed, with great care and fidelity, by a body of able engineers: a map was then constructed, upon the scale of a foot and a half to a German mile; it exhibited every stream, however inconsiderable; every species of soil; the heaths, the moveable sands, the marshy and boggy districts; and even the aspect of each tract, whether hilly or level, were all distinctly traced upon it. Having thus carefully ascertained the agricultural resources of the country, the government resolutely set about the task of rendering them available. The preliminary steps, which exceeded the means of individuals, were taken at the expense of government, wherever the wastes designed for improvement were the property of the state; and, of the municipal bodies, wherever they were the property of communities. Roads were laid out in all directions; deep and wide trenches, dug across the turf bogs, opened a communication between their stagnant waters and the rivers. By this means alone, their surface became sufficiently firm to admit of tillage. These grand outlines of the plan having been completed at the general expense, the wastes were divided into allotments of various, though not of very great extent, in order to meet the capital and energy of their future cultivators. They were then either let on long leases, or sold in perpetuity, for the best rent or price which they could command; and the rent or purchase-money obtained for these allotments exceeded, we believe, in every instance, all that had been expended on the preliminary measures of improvement.

This plan has fully realized the most sanguine expectations of its projectors. The demand for new allotments has kept pace with the increase of the population, and within a period which falls considerably short of a century, immense tracts of barren heaths, bogs, and marshes have been converted into fruitful corn-fields and valuable meadows. Without any extension of its territorial limits, the wealth and resources of Hanover have been incalculably augmented. The same excellent system still continues to be progressively acted upon; and the uncultivated and unprofitable wastes of his Majesty's continental dominions gradually disappear before

before the industry and energy of the inhabitants thus effectively developed under the care of a wise and paternal government.

At a very recent period, the Dutch, with their characteristic industry and perseverance, have turned their attention to the improvement of their wastes. The inhabitants of the cultivated districts of Holland, finding themselves overburdened with a multitude of paupers, for whose labour there was no effective demand, resolved to try the experiment of settling them upon some of the wastes with which that country abounds. By this means, they hoped to get rid of their burden, whilst wastes, hitherto unproductive, would be rendered profitable to the public. In several districts, colonies have been established, and placed under a system of discipline nearly approaching the strictness of a military police. In order to defray the expense of these establishments, funds have been raised by voluntary contributions. Such paupers as cannot procure profitable employment elsewhere, are sent to these colonies, where food and work are provided for them. The soil on which they are settled seems to be as ungrateful as can well be conceived; nor is there any thing in the climate which appears peculiarly inviting: yet, in spite of these discouragements, the success of the undertaking has been placed beyond dispute. Directed by skilful superintendents, the industry of these colonists even now raises as much food as is required for their subsistence, whilst the land which they cultivate is in a state of constant and progressive amelioration. Those who desire further particulars upon this subject, will do well to consult the interesting tract which Mr. Jacob has just published.

These are things which have been accomplished, in our own time, by others: let us not despise their experience. In respect both of soil and climate, a large proportion of our own neglected districts are indisputably and incomparably more favourable for improvement than the heaths of Hanover, or the cold clays of the north of Holland.

The changes which gradually and almost imperceptibly take place in the interior arrangements of society, ultimately end in some crisis which forces itself upon the attention of the community: and the difference between a common-place and a great statesman consists principally in the decision and energy with which he departs from the old routine path trodden by his predecessors, and adopts a new system suitable to the character of the new difficulties with which he has to contend. Until the middle of the sixteenth century, the population of this country was employed almost exclusively in the labours of the field: manufactures, as a distinct occupation, being nearly unknown. A surplus population gradually arose, which could not be absorbed by the cultivation of the land already in tillage;—and for the hands not
wanted

wanted in agriculture, manufactures offered no resource:—such establishments did not then exist: every manufactured article which could not be fabricated at home by the manual labour of the members of the farmer's family, was imported from abroad; and into the Netherlands or Lombardy, in exchange for wrought commodities, went all the surplus produce, whether of grain or of other articles, which the owners and occupiers of land in this country could at that time spare. Even then the country produced food enough for all its inhabitants; but a considerable proportion of this food being sent into foreign countries, in exchange for the manufactured commodities which could not be fabricated at home, a portion of the population of England, whom this produce might have supported as manufacturers, were turned adrift upon the world as destitute beggars. Reduced into a state of absolute idleness, they fell for subsistence upon the resources of that part of the population which was productively employed.

Such was the nature of the crisis whereupon the ministers of Elizabeth were called upon to cope. A multitude of beggars wandered throughout the country in a state of idleness and want, while a large proportion of the corn, the wool, and the other products of English land went abroad to pay for manufactured goods. Having a distinct perception of the evil, they were not slow in applying the proper remedy. They adopted a plan which turned these idle and voracious consumers into active and useful members of the community. They resolved to encourage the establishment of manufactures. The beggars were driven from the streets and roads in which they had plied their old vocation, and set to work. In addition to the famous statute passed for the relief and employment of the poor—which, when viewed in its true light, may be considered as an act for the promotion of domestic industry,—the ministers of Elizabeth imposed a heavy duty on certain foreign commodities, in order to cherish the rising manufactures of their own country. This protection soon rendered it unnecessary that parishes should avail themselves of the clause in that act which empowered the overseers to buy raw materials whereon to set the poor to work. The different manufactures of the country, as they successively arose, soon absorbed all able hands for whose labour agriculture presented no demand: by degrees they relieved the parishes of all burden except the mere maintenance of the impotent poor.

By meeting the difficulty in this manner, by establishing manufactures, in which the surplus population might be employed and consume the surplus produce of the soil, they acted with more wisdom and policy than if they had endeavoured prematurely to settle them as agricultural labourers on the wastes and commons, of which a vast extent then remained in a state of nature. No
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doubt can be entertained, that even in that way an adequate provision might have been made for an increasing population. But under that system, the exports of raw produce in exchange for wrought goods would still have continued: nay, they would have been increased by the additional surplus derived from the cultivation of the wastes. It was therefore more advantageous to the owners and occupiers of the land already in tillage, that this surplus population should be employed in manufacturing the commodities which they required in exchange for the surplus produce of their fields; and the people thus employed as manufacturers, were enabled to purchase, with the fruit of their labour, a greater quantity of agricultural produce than they could probably have raised for themselves on the English wastes.

The extent to which the employment of machinery has been pushed as a substitute for human labour has, at length, brought on a new crisis: it is one essentially different from that which presented itself to the statesmen of the sixteenth century, and which appears to demand a different remedy. Then the agricultural population had become too numerous, while a large proportion of the surplus produce of English land was exported in exchange for wrought commodities. Now the difficulty is of a totally different origin and kind: so far are our manufactures from requiring an increased supply of hands, that they overflow with workmen, for whose industry there is no profitable demand. The employment of machinery not only stops the gap through which the surplus of our agricultural population had been used to make its way into manufactories, but it has likewise thrown out of employment a considerable proportion of the hands which had been previously occupied in the fabrication of wrought commodities. From both these sources, a number of unemployed hands accumulate; the gradual increase of the population produces a surplus of labourers who cannot find profitable employment in the tillage of our old lands; and to this surplus is daily added a crowd of workmen whom the extension and improvement of machinery disengages from manufactories.

To this grand crisis in the internal economy of this nation—pregnant with alarming and unknown evils if neglected or unskilfully dealt with, and with incalculable public advantages if properly treated—we earnestly entreat the attention of the head of his Majesty's present cabinet. We are sure that he has sagacity enough to see it; and that he possesses sufficient firmness to turn it to account. The various changes which have taken place within the last twenty years, have placed at his disposal a host of able-bodied and willing labourers, more numerous than the legions whom he lately led to victory. Let him only open for this host a passage to the wastes and commons of the empire: 'let him only give them the space
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on which their toil may be productively bestowed, and we will boldly promise him a civil wreath more brilliant and unfading than even the unrivalled glory with which military triumphs have encircled his brow. When the 'Seven Years' war' had been brought to a successful termination, Frederick the Great, with the promptitude and energy which had raised him to the pinnacle of military fame, set about improving the agriculture of the Prussian dominions: he drained, reclaimed, and colonized three tracts of marsh land, of great extent, in Pomerania, and extended tillage over considerable districts of heath in Brandenburg; and the gratitude which his countrymen feel for exertions which pushed population and tillage over thousands of acres of waste and unproductive land, by no means tends to diminish the admiration which they entertain for his memory on account of the brilliant triumphs which he achieved in this field. We press this matter upon the Lord of Strathfieldsaye the more willingly and more earnestly, because, unless we be much misinformed, he, in common with almost every great commander who has distinguished himself in the field, loves agriculture for its own sake. But be this as it may, we feel convinced that a sense of what is beneficial to the public will induce him to cherish, and if possible to extend, this branch of our national industry, as the firmest and most durable basis on which the greatness and prosperity of England can be made to rest.

Some persons, never so happy as when they succeed in tormenting themselves, are fond of preaching that the sun of English prosperity has at least reached its meridian, and that, henceforth, it must wane, finally to disappear before the successful rivalry of other nations. In our humble opinion, if we resolutely and wisely avail ourselves of the vast, the almost inexhaustible resources which nature has placed at our disposal, we need entertain no such apprehensions. Other nations may, and no doubt will, grow richer and more powerful as their industry increases, and their resources become gradually developed—but no matter for that: surely their greatness need not prove detrimental to us; it by no means follows that we should either recede or remain stationary because others advance. If, through the improvement of foreign industry, we should be even deprived of some of the distant markets to which our manufactures are now sent, we may, if we please, create a more certain and more profitable market at home.

We neither expect nor desire that government should engage practically in the details of cultivating our wastes and commons; we only require that the legal impediments should be removed which now prevent private individuals from embarking in these beneficial enterprises. Let government arrange a system which will bring into the market allotments of waste, disburdened of manorial and common rights, with the same facility as inclosed and divided lands

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are offered for sale, and we hazard nothing in predicting success and relief. Nor do we think that any attempt to cultivate our waste lands in extensive masses would answer. The cultivator of a limited number of acres is the proper pioneer to extend tillage over our waste lands: stimulated by the prospect of providing for himself and family, he is the only person who will exert the degree of industry as well as practise the rigid economy which are indispensable in the commencement of such an undertaking. If the cultivation of a waste were attempted under the superintendence of functionaries paid by the state, or by public companies, and carried into effect by hired labourers, there is good ground to fear that a system of equal industry and economy would not prevail; that loss instead of gain would accrue from the undertaking. Nor would the effect of this disappointment be limited to the abandonment of the particular enterprise; it would lead to a result far more to be deprecated—it would tend to confirm an impression which already prevails but too generally in this country, that the cultivation of waste land must necessarily entail a loss on the first undertaker. To the nature of the scheme itself would be imputed the loss which, on principles of fairness, should be ascribed solely to the improvident system on which it had been conducted. The direct interference of government, of associations, or companies, should, therefore, be strictly confined to instances in which preliminary works, beyond the means of the class of cultivators whom we recommend, might appear necessary. In many cases it would, no doubt, be requisite to form roads, open drains, and construct embankments. This would lay the basis of cultivation; it would pave the way for the introduction of that minute system of tillage, which we consider the only profitable means of reclaiming wastes.

We shall not now argue the question, whether or not the system of large farms be the most profitable mode of occupying land in districts which have been already raised to a considerable degree of fertility by the industry of small farmers. We may, however, venture to say, that such a system could not succeed generally on wastes still in the hands of nature. The history of every country proves that cultivation was extended over the unreclaimed land through the instrumentality of small farms. This is the manner in which agriculture gradually spread itself over what now appear the most fertile districts of Europe. The cottier and croft system laid the true foundation of the fertility which much of the best and most productive land in this country now exhibits. The lord's vassal gradually inclosed and reclaimed a few acres of the waste which lay nearest to his cottage; others did the same thing; and at length formed an aggregation of cottages which was termed a town.—Even at this moment traces of this ancient system are visible in every part of the Scottish Highlands: a peculiarly rich
verdure

verdure marks the encroachments which the cottier made upon the empire of the purple heath; and now that both Highlander and hut have disappeared—now that Chieftains strut about ball-rooms, with kilts, and *tailts*, and bagpipes, while Clans are exiled to transatlantic wildernesses—the fertility and beauty of many a sequestered spot still bear testimony to the virtuous industry which originally reclaimed it from the desert. Of these little patches, hundreds have been recently consolidated into one farm, and a venerable ash tree alone remains to mark the spot where a hearth once sent forth its smoke; this we do not so much regret as that the cultivators of these little crofts have been sent away altogether from the districts in which they lived. We could have wished that, having brought under tillage the foot and lower sides of the hill, they had, when it was considered expedient to eject them, been sent higher up, and thus made the instruments of pushing cultivation still nearer the summit. These useful pioneers of cultivation have, however, vanished, and no effort has yet been made to fill up the blank which their disappearance has occasioned in our social arrangements.—Under the operation of the same system, was cultivation pushed over the wastes of the Netherlands and Hanover. The sagacious agriculturists of Flanders confined themselves to small allotments, which did not exceed their means. These admirable cultivators not only added gradually to the extent of the soil which they tilled: every year the plough was made to go deeper; half an inch or an inch was thus gradually added to the depth of the land already in tillage; hence a fertile loam, eighteen inches or two feet deep, is now seen where the farmer originally found a soil not exceeding three or four inches in depth. ‘To do a little constantly, and to do that little well,’ has been the profitable maxim of the Fleming: by acting steadily on this invaluable principle, that industrious race have converted the most barren tract in Europe into the most productive land in the world.

The experience of modern times combines with the history of more ancient periods in proving that the system which can, with the greatest certainty of profit, push cultivation over our present wastes, is that of dividing them into small allotments. Our readers are well aware that, within the last hundred years, many millions of acres have been inclosed and brought under tillage in this country; but, however laudable and praiseworthy these undertakings must be considered in design, it is still to be feared that many of them, being conducted on erroneous principles, have miscarried. The eagerness of the undertakers has impelled them to aim at too much. With means barely adequate for the amelioration of scores of acres, they have unwisely attempted to improve hundreds; and the result has been disappointment to the individual and injury to the
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the community. This mismanagement has also produced the impression that the wastes of England are by nature more barren and unimprovable than those which a more judicious system has fertilized in other countries. But, in order to show the fallacy of this opinion, we need not seek for evidence among foreign cultivators : our own inclosed wastes will furnish us with proof abundantly satisfactory on this point. The large allotments assigned under inclosure bills have, in many instances, been but little improved ; and the undertaking has, therefore, proved rather injurious than beneficial to their present owners ; but in no situation, however unfavourable, has the cottager failed to render the small allotment, which fell to his share, both productive and profitable. Of this fact, extremely important as it appears to us in the history of tillage, we could adduce an endless list of the most convincing instances. We must, however, content ourselves with one or two ; appealing for further confirmation to the daily experience of every reader conversant with rural economy. About the year 1771 an act was obtained to inclose and divide the great forest of Knaresborough : the allotments, which fell to the share of the larger proprietors, produced, for some time, but little benefit to those who obtained them ; it appears even doubtful whether the capital laid out in inclosing and improving them has been to this hour replaced. The condition of the small allotments, set out for the cottagers, is strikingly different. Upon the amelioration of these limited tracts, the spare time of the cottager has been perseveringly employed ; and, from their original barrenness, they have been thus raised to a high and permanent state of fertility. The inclosure of the wastes in the parish of Christchurch in Hampshire, which took place in 1803, was attended with similar results. Many of the larger allotments have hitherto received but little improvement, whilst the small crops of the cottagers have been made to yield an ample return. " We believe, indeed, that few if any instances can be adduced in which the assignment of a small allotment of waste land to the cottager has not been productive of the happiest results : it has applied a most efficient stimulus to the industry of the occupier ; the spare time now employed in the cultivation of these allotments would have been passed in idleness or in dissipation. The produce gained from these wastes is, therefore, just so much added to the national wealth, whilst the labour of raising it contributes materially to improve the morals of the people.

The waste lands of this kingdom should be treated as a national domain, to be divided and allotted as the demands of society for space and employment happen to increase. We are willing, on this question, to consider our unprofitable wastes as the 'people's fair'—as property which the public has a right to lay hold of—paying to the interested individuals a full compensation

tion for the common rights of which such a measure would deprive them. The community is entitled to address the proprietors of such lands in the following terms : 'Thousands of your fellow-countrymen are destitute of employment and food; you own thousands of acres of waste, which yield very little profit to you, but on which labour might enable them to raise the necessaries of life which they require. If you choose yourselves to undertake the cultivation of these neglected lands, well and good; this will create an extra demand for labour, and afford to those persons the employment of which they are now destitute; but if you decline this task, which is become necessary on public grounds, the general good requires that the State should step in, and take from you this source of employment and wealth, which you think proper to overlook, giving you, at the same time, the most ample compensation for the rights and advantages which you are called upon to relinquish.' We really cannot see how any rational individual could complain of such a proceeding; nor can we admit that the principle of private property ought to be pushed beyond this point. We cannot admit that any principle on which private property is founded entitles the owners of commons or wastes to say, 'we will neither cultivate these wastes ourselves, nor will we allow others, desirous and able to undertake the task, to take possession of them for that purpose.'

Such a plan of providing employment and food for our surplus population is at least worth the experiment. It would be prudent to commence upon a small scale. Let the trial be made upon one waste; buy up the common rights and extinguish them; form all the roads and principal drains which may appear necessary; divide the waste into separate allotments of moderate dimensions, and put them up for sale to the highest bidder. Thus not only would an opening be made for the wealth of opulent speculators, but industrious farmers, and labourers of small capital, would be tempted to settle on these allotments.

This method of reclaiming our waste land would tend very materially to regenerate among the hard-working peasantry of our country that spirit of honest independence which the painful impossibility of obtaining small tracts of land has probably more than any other circumstance contributed to destroy. As the land of this country is now occupied, the agricultural peasant cannot hope—by his own industry, however unremitting—by his own economy, however rigid—to better essentially his condition: by these means he may, it is true, keep himself and his children from falling upon the parish, but by no efforts can he hope to escape from the class in which he was born, and to which both he and his offspring are almost inevitably doomed by the present arrangements of society.

This is the real cause which has annihilated the class of 'bold peasantry' which once formed the glory as well as security of these realms. In our former, and what, in this respect, we consider our better days, the meanest and most destitute labourer might, by industry and frugality, aspire to the condition of a small farmer; and perseverance in the same path, which enabled him to save the capital required for the occupation of a small farm, put it in his power, or that of his son, to remove to a larger. This prospect, which animated the exertions—which sweetened the toils, and softened the privations—of the agricultural labourer of former times, conferred upon the whole class a tone of energy and manly independence which, we grieve to say, a different system has all but extinguished. Deprived of every hope or chance of eluding the trammels of their present condition, it should excite no surprise that in morals and industry they have fallen below the agricultural peasantry of the preceding centuries. Let it once more be held out to them that industry and frugality lead to independence, if not to wealth, and we have no fears for the result.

It will be said that, in order to give effect to such a scheme, it is indispensable that those who engage in it should possess at least sufficient capital to build a cottage and support themselves until the produce of their respective allotments can become available; and that, from their thriftless and improvident habits, the classes for whose benefit the suggestion is principally thrown out, are utterly destitute of the means required for such a purpose. But what sort of logic is it, to assume that because the labouring classes of this country effect no savings when no prospect of laying out savings to advantage offers itself, the same would be the case under more encouraging circumstances? Hold out to the labourer the expectation of an allotment of waste land, to be granted to him on the condition of paying a quit rent equal to its present value, and we feel persuaded such a blessed hope would engender in him the desire and the resolution of saving capital adequate to render his allotment available. Instead of squandering, as too many do now, for want of an object, their surplus earnings, they would treasure them up as the certain foundation of future comfort and independence. No one who has lived among country people can be ignorant of the reverence which they attach to the possession of 'a bit of the land.' Wordsworth's old Cumberland *statesman* says to his son,

'I have been toiling more than seventy years,
And in the open sun-shine of God's love
Have we all lived; yet if these fields of ours
Should pass into a stranger's hand, I think
That I could not lie quiet in my grave.'

And

And there is hardly a ditcher, who would not feel a new heart stirring under his ribs if he were told that by toil and sobriety he might pass into *Michael's* class and condition.

The capitalists of this country, to whatever class they may belong, should be reminded that the cultivation of our wastes and commons is a question in which the interests of each individual among them are directly and deeply involved. Manorial and common rights have hitherto closed these wastes against industry. Hence capital, which would have yielded a larger profit to the owner, if laid out in the improvement of a waste, has been unnaturally forced into commerce and manufactures. By this means a double injury has been effected; the waste has remained in its unproductive state, and the commercial and manufacturing capital of the country, being unnaturally swelled by an accession which, but for the impediments to which we have alluded, would have found its way to the land, must, in consequence, yield to the capitalist a diminished profit. We are constantly in the habit of hearing the loudest complaints of the superabundance of capital, of the low rate of interest and profits, and of the difficulty of meeting with an advantageous investment for money. If the barriers which now effectually prevent the capitalist from undertaking the improvement of our wastes were removed, we are persuaded that this ground of complaint would be greatly diminished. Conveyed from a channel in which it now overflows, into another in which it is wanted, money would become more productive; whilst trade and manufactures would be made to yield a larger return of profit. In a word, it is our conviction that no class of persons are more deeply, more vitally interested in the improvement and tillage of our wastes, than the moried and commercial capitalists of the empire. By opening a new field—and a most extensive field—for speculation, it would produce an advance in the interest of money; increase the income of every man who possessed a pound, which he might embark in such an enterprise, or lend to another person for such a purpose; relieve the manufacturer and trader from the injurious competition to which an excessive supply of capital now exposes them; and raise up, in the cultivators of waste lands, a new race of customers for the commodities which either of these parties might bring to market.

It seems, indeed, difficult to account for the singular apathy with which the capitalists of this country look upon their exclusion from this certain source of increased profits. This we are inclined to ascribe mainly to certain whimsical theories which have recently obtained currency, among us. The oracles of a certain sect of economists look with horror on the cultivation of an English waste,

waste, be its natural capabilities what they may. The land 'last taken into cultivation' is with them an object of utter loathing; they maintain that whenever an event so calamitous as the cultivation of a waste takes place, it inevitably leads to a rise of prices; in other words, that the increase of any given commodity must augment its exchangeable value—that the increase of the quantity of wheat and barley grown on the land of any country, must render wheat and barley dearer in the markets of that country. Nay, not only do they regard the extension of cultivation over our wastes and commons as an evil,—they go still further; they represent all measures which tend to withdraw the capital already expended on wastes which have been recently reclaimed—on 'the land last taken into cultivation'—as a public benefit. They speak and write of throwing poor lands out of tillage, not as a misfortune to be deprecated, but as a national good to be ardently desired. That these gentlemen should vent absurdities is a matter which may not excite much surprise; 'tis their vocation:—that those who have embarked capital in the improvement of new land should, on the supposition that it must yield an inadequate return, be anxious to withdraw it, is also natural;—but that the monied and commercial classes should swallow such nonsense—should believe that any undertaking which transfers a given quantity of capital from commerce to agriculture—must injure them,—should conceive it to be for their benefit that this capital should be taken away from tillage, and thrown back again into the mass of trading and manufacturing capital (already, as they themselves allege, too large)—these are circumstances which, we own, somewhat surprise us.

It is almost needless to observe that the cultivation of our waste lands would directly tend to augment the wages, and, consequently, to improve the condition both of the manufacturing and agricultural labourers. These two branches of our national industry now overflow with hands, because the territory from which an ample subsistence might be raised for them, is narrowed and hemmed in by artificial impediments. Let these barriers be removed; let the money of the capitalist, together with the labourers to whom it would give employment, have but room to extend over the wastes and commons of the empire:—full employment and good wages would be provided for a large population on the wastes thus brought into tillage; and the removal of this surplus from the districts in which the labouring classes are now said to be overabundant, would put it in the power of those who remained in their old situations to command more constant employment and higher wages.

This mode of dealing with the waste lands of the empire should not only obviate the necessity of an application to parliament

ment in every particular instance, but prove the means of removing another source of loss and disappointment, which has too frequently attended enclosures made under the present system. Wherever a waste is attacked under the powers of a local act, however infertile some parts of the soil may appear, still the whole must be divided and inclosed. The magnitude of the enterprise, thus undertaken at one time, has in most instances been found to enhance the wages of labour in a particular district much above a reasonable average; and, what is still worse, it has entailed upon their proprietors the expense of inclosing poor soils, which, being not yet sufficiently prepared by Nature for the purposes of tillage, would have proved quite as productive in an open state. Nature no more intends that cultivation should be pushed at once over the whole of a particular district, than she designs such a sudden extension of it over the whole territory of a nation. Her order is, that tillage should everywhere extend its limits by gradual and almost imperceptible steps; and whenever this order is contravened, the consequences are disappointment and loss. If the waste lands of each manor were vested, as we have ventured to suggest, in a corporate body, as trustees, to manage them for the benefit of the whole of the common-tenants, it would obviate the necessity of inclosing at once the whole of each waste: the best parts of it—that is to say, those parts in which the ameliorating process of nature has made the greatest progress—would form the first allotments offered for sale: the quantity being limited to the demands of each district, a better price would be obtained for them; and, what is of much more importance in a public point of view, the allotments thus sold would be reclaimed upon a more economical and efficient system. . . .

There is, indeed, too much reason to fear that, owing to the unskilfulness of ignorant, or the cupidity of selfish, men, many of the wastes recently inclosed in this country have been, at least for a time, rather injured than improved by that process. In too many instances, these allotments fell into the hands of tenants too short-sighted to perceive their true interests, and too unskilful to pursue them properly; or of others, holding under leases having only a brief term to run. In either case, the result has proved equally injurious to the landowner and to the public. The impatience of an ignorant or selfish occupier, eager for immediate profit, led to a system of incessant cropping, that exhausted the virgin mould which nature had gradually formed, and delivered over into the hands of man, as a basis on which a provident system of tillage might have reared and established permanent fertility. The prodigality or stupidity of man has thus wasted, in the course of a few years, a treasure which nature had, during the revolution of ages, been accumulating for his benefit; and

and to punish this improvident misconduct, she has reduced these districts to a state of barrenness proportioned to the severity of the system by which they have been exhausted. This, we are persuaded, is the principal, if not the sole, cause of the disappointment which has, in some instances, attended the inclosure of commons. The temptation of five or six crops, obtained at little or no expense, from a virgin soil, proved too strong for the self-denial or the discretion of the cultivator: he scourged the land until he succeeded in completely exhausting its powers; and, with singular ingratitude and inconsistency, he now turns round upon Nature, pours forth lamentations over the barrenness of the soil, and—angry that he cannot ‘have the cake which he has eaten’—exclaims against all attempts to reclaim and improve waste lands. Had these people acted upon the rational principles which experience points out; had they kept their land clean; adopted an ameliorating system of tillage, and made a green crop succeed a white one—no intelligent person will for a moment doubt, that by far the greater proportion of ‘the land last taken into cultivation’—of the ‘poor soils’ which the economists tell us have been prematurely and, of course, injuriously forced into tillage,—would have now exhibited a very different appearance.

The Economists of the cockney school seem to conceive of all land fit for tillage, as if it were turned out of the hands of Nature regularly divided into what Mr. Hunt, the Cockney poet, calls ‘farmy fields’; according to them, its productive powers were originally just as great as they are now after the revolution of a score of laborious ages. That all the operations of Nature have small beginnings; that she pushes her work forward by steps which are certain, although slow; that she is incessantly engaged in creating soil where none previously existed, and in improving the quality of that which she has already formed—these are philosophical truths which never enter into their calculations.

Nothing can be more truly beautiful in itself, or more deeply interesting to a reflecting mind, than the process by which Nature constantly produces an accession of soil, and an accumulation of vegetable matter to render it fertile. The process is varied so as to be exactly adapted to overcome the obstacles which the circumstances of each particular district present; but although the means employed are infinitely various, the final result is always the same. When the surface of a rock, for instance, becomes first exposed to the atmosphere, it is at once attacked by agents which operate mechanically and chemically. Light calls into activity the latent heat; the pores become, by that means, sufficiently enlarged to admit particles of moisture, which gradually abrade the surface and produce inequalities; upon these inequalities the seeds of lichens are deposited by the atmosphere; these forerunners of
vegetation

vegetation take root, and the fibres by which some sorts of these diminutive plants adhere to the rock, concoct a vegetable acid peculiarly adapted to corrode the substance with which it comes in contact, and increase the inequalities which heat and moisture had already formed. These diminutive plants decay and perish; when decomposed they form a vegetable bed suited to the production of larger plants; or when the surface of the rock happens to present clefts, or natural crevices, they fall into them; and there mingling with fine particles of sand, conveyed thither by the atmosphere, or crumbled by the action of the air from the internal surfaces of the crevices themselves, they form fertile mould. Nature, having advanced thus far in her preparations, makes another forward step. She sows the soil which has been created by the decomposition of vegetable matter, with some of the more perfect plants, which it has now become capable of sustaining. These continue to be produced and decomposed until a soil has been prepared of sufficient depth and richness to bear plants of still higher quality and larger dimensions. The process of Nature acquires accelerated force as it advances towards its consummation. When a sufficient depth of soil has been formed to produce ferns, for instance, these annually decay and die; their decomposed materials gradually form little conical heaps of vegetable mould round the spot on which each plant grew. When this has gone on for a period of sufficient length to spread these cones over a given surface, nature takes another stride: she sows furze, thorns, and briars, which thrive luxuriantly, and by annually shedding their leaves contribute, in the end, to add greatly to both the depth and fertility of the mould. This species constitutes, in truth, the means which nature principally uses in preparing a bed for the growth of the more valuable trees. It is well known that these are the plants which make their first appearance in fallows, or in woods which have been recently cut down. Into the centre of a tuft of brambles, is *accidentally* carried the seed of the majestic oak; meeting with a congenial soil, it soon vegetates: it is carefully and effectually cherished and protected by its prickly defence, against all injuries from the bite of the animals which roam over the waste. The larger trees having reached a height and size which render shelter unnecessary, destroy their early nurses and protectors, by robbing them of the light and air indispensable for their well being. The thorny plants then retire to the outskirts of the forest, where, in the enjoyment of an abundant supply of light and sun, they continue gradually to extend the empire of their superiors, and make encroachments upon the plain, until the whole district becomes at length covered with magnificent trees. The roots of the larger trees penetrate the soil in all directions: they even find their way

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into the crevices of the rocks, filled, as these are already, by decomposed vegetable matter: here they swell and contract, as the heat and moisture increase or diminish. They act like true levers, until they gradually pulverize the earthy materials which they have been able to penetrate. While the roots are thus busy underground, boring, undermining, cleaving, and crumbling every thing that impedes their progress, the branches and leaves are equally indefatigable overhead. They arrest the volatile particles of vegetable food which float in the atmosphere. Thus fed and sustained, each tree not only increases annually in size, but produces and deposits a crop of fruit and leaves. The fruit becomes the food of animals, or is carried into a spot where it can produce a new plant: the leaves fall around the tree, where they become gradually decomposed, and, in the lapse of ages, make a vast addition to the depth of the vegetable mould; and whilst the decomposition of vegetables makes a gradual addition to the depth of the cultivable soil, another cause, equally constant in operation, contributes to increase its fertility—the produce of the minutest plants serves to subsist myriads of insects; after a brief existence, these perish and decay: their decomposed particles greatly fertilize the vegetable matter with which they happen to mingle. The period at length arrives when the timber having reached its highest measure of growth and perfection, may be cut down, in order that the husbandman may enter upon the inheritance prepared for him by the hand of the all-wise and all-beneficent Author of his existence. Such is the system, which they that have eyes to see may see. Plants which appear worthless in themselves,—those lichens, mosses, heaths, ferns, furze, briars, and brooms, in which *economists*, forsooth! perceive only the symbols of eternal barrenness,—are so many instruments employed by perfect Wisdom in fertilizing new districts for the occupation of future generations of mankind:

‘The course of Nature is the art of God.’

The wastes of this country, as they have been managed for ages, have been partly taken out of the hands of Nature without having been wholly taken into the hands of man. The constant depasturing of cattle on wastes and commons counteracts the means which Nature makes use of in producing fertility, and, in consequence, greatly retards the period when the soil becomes sufficiently deep for agricultural purposes. There is not, perhaps, a heathy waste in England, which would not become a forest, were the commoners restrained from setting their flocks upon it.

It is admitted on all hands that the growth of timber for naval purposes is an object of vital importance to the nation; and great exertions have been already made, and still continue to be made,

in replanting parts of the royal forests, where the timber had been cut down, or fallen into decay. However praiseworthy the object of these exertions, we entertain some doubt whether they are conducted on right principles; we are inclined to suspect that replanting oak trees where oaks have grown before, is as great a blunder in forest economy as sowing wheat immediately after wheat would be considered in rural management. It is a well-known fact, that wherever trees of any particular species have fallen into decay, other trees of the same species will not naturally thrive: for instance, when a forest of firs falls naturally into decay, it is never found to be succeeded by another crop of firs, but by birch, oaks, or other species congenial to the soil which the fir-wood had formed. We are tempted, then, to recommend the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to reconsider the system upon which they now proceed—to regard the ancient forests of the crown in which timber has not only come to perfection but fallen to decay, as so much land prepared by the hand of Nature for the purpose—not of being replanted—but ploughed. It would, we think, be desirable to sell every part of these forests not already covered with thriving plantations, and to vest the proceeds in the purchase of other wastes, which would answer even better for the growth of timber. The crown lands and forests might thus be made the base from which cultivation might be extended over extensive districts; and the office of Woods and Forests take rank as one of the most efficient and important branches of administration. We cannot see any valid objection to conferring upon these commissioners the power of purchasing wastes or commons for the purpose either of being planted or of being allotted and sold for tillage.

The vast plantations which, within the last fifty years, have been spread over the heaths of various districts of this country, are to be considered not only as the sources of enormous future profit to their owners, but as of the highest importance to the public. In them we behold the most efficient means which could have been adopted towards covering these barren tracts with a depth of soil adequate for the purposes of husbandry. Many of these trees, and more especially the larch, are known to destroy the heath, and to afford a shelter highly favourable to the growth of nutritious grasses. Thus, even without including the timber in the estimate, the land on many great estates has already been, to all intents and purposes, doubled in value;—and all this is known to few men more thoroughly than to Lord Lowther. Why not follow out the same system on the domains of the crown?

Here, again, we say, it is at least worth a trial. But, indeed, the subject is of too much importance to be dismissed with this incidental notice; and we shall, ere long, recur to it.

ART.

ART. VI.—*Isaac Comnenus. A Play.* London. 1827.

WE notice this play because it is equally remarkable for originality of conception and sobriety of execution.

Those ages, to recount the revolutions of which, according to Milton, 'it is not more worth, than to chronicle the wars of kites and crows, flocking and fighting in the air,' are rich in materials for poetry and romance, and more especially for the drama. They abound in striking examples of virtue as well as of enormous wickedness—in great and sudden reverses of fortune—and in circumstances well fitted to excite an intense interest for the fate of individuals, which can rarely be partaken when the wider scene opens, and attention is less fixed upon the personages who pass like shadows over the stage, than upon general concerns and the great course of events. When we come to times of political history, the heroic character disappears, happily for mankind,—the splendid virtues which are called forth in turbulent ages, and which command the admiration of posterity, being dearly paid for by the generations which witness their display. To a certain degree it may be true, that in this change of society one class of crimes has given place to another. It is nevertheless an improvement in our condition to live under the star of Plutus (if he has one) rather than that of Mars—to be born in the bank-paper age instead of the iron one—to pay taxes rather than black mail—to have our pockets picked rather than our throats cut—and to endure lengthy speeches upon Catholic emancipation rather than be massacred like the Albigenses, hunted down like the Vaudois, or burnt alive for the good of our neighbours' souls, like those martyrs who purchased for us our inheritance of religious liberty.

The dramatists of our silver age (for so that of Lee may be called, rather in reference to the leaden one that followed than to the golden time of Elizabeth and James) went more frequently to romance than to history for their subjects. Calprenade, Mademoiselle Scudery, and her brother, were to them what Sir Walter Scott is to the play-wrights and melodrama-mongers of this generation. They were thus saved the trouble of invention, and no skill was required for insinuating the plot into an audience, the greater part of whom might be supposed to be familiar with the names and circumstances of the story. They followed in this the Horatian precept, not in deference to Horace, but because it was the easiest course for incapacity and ignorance. Had they been better read, they would have known that history is richer than romance in events and characters suited for dramatic representation, and they would have been less in danger of falling into extravagance and bombast, either of action or sentiment, into both which they were misled by their models.

The

The author of Isaac Comnenus has taken the groundwork of his play from an age fertile in dramatic events, and peculiarly suited to the cast of thought and feeling which may be supposed to characterise him, if the character of an author may be estimated from his writings. This, Mr. D'Israeli has told us, in his agreeable book upon the literary character, is but a deceitful kind of physiognomy; but the deception can only be as to the principles and morals of the writer, not as to the degree and order of his intellectual powers. A profligate may write hypocritically; a sensualist may affect the refinements of sensibility; and one who lives only for himself may expatiate upon his feelings for others, and obtain credit for the most enlarged benevolence. In such cases, he who wields the pen may set down what he pleases to his own credit, and impose upon others; but with regard to his intellectual powers, except, indeed, in the circles of the dupes and the dunces, (alas, they are large exceptions!) he can impose only upon himself—the power of his understanding and the complexion of his mind will be made apparent to all who are capable of estimating them.

The play before us is of a meditative and somewhat melancholy cast. The latter ages of Byzantine history are best regarded when they are contemplated in such a frame of mind;—for although revolutions have not been more frequent anywhere than in the capital of the eastern empire, nor more barbarous among the most barbarous people, there were at Constantinople the remains of literature and philosophy as well as of imperial greatness; and these were not preserved in convents alone, as in Western Christendom, but they were to be found in high places and in public life, in camps and in courts. The Greek mind as well as the Greek language had triumphed over the Roman; and, as in elder Greece, the better parts of the national character long survived the loss of the empire, though lingering in a slow and continual decay. Men were found there, till the last of the Constantines, capable of reflecting with grief and self-humiliation upon the decline of their country, and the public and private corruption which accelerated its downfall;—a corruption by which they were surrounded, and in which they themselves had largely and consciously partaken.

Subjects of busier interest than the accession of Alexius Comnenus to the empire might have been found in any portion of this history. If we go back no farther than to the strange adventures of Zoc and Theodora, and the theatrical vicissitudes which beset their successors, they occur in abundance within the short interval of thirty years. The elevation of the first Comnenus to the throne—his abdication; the character of Constantine Ducas; the

the schemes, matrimonial and political, of Eudoxia ; the tragedy of Romanus Diogenes ; the reclusion of Michael Ducas ; the mixture of amorous intrigues with ambition and conspiracies ; the influence of women upon political affairs ; the literary habits of those who were implicated in such courses, and the anxiety which they felt for standing well in the opinion of posterity, even while conscious of their own ill deserts,—might seem rather creations of fiction than matters of history, so rapid and various are the events—so strongly marked and so romantic the characters which figure in them. An instance of moral dignity has appeared to the present author more impressive, and more capable of dramatic interest, than any of these previous transactions. When the Comneni succeeded in dethroning Nicephorus Botoniates, Isaac waived his pretensions to the empire in favour of his younger brother, Alexius. This fact is the foundation of the play—the character of the principal personage is inferred from it, and represented as corresponding to it in all respects, and the other circumstances of the drama are either adapted to this conception or imagined to accord with it.

Even Anna Comnena has not represented her father Alexius more favourably than he is portrayed in this tragedy. The two brothers are models of fraternal affection ; their sister, Eudocia, a woman of firm and lofty character, worthy of her race ; Anna, their cousin, a gentle creature devoted with her whole heart to Isaac, who, not having a whole heart with which to requite her, designs her and the empire, if their designs should prove successful, for his brother. Meantime, Theodora, the daughter of Nicephorus, endeavours to win his love, by revealing to him her father's machinations ; but he, whom the knowledge of those machinations has already determined to the decided course which he is taking, parries her advances with mortifying serenity. She says to him,

‘ You shall partake my counsels, and I yours,
And we will share the issue.

Comnenus. That can we never.

Nature has set apart our destinies,
And each must follow out the course assign'd ;
I mindful of this token of good-will,
Nor you regardless of your household ties.

Theodora. What is this talk of nature ? Hear my creed.
The strongest ties have Nature's strongest sanction ;
And if the ties of blood be *not* the strongest,
Nature doth abrogate and make them void.

Comnenus. Where these are not the strongest all are frail.—p. 17.

The moral, meditative character of Isaac Comnenus is well brought forth in the first interview with his brother, after a long separation ; their meeting is on the shore of the Propontic :—

‘ *Alexius.*

Alexius. But for that hair that's twisted in the grain,
I had not known thee.

Comnenus. Youth, Alexius,
Knows nought of changes; age hath traced them oft,
Expects, and can interpret them. Thou too
Hast somewhat alter'd, but the few years more
Of time which I have travell'd through have taught
• The art to know what has been from what is,
What's like to be from both: change is youth's wonder;
I have seen great things alter, precious things,
Boys become men, men monarchs, women fiends,
And girls too like them.

Alexius. There is nought thou'st seen
More alter'd than art thou.
I speak not of thy change of outward favour,
But thou art changed in heart.

Comnenus. Ay, hearts change too:
Mine has grown wondrous sprightly.

Alexius. Hast thou forgotten how it was thy wont
To muse the hours away along this shore—
These very rippled sands?

Comnenus. The sands are here,
But not the foot-prints. Would'st thou trace them now?
A thousand tides and storms have dash'd them out,
Winds brushed them, and waves worn them; and o'er all
The heavy foot of Time, who plods the shore,
Replenishing his sand-glass, trodden down
Their vestiges and mine. Look, here's a rock—
His seat or ere he push'd it from the cliff,
And which shall now be ours; a goodly seat;
He's worn it smooth, smooth as a woman's cheek
Which he has not worn.

Alexius. That is smother far.

Comnenus. Ere taught to dimple into lies. Come, sit.

Alexius. What is this carved upon the rock?

Comnenus. I know not:
But Time has ta'en it for a poet's scrawl;
He's razed it, razed it.

Alexius. No, not quite; look here.

I take it for a lover's.

Comnenus. What! there's some talk
Of balmy breath, and hearts pierced through and through
With eyes' miraculous brightness—vows ne'er broken,
Until the church hath sealed them—charms loved madly,
Until it be a sin to love them not—
And kisses ever sweet till they be innocent—
But that your lover's not put down?

Alexius. No, none of it.
There are but two words.

Comnenus.

Comnenus. That's succinct ; what are they ?

Alexius. " Alas, Irene!"—Why, thy looks are now
Such as I have beheld them heretofore,
Only more ghastly—Isaac, what disturbs thee ?

Comnenus. Now this I hate, to stand and be decipher'd,
Pored on and puzzled through,
Like riddles that are read o' winter's nights,
When maids and boys have nought to prate on else.
Alexius, forgive me. Leave me now.
There's occupation for us both abroad.

Alexius. Oh no, not now—I will not leave thee now ;
A seven years' history is untold between us.

Comnenus. All too heroic to be told in prose
Go put it down in four-and-twenty books,
'Cleped "The Comneniad," to be read at leisure ;—
We'll have no more of this ; my childhood's past,
And I would not recall it.

Alexius. Not recall it !
Canst thou stand here and say so ? Canst thou look
On this soft-rolling, deep-embayed sea,
With yon blue beautiful ridge half compassed round,
Hear the low plash of wave o'erwhelming wave,
The loving lullaby of thy mother Ocean,
(We, like the Cretan, are not sons of earth,)
See the rocks stand like Nature's ruins round,
For man's were never so majestic,
The boundary forts of earth and ocean's empire,
The deep-scarr'd veterans of their countless wars,
Thy native, and thy father's native shores—
Are they not lovely ?

Comnenus. It is not the eye
To which these things seem lovely, but the mind,
Which makes, unmakes, remodels, or rejects them.

Alexius. And which doth thy mind ?

Comnenus. It hath done them all,
Alexius, I remember when in Persia,
I oft would watch the sun go down ; and there
He sets with such refulgency of red,
That the whole East, with the reflected glow,
Is crimson'd, as it may be here at dawn.
I would the youth of man did so decline ;
But that still darkeneth to the cloudy close.'—p. 91—96.

There is an after-scene, in which Comnenus soliloquizes over the grave of his first love. Whether it be well timed and placed may be questionable, but greater unfitness might be excused for the sake of such poetry as follows :—

' Oh Christ !
How that which was the life's life of our being

Can pass away, and we recall it thus!
 Irene! if there's aught of thee that lives,
 Thou hast beholden me a suffering man;
 Thou'st seen the mind—its native strength how rack'd,
 Thou see'st the bodily frame how sorely shaken,
 And thou wilt judge me, not as they do who live,
 But gently as thou didst judge all the world,
 When it was thy world.————

On many a battle's eve, in many climes,
 By the ice-cavern'd course of black Araxes,
 By Ister's stream, and Halys, and Euphrates,
 By Antioch's walls, and Palestine's sea-shore,
 I have address'd wild prayers unto thy spirit,
 And with a mind against its natural bent
 Tortured to strong devotion, have besought
 That thou would'st meet me then, or, that denied,
 That I might seek thy world upon the morrow.
 And then it would have seem'd a thing most sweet,
 Though awful, to behold thy bodiless spirit.
 But now—and whether from the body's toil,
 I know not if it be, or fever'd blood,
 Or wakefulness, or from the mind's worn weakness—
 It were a very terror to the flesh
 To look on such a phantom:—it is strange
 That what we so grieved to lose we fear to find
 In any shape,—strange that the form so sweet,
 So gentle and beloved, I saw laid here,
 Now new-arisen would make my blood run cold!
 Up, moon! for I am fearful of the darkness,
 And I do hear a voice that cries aloud—
 Home, home, Comnenus!—p. 111—113. . .

The play is full of action—the incidents are well managed—and suspense is successfully kept up till the very point of the catastrophe. All has succeeded with the Comneni. Isaac transfers the crown to Alexius, and consents, less gracefully than she deserves, to requite the constancy of Anna by taking her to wife, when Theodora revenges her father and herself by stabbing him.

The more passionate or thoughtful parts are occasionally relieved by lower dialogues, in the manner of the old English drama. The worst specimen of this is the scene in which an exorcist is one of the interlocutors; the most pleasing occurs between Alexius and one of his brother's sentinels, to whom his person is unknown:—

Sentinel. 'Tis a miracle how sense will grow upon a man after he has mounted guard a few years. Thou would'st not believe how many thoughts come and go in a wise man's head as he walks his four hours backwards and forwards upon an outpost.

Alexius.

Alexius. How long has thou been walking here?

Sentinel. The matter of an hour.

Alexius. And what thoughts have come and gone in thy head?

Sentinel. The matter of four.

Alexius. What was thy first thought?

Sentinel. I bethought me that the wind was easterly, and one ought to hear the waves break upon the Symplegades.

Alexius. What was thy second thought?

Sentinel. I thought when the moon rose I should see the tops of the fig-trees at Galatà; that's my birthplace.

Alexius. And thy third?

Sentinel. I thought if I was to fall to-morrow, I could like it were thereabouts.

Alexius. Thy fourth?

Sentinel. I thought when Count Isaac was emperor, he would be for recasting the army; and I shall tell him I was getting old in the service, and could like to be one of the immortals.

Alexius. That I'll be bound for him thou shalt.'—p. 103—105.

Throughout the play the author has succeeded better in the delineations of his elect than of his reprobates. There is some supererogatory wickedness in the priests, especially in the patriarch; and the suspicious fearfulness of the emperor is, in some parts, overcharged:—with these exceptions, the characters are as finely delineated as they are distinctly imagined. The diction is always good, neither spangled with affectations nor distorted by the efforts of an ambitious and stilted style. If this be the first production of the author, much may be hoped from one who has begun so well.

ART. VII.—*Memoirs of General Miller in the Service of the Republic of Peru.* By John Miller. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1828.

WILLIAM MILLER, the subject of this memoir—in which we find more of novelty and entertainment than in a score of modern novels and romances—was born on the 2d of December, 1795, in the pleasant village of Wingham, near Canterbury, where his father was a small tradesman—we believe a baker. Of the events which characterized the progress of his early life we are told nothing, except that he served with the British army (from no regiment being mentioned, we suppose on the commissariat), both in the Peninsula and North America, from 1811 to 1815; and that, on the reduction at the latter period, an opportunity presented itself by which, had he turned his attention to mercantile pursuits, he might have become a partner in a French house of great respectability. But young Miller had not been a cold speculator

tator of war, and his genius had taken a bent which rendered the dull routine of the counting-house intolerable to him. After a short trial he relinquished the design of advancing his fortunes by means of commerce, and imagining that a fine field of enterprise was presented in the condition of Spanish South America, then struggling for independence in all its provinces, he determined to do as many others of his countrymen had done before him, by making a tender of his military services to one or other of the republics. In his mode of carrying this determination into practice, Miller exhibited a striking proof of that sagacity and sound judgment which so eminently distinguished him in all his after career. Having ascertained that comparatively few English candidates for military fame had made the district of the river Plata the theatre of their exertions, he came to the wise resolution of choosing that for his future country; and accordingly set sail, in the month of August, 1817, in a trading vessel, bound from the Downs to Buenos Ayres.

Having taken the precaution to provide himself with recommendatory letters to several respectable merchants settled in that city, Mr. Miller, whose personal appearance, if his portrait speaks truth, is eminently handsome and engaging, and whose manners and address chance (we are told) to be peculiarly advantageous, encountered none of those obstacles to first success which so frequently blight the hopes of the mere adventurer. On the contrary, he was welcomed with the utmost cordiality and treated with the greatest kindness by his countrymen, through one of whom, Mr. Dickson, he obtained a personal introduction to the supreme director Puyrredon; and his memorial, addressed to the latter personage was, within a reasonable space, answered by the receipt of a captain's commission in the Buenos Ayrean army. He was appointed, moreover, according to his own desire, to the army of the Andes, then serving in Chili, under the orders of General San Martin; and he lost no time in making such preparations as appeared necessary to enable him to enter, with satisfaction to himself, upon the duties and perils of a campaign.

Neither in Buenos Ayres, nor elsewhere, are appointments received or preparations made in a day, and Mr. Miller seems to have enjoyed some months of leisure previous to his embarkation on his military career. Of this breathing-time one portion was spent in enjoying the festivities of colonial society, another in visiting the interior; an expedition which brought at once within his observation all the wonders, animate and inanimate, of the Pampas. These appear to have produced in Mr. Miller the same feelings which Captain Head experienced, and has so well described; but the progress of his journey introduced the for-

mer to one spectacle at least such as the latter had no opportunity of witnessing, and which, under his peculiar circumstances, could hardly fail of exciting a powerful, if not a very pleasant, sensation. The spectacle to which we now allude was that of a few fellow-creatures groaning under a destiny more terrible than frequently falls to the lot of human nature; and as it could not but occur to the person who beheld them, that a similar fate might before long be his own, we are not surprised to find that he looked upon it with a deep and melancholy interest.

Mr. Miller proceeded, in company with four Buenos Ayrean gentlemen, to visit an estancia or grazing farm, situated in a remote district, not far from the borders of Patagonia. On the 30th of October, the party crossed the river Salado; and at five p.m. reached a station called Los dos Talos. It consisted of four miserable hovels, one of which was used as a *pulperia*, or shop and public-house, whilst the other three were occupied by thirty-eight Spanish officers, who had been made prisoners of war at Monte Video in 1814. These unhappy gentlemen, after serving throughout the greater part of the war in the Peninsula, which they quitted so lately as 1813, fell into the hands of the Buenos Ayreans, by whom they were condemned to subsist in this secluded district, upon rations of beef and salt, without any other allowance. Within the space of a hundred miles round, there was not a human being with whom they could hold friendly converse, for the neighbouring estancias were occupied wholly by Gauchos, whose antipathy to the Spaniards knew no bounds; and a basin of milk occasionally, but rarely given to them, was the only act of kindness for which they had cause to be thankful. After enduring this horrible banishment for some time, ten of these unfortunate hidalgos, headed by a Major Livinia, resolved, at all hazards, to attempt their escape. They accordingly fled from Los dos Talos, with the design of making their way to Chili, then in possession of the royalists, and trusting to find shelter and protection, by the way, among the savage Indians; but after enduring privations, under which seven miserably perished, the three survivors were compelled to return and surrender themselves once more to a patriot outpost. They were immediately removed back to their old station, where they had ever since remained, in a state, both of body and mind, the most deplorable. The Major, in particular, with whose relatives in the mother country Mr. Miller happened to be acquainted, was in a pitiable condition. His beard had grown to his chin, his countenance was ghastly, and his figure emaciated; his eyes had become diseased, and were but indifferently screened from the glare of day, by an old sack hung up before them; and he lay upon a sort of truckle bed, composed of two or three rugs placed upon cross sticks, run into the mud wall

wall at one end, and fastened on the other to upright sticks driven into the earthen floor. With respect to the furniture of the hovel, which contained no fewer than twelve inmates, it consisted of a three-legged stool, ten inches high, and covered with a woollen rag, upon which the poor invalid occasionally sat, leaning against a wall, the dampness of which was in part kept off by a piece of canvass battened upon sticks; while a long plank, having its extremities supported between the horns of two bullocks' skulls, supplied the place of a bench for the rest of the company. Some clasp and case knives and forks, a few horn spoons, a kettle or two, a frying pan, a ramrod, to supply the place of a spit, a couple of gridirons, an earthen dish, and about a dozen broken cups and saucers, constituted the sum of household utensils at the disposal of the entire group. A few *lassos* and *bulas*, indeed, hung upon the wall, but they were seldom used, because one or two only of the prisoners were permitted to mount on horseback at a time; and as even this favour depended upon the caprice of an officer of *Gaucha* militia, it could very rarely be obtained. To complete the picture of utter misery, our traveller was assured by his new acquaintances, that soap was a luxury of which they knew nothing, and the general filth and squalor of their appearance gave testimony that the complaint was not made without reason. It will readily be imagined that Mr. Miller contemplated such a scene, not only with pity, but with a far livelier and deeper feeling. He did his best, we are told, to cheer these miserable men; but we must hurry over the particulars of his interview with them, as well as the remainder of this excursion, that we may follow him at once to the seat of war.

On the 6th of January, 1818, Captain Miller set out for Buenos Ayres, provided with a passport and fifty dollars, as bounty money from the government. Travelling post, a distance of three hundred leagues, he reached, at the close of the ninth day, the town of Mendoza, a large place, situated in an extensive and well-cultivated plain at the foot of the Andes, and holding the rank of capital in the province of Cayo. Its most remarkable feature is a fine alameda or public promenade, sheltered on either hand by rows of poplar,—a tree so highly esteemed in the province, that the Spaniard who introduced it was, by an express decree of the revolutionary government, excepted from the hostility shown to his countrymen, declared to be exempted from the payment of all direct taxes, and taken under the especial protection of the ruling power.

Here our traveller delayed a few days, partly that he might recover from the fatigues of past exertions—partly that he might be a witness to the peculiarly simple and innocent habits of the people;

people; after which, he addressed himself to the arduous and toilsome task of crossing the Andes.

Captain Miller followed the Pass of Uspallata, by which means he reached Santiago, a distance of eighty-three leagues, about noon on the fourth day. Of the solitary grandeur of that stupendous region, no one, who has not traversed it, can form any adequate conception. From the hour that the wayfaring man enters upon it, till he arrive at the opposite side of the range, all trace, not only of human industry, but, we had almost said, of animated nature, is lost. The road leads, indeed, from ridge to ridge, so completely thrust among the clouds, that the torrents, whose roar is distinctly heard beneath, can rarely be seen; whilst to meet even the stag-like gaze of the *guanaco*, or to watch the solitary condor, as with motionless wings he floats overhead, is felt as a positive relief to the weary senses. Nor is the passage made good without danger,—real as well as imaginary. The snow, on many of the highest table-lands, when melted by the sun, assumes an irregular and broken surface, and offers but an insecure footing to mules and horses,—which, sinking into it, are sometimes entirely lost, and never extricated without extreme difficulty; and, as the strange noises, made by the wind, come through the long deep valleys upon the ear of the guide, he rarely fails to add to the horrors of such actual calamities, by recounting stories of travellers who have perished there already, and whose souls are still believed to haunt the vicinity of their unburied remains. Subject to all these inconveniences, Captain Miller held his course. He crossed the rich and fertile valley of Chile; halted for a day or two in Santiago; and, finally, came up, on the 26th, with the army of San Martin, in bivouac, at Las Tablas, near Valparaiso.

The nucleus of the army of the Andes, to which Captain Miller attached himself, was formed in 1814, out of the remains of several corps, which, under different leaders, had suffered, one after another, defeats. Two whole years were spent in its organization, and at the end of that period it amounted to no more than four thousand regular troops, tolerably well clothed and armed, besides a considerable number of mere militia. At the head of this force, San Martin proposed to carry the war into Chile, then defended by Captain General Marco, at the head of nearly eight thousand regular, and eight hundred irregular troops. But as he was not competent to take his adversary in front, he resolved to deceive him, if possible, into a division of his strength; and then attacking him in detail, to complete the liberation of a province, where he had every reason to be convinced that a strong revolutionary spirit prevailed.

San Martin assembled his army at Mendoza about midsummer
in

in 1816, preparatory to his passage of the Andes. To facilitate the latter measure, he invited the Indians of Pehuenche to a conference at Fort San Carlos; which was held with the customary pomp of presents and debauchery—and the result was, that all the caciques engaged to grant the patriots a free passage, and to conceal their designs from the Spanish general. But San Martin knew enough of these savages to be aware that the pledge which they gave one day would be violated on the next; and hence, instead of rightly informing them of his intended movement, he laid before them a plan which he never designed to execute, with the most perfect assurance that they would divulge it to the enemy. Nor was he deceived in this. The Spaniards being led to expect his arrival by the pass of El Planchon, kept a large portion of their force in that direction; while San Martin, forming his corps into two columns—one under Soler, the other under O'Higgins—and passing the mountain-barrier at points where he was least expected, debouched suddenly into the valley of Putuendo, and took possession of the towns of Aconcagua and Santa Rosa.

The Royalist force, left in this district, amounted to little more than four thousand men; it retired before the invaders, and concentrated on the heights of Chacabuco, so as to enfilade the road from Santa Rosa to Santiago. On the 10th February, 1817, San Martin appeared in front of the position; and, on the 12th, was fought a battle, named after the estate of Chacabuco, which cost the Spaniards six hundred in killed, with upwards of three thousand prisoners, including the captain-general. Santiago immediately submitted to the victor; who, sending out detachments in all directions to hunt down and destroy the remains of the royalist army, returned in person to Buenos Ayres, for the purpose of demanding supplies. Perhaps to the latter measure not a slender portion of the difficulties afterwards encountered may be attributed; for San Martin's lieutenants, unawed by the presence of their chief, appear to have executed the orders given to them with little alacrity; and the Spaniards were, in consequence, enabled to fortify the town of Talcahuano, as a *point d'appui* on which to rally. Talcahuano was, indeed, invested, and an attempt made to carry it by assault; but the former measure, had decisive steps been taken after the battle, would not have been necessary, and the latter was repulsed with loss. In the meanwhile the Spaniards assembled large bodies of men at different places. Troops arrived at Lima from the mother country. General Osorio came from Callao with three thousand six hundred men; and the whole uniting in Talcahuano, amounted to full six thousand effectives of all arms. Things were in this state when Captain Miller reached Las Tablas. San Martin had returned, and brought with him recruits which swelled his own column to nearly five thousand men; whilst that of O'Higgins, to
which

which the siege of Talcahuano had been entrusted, as well as a corps under Colonel Las Heras, were falling back towards Talca.

Captain Miller having reported his arrival to the general in chief, was immediately ordered to join his regiment—the Buenos Ayres artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Plaza. He presented himself accordingly to the latter officer, who, without so much as desiring him to be seated, gave directions to an orderly to lead him to an unoccupied tent. There he threw himself down (his baggage being as yet far in the rear) on the ground, and slept soundly, undisturbed by visitors or inquiries till the following morning.

In the service of South America, the officers live together, according to the relative ranks which they hold in their profession; and Captain Miller found himself, in consequence, a messmate of his brother captains. They were a strange medley of persons, differing in all their habits, notions and ideas, from those with whom he had previously been accustomed to mix; but Miller was too much a man of the world to make any display of the disgust which certain of their peculiarities failed not to excite; and he was too enthusiastic in the cause to abandon his profession, because it presented an exterior somewhat more rude than his previous imagination had bestowed upon it. On the contrary, he appears to have readily and cheerfully accommodated himself to the circumstances in which he was placed; and to have found ample sources of amusement in contingencies, which, to the feelings of a more fastidious person, would have been extremely annoying. Nor, to say the truth, were causes of contentment wanting. The captains seem to have known something of the art of good living in theory, and to have been sufficiently prompt in reducing it to practice, as the following description of the daily routine in camp will serve to show.

‘The style of living was simple but substantial. A benign climate permitted persons to sleep arid to live in the open air, excepting in the heat of the day. *Mate**, served by a lame invalid, retained for that purpose, was taken from hut to hut, before the occupant arose from his mattress. Breakfast *à la fourchette* was served at nine. The dinner hour was between two and three: it was composed of excellent soup, roasted strips of flesh, brought to table on a stick, or ramrod, which answered the purpose of a spit, poultry, vegetables, and fruit, in great abundance. The prices in the camp-market were, for poultry, one shilling a couple; vegetables, for six or eight people, three-pence; apples and pears, one shilling per bushel; water-melons, three half-pence each; bread, and other articles of food, were proportionably cheap. The rations, which consisted of meat and salt, and sometimes vegetables for the whole corps, four hundred and eighty men, cost the government less than one thousand dollars per month.

* *Mate* is an infusion of the herb *ilex*, and is drank as Englishmen drink tea, mixed with milk. The

The pay of a private soldier was four dollars per month; one half was stopped on account of rations. The net pay of a captain of artillery was sixty-five dollars per month. *Mate* was again served round at sunset, and supper followed for those who chose to partake of it.

The corps of Buenos Ayres artillery consisted of ten six-pounders and one howitzer, to which were attached four companies, of one hundred and twenty men each. Of these, the first company attended exclusively to the guns; the second was armed and accoutred as cavalry; and the third and fourth, carrying muskets, did the duty of infantry. All were, however, equally drilled to the horse artillery, cavalry, and infantry exercises; and all being mounted, equally skilful as horsemen, and equally accustomed to catch a young colt with the lasso, and afterwards break him in, no confusion arose out of the complexity in their arms.

Each gun was drawn by four horses, and each horse ridden by a gunner, there being no corps of drivers in the service; and a non-commissioned officer, with seven privates, all of them mounted, marched on its flanks, front or rear. The carriage and limber differ but little from those used in England, except that a pole is substituted for shafts; but, in the harness, there is a marked dissimilarity. In South America, there are no such things in use as collars or traces: each horse is fastened to the gun-carriage by a thong of hide, one end of which is strapped to a ring at the end of the girth, high up, near the flap of the saddle; whilst the other end of the thong is strapped, in like manner, to another ring at the end of the pole; and the thongs of the leaders differ from those of the wheel horses in nothing, except that they are longer. The saddle girth, again, measuring about four inches in breadth, is made of strips of platted hide; so that every gunner, if he possess but a knife and a cow-skin, is capable not only of repairing, but fabricating his own harness. In like manner, the felloes of the wheels are protected from the influence of the sun, by bands of raw hide fastened round them; but as these necessarily render the engine clumsy in its movements, they are uniformly cut away previous to the commencement of an action. Such was the constitution and materiel of the Buenos Ayres artillery, to which upwards of six hundred horses were attached. When wanted, these were driven into a circle, where each man unerringly threw his lasso over the head of the animal to which he took a fancy. The saddles were then put on, the horses hooked to the carriage, and the regiment formed and in motion, within the space of twelve minutes. But it was not in limbering up, alone, that the Buenos Ayrean artillery possessed merits, of which we, in Europe, know nothing. Carrying along with it a drove of spare horses, and changing the jaded for the fresh animal at any moment;—this corps performed
with

with ease marches of fifty or sixty miles, during many days successively; and, in cases of extreme urgency, it has been known to accomplish as many as ninety miles in one day. This, too, is done over every description of country: for the lasso is made to serve the purpose of a drag, by fastening a horse to the tail of the gun, in descending a declivity; and the gun is drawn readily through bogs and morasses, because a boundless power of muscle is at the control of the guide.

With respect to the infantry and cavalry, again, their appearance was certainly not such as to satisfy the fastidious eye of one accustomed to the neat and orderly bearing of French and English troops. Few soldiers wore stocks, their legs were bare, except where the sandal of raw hide chequered them; and the poncho, or short blanket, perforated in the middle, to allow the head to pass through, supplied, in most instances, the place of a coat. Yet the composition of the army of the Andes was good; and, though the dress of the men might be pronounced ungainly, they were well armed, tolerably disciplined, and enthusiastic.

Captain Miller had joined his corps something more than a week when San Martin broke up his encampment, and advanced for the purpose of meeting O'Higgins, of whose retreat he had been made aware. During the march an opportunity occurred of which our countryman promptly availed himself, to give proof of perfect coolness in danger, and a readiness to undertake any service, no matter how hazardous. About six leagues south of Santiago, the Mapo, a river of extraordinary rapidity, rushes between two precipitous rocks, and is crossed by a swinging bridge constructed of hide cables. This the infantry and cavalry passed without much difficulty, but it appeared hopeless to attempt the transport of the guns; and the matter was the more to be regretted, that, should they not cross here, a large detour must be made, and the further progress of the army seriously delayed. Captain Miller instantly volunteered to conduct the leading piece. He did so with every precaution which the circumstances of the case would allow; but when he had attained the middle of the bridge the gun upset, and the cables giving to its weight, the whole fabric assumed an inclination almost perpendicular. Captain Miller, and the few men who accompanied him, were compelled to cling to the cords, in order to save themselves from being precipitated into the torrent beneath; and such was the terrific aspect of the scene that for many minutes none would venture to their relief. At last, however, assistance was brought, and they, as well as the dismounted gun, were with difficulty saved; but the artillery was compelled, after all, to seek a safer passage. Yet Miller lost no credit by the attempt. It stamped him

him at once as a man who set his life at a pin's value, and drew upon him the eyes of his general at the very commencement of his career.

On the 15th of March General San Martin formed a junction with the columns of O'Higgins and Las Heras, at San Fernando; and the strength of the whole came up to seven thousand infantry, fifteen hundred cavalry, thirty-three guns, and two howitzers. On the 18th, his advance fell in with the van of Osorio's column, and a smart affair ensued, in which the royalists were worsted; but no general action was fought, for Osorio, having discovered the strength of his adversary, fell back with precipitation upon Talca. A good deal of manœuvring took place during this retrogression, and some skirmishing after the relative positions of the armies had been assumed; but the night of the 19th found San Martin in the plain, and his opponent securely bivouacked among vineyards and enclosures in front of the town.

The situation of the royalists, notwithstanding their formidable position, was now extremely critical, for San Martin had shown them, by the style of his manœuvring, that he was not to be treated with contempt; and the river Maule, difficult at all parts to ford, cut off their further retreat. General Osorio sank under the perils of his situation, but General Ordóñez, second in command, supported by Colonel Beza, resolved to attempt something for their own and others' deliverance. They accordingly moved, at the head of two or three regiments, from their bivouack, about midnight, and falling unexpectedly upon the Buenos Ayreans, at a moment when some battalions and the artillery happened to be in the act of changing their guard, caused a general confusion, from which the patriots never recovered. The latter were routed with the loss of all their guns, two only excepted, which Captain Miller, by his steadiness and determination, succeeded in preserving; and San Martin was compelled to retreat, first upon San Fernando, and afterwards upon Santiago.

In the city of Santiago the greatest confusion prevailed, as soon as the defeat of the liberating army became known. General Osorio had been noted, in that place, for his extreme cruelty, of which a ruffian called Sambruno was the chief instrument; and the return of these persons no sooner became anticipated than alarm and dismay took possession of the inhabitants generally. Even the supreme delegado, Don Luiz Cruz, was affected by the universal panic, and permitted men, women, and children, to flee to the mountains, as if affairs had become absolutely desperate. One man alone, Rodriguez, retained his presence of mind. He put a stop to the emigration, provided quarters for the fugitives, raised recruits, and took a public and solemn oath not to abandon his

his country under any circumstances ; and the example which he thus nobly set was soon followed by others. By-and-by San Martin and O'Higgins arrived, and many stragglers coming in and uniting themselves with the fresh levies, a new army of six thousand five hundred men was speedily embodied. With this force San Martin posted himself upon the Plains of Maypo, determined to risk a second battle in defence of Santiago.

The royalists followed up their first success with so little vigour, that it was not till the morning of the 5th of April that they appeared within six leagues of the city. Here they were met by the patriots, when a sanguinary contest ensued,—in which, though at first successful, the Spaniards received a total defeat. Two thousand royalists fell upon the spot ; upwards of three thousand were made prisoners, and scarcely a hundred men,—among whom was the general-in-chief, Osorio, escaped by bye-roads to Talcahuano. In this affair, however, Captain Miller was not engaged, he having been previously detached with a company of infantry, to take possession of the Lautaro frigate, which the Buenos Ayrean government had just purchased ; and in which he began his services, as an officer of marines, under the orders of a brave countryman, Captain O'Brien.

The Lautaro, an old East Indiaman, of eight hundred tons, was manned by one hundred foreigners, two hundred and fifty Chilenos, who had never before been afloat, and Miller's company of marines. It immediately put to sea, and in ten hours after, was engaged with the Spanish frigate, Esmeralda, in the bay of Valparaiso. Though the latter escaped, and the gallant commander of the Lautaro perished, this first naval essay on the part of the Chile government was not without its advantages ; for it served, at once, to raise the blockade of Valparaiso, and it gave to the patriots a superiority in those seas, of which they failed not to make the most. Other ships were purchased and fitted out, and as it was known that part of a large force, organised at Cadiz, was destined to act against Chile, the squadron prepared to intercept the transports, in which it was represented to be conveyed.

In this squadron, Miller, now promoted to the rank of Major, re-embarked, as senior officer of the troops distributed throughout the ships. These were the San Martin, of fifty-six guns—the Lautaro, of twenty-four—the Chacabuco, of twenty—and Araucano, of sixteen,—the whole under the guidance of Don Manuel Blanco Ciceron, lieutenant-colonel in the army, and commodore. The armament put to sea, at noon on the 9th Oct., 1818, amidst the loudest cheers of an assembled multitude, and the roar of artillery on the forts. But in spite of this display of confidence, there were not wanting persons, whose fears obtained the mastery
over

over their hopes ; and who, remembering the discordant materials of which the crews were composed, and the comparative inexperience of the chiefs, anticipated nothing but disaster and disgrace. Nor is this to be wondered at. Of the naval officers, almost all were Englishmen or North Americans totally ignorant of the Spanish language, while the ships' companies were made up, partly of deserters from the British navy, and partly of conscripts drawn from the Pampas, to whom the very sight of the ocean was new. Yet the best spirit prevailed among them ; and though Major Miller was compelled to act as interpreter, to render the most common orders intelligible, everything went on with astonishing regularity.

On the 28th of October, a Spanish frigate, with whose approach the commodore had been made acquainted, was seen at anchor, within pistol-shot of Talcahuano. The commodore hoisted English colours, and steered towards her ; but having arrived within musket-range, these were displaced by the Chileno flag, and an irregular but heavy cannonade began. The Spaniards soon cut their cables, and ran their ship on shore, taking to the boats themselves, and escaping ; when the prize was immediately taken possession of, and an attempt made to tow her off. But the wind blowing against them, the efforts of the Chileans proved unavailing ; and they were themselves sorely annoyed by a fire of musketry from the beach. At this juncture, Miller was despatched with a flag of truce, to offer generous terms to the fugitives, provided they would surrender. But instead of being received as he expected, the Major was made prisoner, and it was even seriously debated whether he should be immediately put to death. From such a fate he was, however, preserved by two militia officers, who compelled him to accompany them towards Concepcion, on the road to which, he was met by General Sanchez, at the head of one thousand six hundred men ; but Sanchez passed on without condescending to speak to him, desiring, at the same time, that he should be blindfolded. This was done with circumstances of extreme barbarity ; and when, at last, the Spanish general consented to receive his message, it was met only by an order, that the bearer should be *despatched, as he deserved.*

That Sanchez desired the death of Major Miller cannot be doubted ; but, being anxious to escape the odium which would have attached to a direct murder, he contented himself with directing that his prisoner should be bound hand and foot, and laid under a shed, in a direct line with the fire from the Patriot squadron. Here Miller passed the night, the shots of his friends falling in all directions round him ; but as he had borne himself proudly
before

before his enemy, on the day before, a lively interest was excited in his favour among the Spanish officers. Two of these—Colonels Loriga and Cabanos, warmly remonstrated with Sanchez on the cruelty of his proceedings; and throwing out certain hints, which he could not fail to understand, they succeeded, at last, in obtaining his release. Miller was set at liberty; he was led to the beach by Colonel Loriga, and a romantic friendship arose between these individuals, which lasted throughout the remainder of the war, and continues to this day.

In the meanwhile the Chileans, by dint of continued exertions, had succeeded in making themselves masters of the Spanish frigate, and the whole squadron, as soon as Major Miller was received on board; again put to sea. Though exposed to many dangers through the unskilfulness of the crews, this armament completely succeeded in the object which it was intended to serve, capturing, one after another, the entire Spanish convoy of which it was in pursuit; and it returned on the 7th of November to Valparaiso, increased by the amount of its prizes to no fewer than thirteen sail. In these were embarked upwards of two thousand troops, whose junction with the corps of Sanchez, had it been effected, must have given a decided superiority to the royalist cause; indeed it is not going too far to assert that, but for the good fortune which attended the efforts of Commadore Blanco, the progress of the revolution in Chile must have been, at least for a time, arrested.

Whilst Miller and his comrades were enjoying, at Valparaiso, the honours and attentions to which their services entitled them, Lord Cochrane arrived in that city, to take upon himself the chief command of the naval forces of Chile. He was received with the distinction due to his rank, and the deference justified by his professional reputation; and a round of balls and other amusements, private as well as public, caused several weeks to pass merrily away. But the circumstances of the times were not such as to authorise a neglect of other matters, and in the midst of so much gaiety, warlike preparations were rapidly proceeding. These were in due time completed; and on the 14th of January, 1819, Lord Cochrane put to sea with four sail of armed vessels, the largest of which mounted fifty, and the smallest twenty guns, with the design of destroying the enemy's shipping at Callao, blockading his principal seaports, and inducing the Peruvians to cooperate with an expedition which it was intended to embark at Valparaiso, for the purpose of liberating Peru.

On arriving off the bay of Callao, Lord Cochrane, whom Major Miller accompanied in his former office as commandant of the troops, found two Spanish frigates, the *Esmeralda* and *Venganza*, moored under the guns of the castle. These he made an attempt
to

to carry, bearing down in his own ship, the O'Higgins, disguised as the United States frigate Macedonian, upon the Esmeralda, and causing the Lautaro, Captain Guise, to act against the Venganza; but the wind unfortunately failing, both vessels were compelled to anchor—Lord Cochrane, at the distance of a thousand yards from his opponent, and Captain Guise no nearer. A heavy but not very destructive cannonade ensued, in which the castle and batteries on shore took part, till Captain Guise being severely wounded, and the O'Higgins cut a good deal in her running rigging, the Independent squadron withdrew.

Nothing daunted, however, by this repulse, Lord Cochrane fell upon other plans for the attainment of his end. He caused rockets to be constructed, and fire-vessels organized, with which repeated attempts were made to destroy the enemy's ships, but all his efforts proved fruitless. The Spaniards rested secure under shelter of their works, and the Chilean admiral was compelled to return to Valparaiso.

During the course of these operations, Major Miller met with an accident, from the effects of which it was a long time before he recovered. A cask of gunpowder, near which he was standing, exploded, and he was so dreadfully scorched, that the nails dropped from his hands; and for many days he was fed, through a sort of plaster mask, put on to save him from utter blindness. He was delirious for some time; and six weeks elapsed ere his strength was sufficiently reinstated to permit his quitting the cabin even to walk the deck.

The squadron remained in Valparaiso during three months; the whole of which were spent in manufacturing rockets, and making other preparations for a fresh attack upon the shipping at Callao; and on the 12th of September, 1819, the undermentioned vessels of war again set sail:—

O'Higgins	. . . 48 Guns	. . .	Vice-Admiral Lord Cochrane.	..
San Martin	. . . 60	..	{ Rear-Admiral Blanco, Captain Wilkinson.	
Lautaro	. . . 46	..		
Independencia	. . . 28	..	Captain Guise.	
Puyrerredon	. . . 14	..	Captain Forster.	
Vittoria & Verezana	Captain Prunier.	
Galvarion	. . . 18	..	to be fitted up as fire-ships.	
Araucano	. . . 16	..	Captain Spry	{ joined afterwards.
			Captain Crosbie	

In these were embarked four hundred soldiers, of whom the chief command was taken by Lieutenant-colonel Charles; and Major Miller, now recovered from his hurts, accompanied them as second.

It is not possible within our present limits to give any detail
of

of the desperate service encountered by this armament in the prosecution of its leader's enterprise : during the space of a fortnight, attempts were made at all hours, and by every means, to reduce the Spaniards ; but such was the advantage of their position, that these attempts invariably failed. At last the admiral, considering that the hostile frigates could not be subdued without risking the utter loss of the Patriot squadron, decided upon pursuing a different plan of operations. On the 7th of October, he accordingly weighed anchor, giving the signal to make for Arica. But of his ships so many proved dull sailers, that it became necessary to divide his force ; and he left Captain Guise with a portion of it behind, with directions to ' look in,' as he termed it, at Pisco.

Three hundred and fifty out of the four hundred marines, were embarked on board the vessels entrusted to Captain Guise ; and both Colonel Charles and Major Miller were of the number. As soon as they arrived off the place, preparations were made to land ; and on the 7th of November the landing was effected. But the garrison of Pisco was now ascertained to amount to nearly one thousand men, of which one hundred and sixty were cavalry, with four field-pieces ; and it was found to be hazardous in the last degree, to pursue an undertaking, in which, had they sooner been acquainted with its true nature, there was little probability that they would have embarked. Against this, however, the recollection of their repulse before Callao served sufficiently to steel them ; and it was resolved to go on, at all hazards, with a business, in the success of which they hoped to obtain some recompense for past misfortunes.

The little column pushed on in admirable order, till they came in sight of the Spanish corps, its infantry drawn up in the square, its artillery, supported by the cavalry, on a rising ground, which commanded the entrance of the town. There a short halt was made, that the leaders might arrange their plan, after which Colonel Charles, at the head of twenty-five men, filed to his right to reconnoitre ; whilst Major Miller, followed by the main body, pressed directly forward. A brisk fire, both of grape and musketry, speedily opened upon them, which did considerable execution ; but the Patriots, without returning a shot, still advanced, till scarcely fifteen yards separated the hostile lines. Then the Spaniards, giving their last volley, broke and fled. But though the victory was thus won, and the loss of the enemy great, the Chileans purchased it at a price which in their eyes was more than commensurate, for Colonel Charles was killed, whilst charging thrice his own numbers, and Miller fell, at the last fire, covered with wounds. His right arm was perforated, his left hand permanently disabled, and a third ball breaking one of his ribs, passed
out

out at his back. In this condition he was carried back to the shipping, where but faint hopes were entertained of saving him, and he lay for many weeks incapable of all exertion, and in a state when his removal from one ship to another might have proved fatal.

Whilst Miller was thus confined by his wounds, several services of minor importance were effected ; but it was not till the month of February following, when he had again become fit for duty, that any exploit of peculiar hazard or eclat was attempted. Then, however, was that extraordinary feat performed, for which Lord Cochrane, as it appears from this narrative, has obtained, at least, his full meed of praise, but in which Major Miller must unquestionably be ranked, if not as the deviser, at all events, as the chief actor. We allude, at present, to the surprise and capture of the forts which command the harbour of Valdivia ; and which, as well from their natural situation, as from the excellence of their entrenchments, have not inaptly been designated as the Gibraltar of South America. As the whole course of the Transatlantic war produced no deed more striking than this, we need not apologize to our readers for extracting, from the pages of the work before us, a tolerably full account of it.

Lord Cochrane, after cruising about for some time, determined, in January, 1820, to return to Valparaiso, and to look in upon Valdivia by the way. He arrived off the latter place on the 2d of February, with the O'Higgins in a sinking state, the Montezuma schooner, and Intrepido brig, having Major Miller, with a party of marines, on board. When about thirty miles from land, the troops were removed into the lighter vessels, to one of which, the schooner, Lord Cochrane also shifted his flag ; and the frigate, being left to beat off and on, her less formidable partners made what way they could for the port, in the hope of taking the Royalists by surprise.

The harbour of Valdivia is situated in $39^{\circ} 50'$ south latitude, and $73^{\circ} 28'$ west longitude, and forms a capacious basin, girdled in by a deep and impenetrable forest, which advances to the water's edge. It is protected on the east by Fort Nicbla, on the west by Amargos, completely commanding the entrance, which is only three-quarters of a mile across ; and by forts Corral, Chorocomayo, San Carlos, El Yngles, Manzanera, on an island at the extremity, and El Piojo and Carbonero, which bend round it in a semicircle. These are so placed as not only to defend the approach, but to enfilade one another : they mounted, at this time one hundred and eighteen pieces of ordnance, eighteen and twenty-four pounders ; and they were manned by no fewer than seven hundred and eighty regulars, and eight hundred and twenty-nine militia.

militia. Wherever they were not washed by the sea, the faces of these castles were covered by deep ditches and ramparts, with the solitary exception of El Yngles, which had merely a rampart faced with palisades. In addition to all this, it is necessary to state, that such is the nature of the country behind, that no communication by land can be held between one fort and another, except by a path along the beach; and even this, which admits but of one man abreast, was enfiladed at a point where it crosses a ravine between forts Chorocomayo and Corral, by three guns. Against this place Lord Cochrane determined to make an attempt; and he justified himself to Major Miller by observing, that 'they must succeed, because the Spaniards would hardly believe that they were in earnest, even after the attack began.'

'The schooner and the brig,' says our author, 'having hoisted Spanish colours, anchored on the 3d of February, at three P. M., under the guns of the fort of El Yngles, opposite the caleta, or landing-place, and between the two. When hailed from the shore, Captain Basques, a Spaniard by birth, who had embarked at Talcahuano as a volunteer, was directed to answer that they had sailed from Cadiz with the S. Elmo, of seventy-four guns, from whose convoy, he added, they had parted, in a gale of wind, off Cape Horn, and requested a pilot might be sent off. At this time, the swell was so great as to render an immediate disembarkation impracticable, as the launches would have drifted under the fort. Lord Cochrane's object, therefore, was to wait until the evening, when the wind would have abated, and the swell subsided. The Spaniards, who had already begun to entertain suspicions, ordered the vessels to send a boat ashore; to which it was answered, they had lost them in the severe gales they had encountered. This, however, did not satisfy the garrison, which immediately fired alarm guns, and expresses were despatched to the governor at Valdivia. The garrisons of all the southern forts united at Fort Yngles. Fifty or sixty men were posted on the rampart commanding the approach from the caleta; the rest, about three hundred, formed on a small esplanade in the rear of the fort.

'Whilst this was passing, the vessels remained unmolested; but, at four o'clock, one of the launches, which had been carefully concealed from the view of those on shore, by being kept close under the off-side of the vessel, unfortunately drifted astern. Before it could be hauled out of sight again, it was perceived by the garrison, which, having no longer any doubts as to the hostile nature of the visit, immediately opened a fire upon the vessels, and sent a party of seventy-five men to defend the landing-place. This detachment was accurately counted by those on board, as it proceeded one by one, along the narrow and difficult path to the caleta. The first shots fired from the fort having passed through the sides of the brig, and killed two men, the troops were ordered up from below, to land without further delay. But the two launches, which constituted the only means of disembarkation, appeared

appeared very inadequate to the effectual performance of such an attempt. Major Miller, with forty-four marines, pushed off in the first launch. After overcoming the difficulties of the heavy swell, an accumulation of sea-weed, in comparatively smooth water, loaded the oars at every stroke, and impeded the progress of the assailants, who now began to suffer from the effects of a brisk fire from the party stationed at the landing-place. Amongst others, the coxswain was wounded, upon which Major Miller took the helm. He seated himself on a spare oar, but, finding the seat inconvenient, he had the oar removed, by which he somewhat lowered his position. He had scarcely done so, when a ball passed through his hat, and grazed the crown of his head. He ordered a few of his party to fire, and soon after jumped ashore with his marines, dislodged the Royalists at the inlet, and made good his footing. So soon as the landing was perceived to have been effected, the party, in the second launch, pushed off from the brig; and, in less than an hour, three hundred and fifty Patriot soldiers were disembarked. Shortly after sunset, they advanced, in single files, along the rocky track, leading to Fort El Yngles, rendered slippery by the spray of the surf, which dashed, with deafening noise, upon the shore. This noise was rather favourable than otherwise to the adventurous party. The Royalist detachment, after being driven from the landing place, retreated along this path, and entered Fort Yngles by a ladder, which was drawn up, and, consequently, the Patriots found nobody *on the outside* to oppose their approach. The men advanced gallantly to the attack; but, from the nature of the track, in very extended order. The leading files were soldiers whose courage had been before proved, and who, enjoying amongst their comrades a degree of deference and respect, claimed the foremost post in danger. They advanced with firm but noiseless step, and, while those who next followed cheered with cries of "Adelante" (forward), others, still farther behind, raised clamorous shouts of "Viva la Patria," and many of them fired in the air. The path led to the salient angle of the fort, which, on one side, was washed by the sea, and, on the other side, flanked by the forest, the boughs and branches of which overhang a considerable space of the rampart. Favoured by the darkness of the night, and by the intermingling roar of artillery and musketry, by the lashing of the surge, and by the clamour of the garrison itself, a few men, under the gallant Ensign Vedal, crept under the inland flank of the fort; and, whilst the fire of the garrison was solely directed towards the noisy Patriots in the rear, those in advance contrived, without being heard or perceived, to tear up some loosened palisades, with which they constructed a rude scaling-ladder, one end of which they placed against the rampart, and the other upon a mound of earth which favoured the design. By the assistance of this ladder, Ensign Vedal and his party mounted the rampart, got unperceived into the fort, and formed under cover of the branches of the trees which overhung that flank. The fifty or sixty men who composed the garrison, were occupied in firing upon those of the assailants, still approaching in single files. A volley from

Vedal's party, which had thus taken the Spaniards in flank, followed by a rush, and accompanied by the terrific Indian yell, which was echoed by the reverberating valleys around, produced terror and immediate flight. The panic was communicated to the column of three hundred men, formed on an arena behind the fort, and the whole body, with the exception of those who were bayoneted, made the best of their way along the path that led to the other forts, but which, in their confusion, they did not attempt to occupy or defend. Upon arriving at the gorge of a ravine, between Fort Chorocomayo and the Castle of Corral, about one hundred men escaped in boats that were lying there, and rowed to Valdivia. The remainder, about two hundred men, neglecting the three guns on the height, which, if properly defended, would have effectually checked the advance of the pursuers, retreated into the Corral. This castle, however, was almost immediately stormed by the victorious Patriots, who, favoured by a part of the rampart which had crumbled down, and partly filled up the ditch, rushed forward, and thus obtained possession of all the western side of the harbour. The Royalists could retreat no farther, for there the land communication ended. One hundred Spaniards were bayoneted; and about the same number, exclusive of officers, were made prisoners. Such was the rapidity with which the Patriots followed up their success, that the Royalists had not time to destroy their military stores, or even to spike a gun. Day-light of the 4th found the Independents in possession of the five forts—El Yngles, San Carlos, Amargos, Chorocomayo, and Corral.'

The fall of these forts was speedily followed by the reduction of Valdivia itself; after which, Lord Cochrane, leaving a detachment to preserve his conquests, set sail for the Island of Chiloe. But his efforts, in this quarter, were not attended with success. On the contrary, the inhabitants, excited by their priests, gave the invaders so warm a reception, that the latter were compelled to take to their boats, and the fleet returned, carrying Major Miller, severely wounded, to Valparaiso.

From this date, up to the middle of August following, little occurred, either in the capital or elsewhere, worthy of notice. The operations of the Independents, cramped by the want of money, extended no further than to desultory inroads here and there, which were met by corresponding movements on the part of the royalists;—and Lord Cochrane, already at variance, not only with the native chiefs, but with his countryman, Captain Guise, seems to have lost, for a season, his characteristic activity. But though the case was so, great projects were in view; and great exertions were made by General San Martin to realize them. That indefatigable officer, having completed the liberation of Chile, strained every nerve to bestow a similar favour upon Peru; and he had, at length, the happiness to see before him something like a prospect

prospect that his desires would receive their accomplishment. With infinite labour, an army of four thousand five hundred men was drawn together; which, on the 19th and 20th of August, embarked, and on the 21st, set sail, under convoy of the ships of war, for Pisco.

To this expedition Miller, now Lieutenant-Colonel, was attached, as commandant of the battalion number eight, of Buenos Ayres. The army reached Pisco in safety, Colonel Miller's transport, alone, having separated from the fleet, and narrowly escaped capture; but its proceedings were dilatory, and productive of no satisfactory results. On the 26th of October, it accordingly returned to its shipping, and sailing northward, rendezvoused, on the 29th, in the Bay of Callao. From this port, the transports were sent on to Ancon, where a debarkation took place; and the army once more entered upon a variety of detached services, important, no doubt, in the eyes of those who took part in them, but a great deal too minute to be repeated with any satisfaction to our readers. Not so, however, with the navy. It was at this crisis of the war that Lord Cochrane performed another exploit, which, for boldness of design and promptitude of execution, has rarely been equalled in the annals, even of naval warfare,—by cutting out, from under the guns of Callao, the Spanish frigate, *Esmeralda*, and bearing her off in triumph with all her crew. But Captain Hall's lively description of this brilliant scene is so universally known, that we need not quote that of the present writer.

While San Martin, with the main body of his army, was maintaining a defensive position at Huacho, a number of detachments were carrying on a species of guerilla warfare, extremely harassing to the royalist chiefs, and creditable to those who conducted them. Among others, Miller was directed, at the head of six hundred men, to place himself under the orders of Lord Cochrane, and to proceed upon a service, the design and theatre of which were both kept profoundly secret. He set sail, accordingly, on the 13th of March, 1821, and soon found that Pisco was the place of his destination, and that the object of his exertions was to interrupt the communications between Lima and the southern provinces. Colonel Miller made good his landing without opposition, and sustained several unimportant skirmishes with the royalists who were sent to oppose him; but both he and his troops being attacked with ague, it was found necessary to withdraw them, and Lord Cochrane determined to abandon Pisco altogether. Not satisfied, however, to return as they had set out, both the naval and military leaders resolved to hazard an attack upon Arica, before which place they found themselves be-

calmed on the 6th of May. But the difficulties to be overcome, in landing, were found to be such, as to render a direct assault in front useless; so the troops were removed into two small schooners, and despatched to the Morro de Sama, a port ten leagues to the northward. Thus they reached after innumerable toils and perils; and Colonel Miller found himself with three hundred and fifty men, whose knees trembled under them from the effects of recent sickness, cast upon a desert beach, without provisions, and eight long leagues from a spring of wholesome water. The patience of these half-civilized Chilenos, under privations so heavy, was boundless. They followed their enterprising leader over an arid desert, and across a mountain so steep as to be impassable for horses, till, after a march of thirteen hours, the entrance of the valley of Sama was gained, and they were blessed with a draught of clear spring water. 'So soon as the party caught sight of vegetation, every man rushed forward in search of water; and some who could with difficulty creep till this moment, now ran with the celerity of greyhounds to the valley.' At this place a few horses were procured; and, on the following day, Colonel Miller, with a few mounted soldiers, entered Tacna.

Colonel Miller was now twenty leagues from the coast; and the rumour of his landing having spread, the Spanish General Ramirez made every preparation to oppose him. Three detachments, one of four hundred and eighty, another of two hundred and eighty, and a third of similar force, were ordered to take different routes, and uniting at Tacna, to drive the insurgents into the sea. But the insurgents were not men to be taken asleep. Instead of waiting to be attacked, they pressed forward with the hope of meeting these corps in detail—and their activity and vigilance received its reward.

Colonel Miller, taking with him three hundred and ten infantry, seventy cavalry, and sixty mounted volunteer peasants, pushed for Bueno Vista, a romantic hamlet at the foot of the Cordillera—from whence he crossed fifteen leagues of stony desert towards Mirabe. After a toilsome march of eighteen hours, his little column reached, at midnight, the rugged bank of a stream which rushes through the valley of Mirabe, and saw, by their fires, that one detachment of the royalists was encamped among the cultivated fields which surrounded the village, on the bank opposite. It was Colonel Miller's design to come upon them by surprise; but the indiscreet zeal of a patriot officer rendered this impracticable, and nothing remained but to attack them openly, before they could be joined by a second corps, which was known to be approaching. The cavalry were accordingly pushed across the stream at once; but they were repulsed by the royalists, already on the alert, and retreated

retreated to the river. They were not, however, permitted to repass it, but made to form above the ford; whilst a rocket party being detached to an eminence on the left, and a party of infantry to the right, the enemy's attention was completely drawn away from the point threatened. This done, Colonel Miller made haste to transport his infantry to the other side of the stream. Causing each trooper to take a foot soldier behind him, he conveyed the whole in succession to the opposite bank, totally unobserved by the enemy, who kept up a ceaseless fire upon the rocket-men—and then detached a company to occupy certain high grounds which commanded the entire line which the royalists had assumed. In this position the opposing forces continued till dawn—when, to their utter amazement, the royalists first discovered that Miller was within musket-shot of them. A brilliant charge was made. Ninety-six Spaniards were killed upon the spot, one hundred and fifty taken prisoners, and the remainder fled in all directions. But the perils of Miller's situation were by no means at an end. This victory was scarcely secured, when a second Spanish corps appeared in sight, mounted upon mules, and preparing to pass the river; and, to oppose these, the patriots, already scattered in pursuit, were hastily recalled to their ranks. The Spaniards, however, seemed nowise desirous of bringing things to the issue of a combat. They stayed only to receive a few discharges of rockets, when they also broke in confusion and fled.

Having thus triumphed over two of his opponents, the indefatigable Miller made immediate preparations for the discovery and defeat of the third. Thence he overtook at Calera, sixty-five leagues from Arica; and coming upon them at a moment when he was believed to be many miles distant, he overthrew them with prodigious slaughter. Out of six hundred men who had been especially sent against him, not twenty ever rejoined the Spanish army; and in less than a fortnight from the landing of the expedition, upwards of a thousand royalists were placed *hors de combat*.

Such successes could not have been obtained, had not the country been every where friendly; but Miller was too weak to turn them to any permanent account. True, recruits were not wanting; and as long as his little store of arms lasted (a store which was collected entirely from his enemies), he found no difficulty in making use of them; but his utmost exertions failed in bringing up his numbers to more than nine hundred men, of whom five hundred alone were effective. Yet with this small force he overran and kept temporary possession of a tract of country measuring one hundred leagues in length, and thirty in breadth; whilst he contrived to give full employment to General Ramirez, Colonel La Hera, and other Spanish chiefs, with an army of nearly three thousand

thousand regular troops. But a struggle so unequal could not be maintained for ever. Miller's followers, harassed by continual marches, became sickly; and he was left at last with barely four hundred men to manœuvre in the face of an entire division. He was reluctantly compelled to retreat. But he showed so excellent a countenance in his retrogression, and ventured, often with half a dozen orderlies, upon enterprises so daring, that the Spaniards were afraid to press him; and he succeeded, in consequence, in reaching Arica, without having received one check, or being once forced to quit a position. Here he re-embarked, though not without extreme hazard, in two or three merchant-vessels which happened to be accidentally in the harbour, and, putting to sea, he betook himself to Quilca, whence he immediately entered upon fresh enterprises. The following anecdote will show how narrowly our brave countryman escaped capture; and how perfectly he remained, at all moments, and under all circumstances, his self-command:—

‘ Previous to Lieut.-Colonel Miller's arrival, the governor of Arica had, with very good intentions, sent two or three soldiers aboard a very fine North American schooner, of three hundred tons, to secure her. The master, disliking the embargo, got ready to slip his cable, and put to sea, intending to land the soldiers when and where it suited his convenience. Being informed of the circumstance, upon entering Arica, Miller instantly went on board unaccompanied. He offered the most liberal terms, which were pertinaciously rejected. This refusal rendered the services of the other three vessels unavailable, as they could not have taken off the whole of the troops. During an animated conversation, Lieut.-Colonel Miller, as he paced the quarter-deck, recognized some men amongst the ship's company who had formerly served with him in the Chileno squadron, and who were evidently attending with deep concern to what was passing. It happened that the seamen in the Pacific, whether British or North Americans, whether serving in men-of-war, or in merchant vessels, had always evinced the liveliest interest in the successes of the English leader. It was a feeling which produced an important effect at the present critical juncture. He turned round to them, and made a short address, which proved sufficient. They all answered his appeal by an animated declaration that “ a countryman *hard pushed* should not be forsaken.” After some unavailing remonstrances on the part of the master, he indignantly threw up the command and went on shore. The chief mate prepared to follow, but was prevailed upon to take charge of the vessel. Thus were the patriots relieved from the necessity of contending with the most fearful odds.’

In repairing to Quilca, it was Miller's intention to effect a landing there, and to march rapidly upon Arequipa, left unguarded by Ramirez's pursuit of himself to Arica: but the wind was

was so boisterous, that to disembark was declared impracticable; and as he had only three days' provisions and water on board, it was impossible to wait till the weather should moderate. Under these circumstances, and in total ignorance of the situation of General San Martin, he took it upon himself to direct his course once more to Pisco. Here he landed on the 2nd of August, an hour before dawn, and took possession of the town, fifty royalist cavalry evacuating it as he approached.

From Pisco, Miller commenced a career not less brilliant, nor less extraordinary, than that which he had just closed at Arica. Pursuing Colonel Santalla, the governor of the place, who, with two hundred and fifty men, fled before him, he surprised and cut to pieces detachment after detachment, and penetrated far beyond Palpa, within a few marches of Arequipa. In performing these important services he was not a little aided by a sort of *Meg Merrilies* of the Pampas, whose mules, which had arrived at Pisco for the purpose of conveying into the interior a cargo of brandy, he pressed; and who, though at first extremely indignant, became before long his hearty ally. He was indebted, likewise, largely to the patience and good conduct of his followers, who bore every hardship without murmuring, and slept frequently among the sand, in holes excavated for the purpose; but the result was the complete subjection of a considerable province, of which Ica is the head, where Miller, now promoted to the rank of Colonel, for a time established himself in the double capacity of military chief and civil governor. But it is time to say something of the operations of the grand army under San Martin, which we left at Huacho, in a state of comparative inactivity.

There existed at this period violent dissensions among the generals in chief of the Royalists, which, while it hindered them from making a proper use of their numerically superior force, was hardly improved, as it might have been, by their adversaries. For awhile, indeed, the progress of several of San Martin's detachments was rapid; the whole of the Sierra of Upper Peru being overrun, and Lima itself occupied; but the former advantage was too readily abandoned, and the whole army unfortunately placed in cantonments in the capital. It is true that Callao was invested on the land side by General Las Heras's division, and at sea by Lord Cochrane, but the Viceroy was permitted to retire leisurely, by the Yancos road, upon Xauxa; and General Canterac, by way of Lunaguana, to the same place. These severally reached their point of rendezvous, where they were joined by the division of General Carratala; while San Martin occupied himself in framing laws for the new republic, of which he nominated himself supreme director.

In this state things continued till towards the end of August, when General Canterac, having drawn together three thousand infantry and nine hundred cavalry, advanced to the relief of the castle of Callao, and encamped, on the 9th of September, in sight of San Martin, one mile from the capital, on the Arequipa road. It was impossible that this movement could escape the observation of Colonel Miller, whose monteneros or guerillas hovered on the very flank of the enemy, between Guamanga and Xauxa; and he no sooner ascertained it, than he suspected a general battle was at hand, from which it would have ill suited his warlike propensities to be absent. He accordingly gave over the command at Ica to his second, Major Vedela; and setting off alone for Lima, arrived there just two days previous to the appearance of Canterac's advanced guard.

Whether the Spaniard had been led to believe that there was a party in Lima, which, on the appearance of an armed force, would rise upon the independents, or whether he had underrated the strength of San Martin's corps, it is hard to say; but when he found the inhabitants of the capital embattled against him, and beheld the liberating army entrenched behind mud walls, he deemed it more prudent to pass by the sea-shore, towards Callao, than to hazard an attack. A corresponding change of position was effected by San Martin, who, however, notwithstanding his great superiority in numbers, avoided a battle; and the two armies continued for a few days to face one another, like mastiffs which know each other's strength, and are equally unwilling to provoke the combat. At last, however, Canterac found it necessary to retreat, his force being wholly inefficient for the object which he had contemplated; and General La Mar was left in Callao, with only three days' provisions, to make what terms he could with the besiegers.

Canterac crossed the river Rimac at Bocanegra, on the night of the 17th, closely followed by Las Heras, who was, nevertheless, commanded on no account to risk an action; whilst San Martin, with a thousand infantry and thirty horsemen, continued the blockade of Callao. Las Heras pursued no further than Los Cavalleros, nine leagues beyond Lima; but Colonel Miller, at the head of seven hundred infantry, one hundred and twenty-five cavalry, and five hundred monteneros, received permission, at 9 a. m. on the 20th, to resume the chase. Much precious time had, however, been lost, and the soldiers of the light division were but ill supplied with provisions or other necessaries; yet such was the diligence of the leader, that the close of the third march brought them up with the enemy's rear, and they ate the very sheep which the Spaniards had cooked for themselves, but
were

were compelled to abandon. From that moment Miller never lost sight of them. He hung upon their rear, skirmishing with their covering parties, and receiving deserters, day and night, till he had seen them as far as Huamantanga, a small town on the crest of an eminence, only two leagues from Puruchuco. Here his advance, of one hundred and twenty-three men, was attacked by two thousand horse and foot, and, in spite of a gallant resistance, driven back; after which, the pursuit was changed into an observation, and the main body of the division ordered off to Lima. But Miller continued with the monteneros, carrying with him thirty chosen dragoons, and passing days and nights amidst the wildest scenery of that Alpine district; till his health beginning to give way, and no important result promising to occur, he likewise retraced his steps, and retired to the capital. Here he found that the castle of Callao had surrendered, and that the governor, La Mar, had passed over to the patriot cause; and that a difference had already arisen between Cochrane and San Martin, which led, soon after, to the retirement of the former from the Chilean service.

Soon after the return of Colonel Miller to head-quarters, the Peruvian legion of the guard was embodied, consisting of a regiment of hussars, a troop of horse-artillery, and a regiment of infantry. The latter, which numbered two battalions, was given to Miller, and its organization and instruction constituted for a time his principal business and amusement. Strongly impressed with the excellence of the English system, he did his best to introduce it at length into this new levy, and he so far succeeded, that the regiment acquired an *esprit de corps* unknown elsewhere, the officers messing together without distinction of rank, and the men being minutely attended to in all their wants. His biographer details the particulars of this period in Miller's career with a minuteness which is perfectly natural, and even agreeable; but we must content ourselves with stating generally that the plan pursued by our countryman was judicious, and produced the happiest results, both to himself and to others.

Whilst these things were going on in Lima, and the city itself was the scene of much festivity and pleasure, the affairs of the patriots underwent a sad reverse at Ica, and all the advantages obtained by the gallantry of Miller were lost through the inexperience or imprudence of his successor in command. San Martin had, it appeared, superseded Major Vedela, to make room for Don Domingo Tristan, a man of no reputation as a soldier, and a late convert to the independent cause, who conducted himself with so little care, that Canterac, making a sudden march from the valley of Xauxa, attacked him when unprepared, and totally routed

routed him. The consequence was that Ica, where considerable stores had been laid up, fell into the hands of the royalists, the whole district changed masters, and one thousand prisoners, taken in the action, went to swell the amount of the victor's force. This disaster was hardly compensated by two victories obtained about the same time—one in Columbia, by General Sucre, by which the whole of that province was freed; and the other by Colonel Lavalle, at Rio Bamba, over a superior force of the enemy. But other changes besides those occasioned by the accidents of war were pending, the effects of which came, before long, to be felt throughout all the colonies.

General San Martin having thus accomplished the deliverance of lower Peru, determined to resign the supreme authority which he had hitherto exercised, and retire into private life. On the 20th of September, 1822, he accordingly caused a congress to be installed, into whose hands he committed the governing power; and departed, immediately afterwards, followed by the gratitude of all ranks, for Chile. As soon as this was done, the congress proceeded to appoint a Junta Gubernativa, on whom the duties of the executive might devolve, and the choice falling upon Generals La Mar and Alvarado, with the Count Villa Florida, these persons immediately assumed the dignity which San Martin had laid aside.

Before, however, this change was effected, an expedition to the Puertos Intermedios, as they are called, that is to the line of coast lying between Ocona and Iquique, had been resolved upon, the direction and management of which was to be entrusted to Colonel Miller. Fifteen hundred men being placed at his disposal, he was to make good his landing at Iquique, and marching rapidly against General Olañeta, whose division of three or four thousand men was scattered in the department of Potosi, confident hopes were entertained that he would be enabled to defeat it in detail, by which means the whole of Upper Peru would be cleared of royalists and added to the republic. Both the Protector and Colonel Miller were the more confident of success, that the people of the province were known to be universally well affected; and the latter proposed to carry with him ample supplies of arms, with which to equip the recruits by whom he calculated upon *being joined in great numbers.*

When the period fixed upon for embarkation drew near, the above plan was communicated to General Alvarado, who considered the end to be attained so extremely important that he proposed to proceed upon it in person, at the head of four thousand men. This proposal was acceded to; and after a considerable delay, arising chiefly from the want of money—(an inconvenience

nience in their endeavour to remedy which the Junta Gubernativa had well nigh involved themselves in disputes with the British naval commander on the coast)—three thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine men were equipped, and embarked on board of transports in the bay of Callao. The first battalion of the Peruvian legion, with Colonel Miller at its head, formed part of this force, and the whole set sail in two divisions, with instructions to rendezvous first at Iquique, and secondly, in the event of that failing, at a point sixty miles S.W. of Arica.

To favour this effort, four thousand men, who remained in Lima, under General Arenales, were to advance upon Xauxa, where General Canterac, with five thousand troops, was posted. This movement, it was calculated, would hinder the Spanish general from detaching to the assistance of Olaneta, whose force amounted to about six thousand men, but sadly scattered,—one half, under Valdez, occupying the Puertos Intermedios, whilst the remainder were, with the commander-in-chief, in Potosi. The plan was unquestionably a good one, and it alarmed the royalists so much that the Viceroy Laserna wrote from Cuzco to the Minister of War in Spain, that, unless powerful reinforcements should arrive speedily from Europe, it would be impossible to continue the war; but its execution was entrusted to one who possessed neither the activity of body nor enterprise of mind requisite to the performance of such a task. General Alvarado, after effecting his debarkation, remained inactive three whole weeks in the vicinity of Arica; and the Spaniards, who had just cause to apprehend disasters, before their separated columns could be brought together, were enabled to collect a force amply sufficient to set all his future efforts at defiance.

Against this state of ruinous inaction Colonel Miller remonstrated so warmly, that a coolness arose between him and the commander-in-chief, and the former actually embarked, by the express permission of the latter, to return to Lima. But Miller's talents were too well known, and too justly appreciated, to allow of his being thus treated by an officer of Alvarado's consideration. He was warmly entreated to return, and at last it was agreed that he should proceed, with a small force, to the coast of Cumana, where he might act independently, to draw off a division of Canterac's and Caratala's forces from the main army. He had hardly done so when Alvarado commenced a series of military movements, every one of which proved to be faulty in the extreme. Instead of taking his enemy by surprise, he was himself surprised, and division after division of his corps put to the rout. On the 19th of October a general action was fought, the royalists
being

being commanded by Valdez, and supported by the cavalry of Canterac, in which Alvarado gained no advantage; and a second battle ensuing on the 21st the patriots were totally defeated. Colonel Miller's battalion, of which the light company only accompanied himself, was cut to pieces; and out of the three thousand five hundred men, originally landed, scarcely six hundred made their escape to the transports.

While these things were going on in one quarter, Colonel Miller was, in another, spreading alarm and dismay over a wide extent of country, though the whole force under his orders amounted to only one light company of a hundred and twenty men. On Christmas day, the brig Protector, in which he was embarked, brought up in the roadstead of Quilca, close to his Britannic Majesty's ship Aurora; and at midnight, Miller and his adventurous band were in possession of the village, and busily preparing for future undertakings. To march upon Cumana, and occupy it, was the business of the following night, where they were well received, both by the inhabitants and magistracy; and, learning that Lieutenant-Colonel Pinera had fled, with eighty men, across the river, only three hours before, an immediate pursuit was instituted. With some difficulty, a ford was discovered, Pinera having taken the precaution to destroy the *valsas*, by which the stream is usually crossed; and the royalists being overtaken fast asleep, in a field about eight leagues on the road to Majes, twenty-five were made prisoners, and the remainder dispersed.

Miller's great business was to induce a general belief, that he had landed at the head of a considerable division, and he adopted the following admirable plan for that purpose. Leaving the main body of his little party at Cumana, he himself set out with fourteen soldiers mounted, and crossed a valley eighteen leagues on the road to Arequipa, whither he had been given to understand that Carratala had advanced, with the design of bringing him to action. To intimidate his adversary, Miller wrote to the commandant of Arequipa, informing him that a patriot army would enter the town that night, and begging that the royalist would leave a piquet of his soldiers behind, to protect the property of individuals, till he, with his corps, should arrive to relieve it. This letter, Colonel Miller took care to despatch by a peasant, whom he deceived, by a variety of expedients, into the persuasion that eight hundred cavalry were about him; and, as the messenger was strictly enjoined to report that Miller's whole force fell short of four hundred men, his statement, that it really exceeded eight hundred, received a ready credence. The royalists fell back without delay, and Miller went on, pushing his reconnoissances in every direction.

Having

Having spent many days thus, he returned to Quilca, carrying with him several prisoners, and, among others, Lieutenant-Colonel Vidal, whom he had surprised in one of the straggling cottages, which are scattered through the valley of Vitor. He was cautiously followed by Carratala, who re-entered Arequipa on the 2d of January, but hesitated long and fearfully before he would trust himself into the valley. Miller was not slow to turn the apprehensions of his opponents to account. He advanced again without delay, carrying the whole of his company with him; and, on the 6th, took possession of Ocoña, destroying all the valsas on the river Cumanana, and so throwing a serious obstacle in the way of Carratala's further approach.

Having taken these precautions, he calculated that he had at least four days to spare. He left Major Lyra in command at Ocoña, and set off with fifteen soldiers, and half a dozen peasants, to reconnoitre Carabali, a town thirty-eight leagues north-east of Ocoña, where he expected to obtain information touching the movements of the Spanish Colonel Manzanedo. He had not, however, ridden far, when the Major, less daring than his chief, sent a messenger in pursuit to report that Carratala was approaching, and begging him to return. Miller would not believe the account, though he so far acted upon it as to retrace his steps; but, before he reached Ocoña, the alarm was ascertained to be groundless, and the mere trick of a treacherous negro of bad character. The man, being examined, and found guilty, was shot, and Miller resumed his journey.

At midnight, on the 7th, he reached Carabeli, where the royal authority was instantly dissolved, and a new municipality instituted; but this was scarcely done, and Miller had just thrown himself upon a bed, worn down with fatigue, when another express arrived from Lyra, to communicate that the enemy was advancing. Miller immediately mounted his horse, and, directing his escort to make the best of their way to Planchada, on the coast, proceeded himself, in company with a single guide, across the desert, towards Ocoña. He rode till an overpowering drowsiness caused him to drop from his saddle upon the sand, when, twisting the bridle round his arm, he fell into a profound sleep, from which he did not awake till dawn on the following morning. On the 9th, he reached Ocoña, to discover that this time the alarm was well grounded. The company was ordered to retreat, but Miller, with six videttes, and two buglers, took post upon the bank of the river, where, by repeated demonstrations, and a constant sounding of trumpets, he caused the enemy to linger during two whole days. By this means, the Independents were enabled to embark leisurely, and in order; and the whole set sail, just as
Colonel

'Colonel San Juangeno, with a large force, reached the outskirts of Planchada.

In such services, resembling more the exploits of romance, than those of real warfare, Colonel Miller spent ten entire weeks. Landing here and there, he contrived to draw, with his little corps, not fewer than two thousand men from the royalist army; and these he harassed so severely, by continual marches and counter-marches, that hundreds perished of fatigue, or deserted.' Wherever he chanced to be,

'Reports were constantly circulated of reinforcements having landed on some part or another of the coast. Every vessel that appeared in sight, or was pretended to have been seen, at the setting of the sun, produced an ostentatious order to light fires on the hills, to place peasantry on the shore, and to take other bustling measures, until not the shadow of a doubt remained on the public mind that the patriot detachment was perfectly at ease, and on the point of making a serious attack. Communications from Canterac to Manzanedo were intercepted by the party at Ocoña; the originals were kept, and others counterfeited, and sent in their stead. Other letters were written in cipher, or in a mysterious style, for the express purpose of being intercepted, and which made Manzanedo doubt the fidelity of his own officers. Cordova and Rodriguez, two distinguished and influential priests, were particularly useful in the execution of these stratagems. Cordova willingly acted as secretary. He accompanied Miller in his excursions, and, from his acquaintance with all parties, and the high estimation in which he was held, was enabled to render essential services. He was of a jovial turn; and often, when half the night had been consumed in despatching letters in various directions, he and Miller would pass the remainder, in hearty laughs, at the strangeness of their productions, and in speculating, with great glee, upon the probable results. Day-light sometimes warned them to lay aside the cigar, and to seek their hammocs for a few hours' repose.

'A flag of truce was, on some frivolous pretence, sent to Manzanedo. An officer, and three negro soldiers, on this occasion, wore the cockade of Chile. Miller availed himself of the opportunity to send an open letter to his friend, the royalist, General Loriga. He wrote a great deal of nonsense, and told the general that he knew the road to Cuzco, and hoped shortly to meet him there. The compliments of Colonel Sanchez were added in a postscript, whom Loriga knew no more of, than that he commanded the battalion, No. 4, of Chile. When Manzanedo's answer arrived, it was managed that the bearer should be received, when the little band of patriots appeared to be an advanced guard. Fires were kindled at night: and, by the bustle, it might easily be imagined that the troops were numerous. Amongst other tricks, a soldier was sent in great haste to the house where the royalist officer lodged, to borrow a *xeringa* for Colonel Sanchez, who, it was pretended, had been taken with a surfeit, but who, in reality, was with General Alvarado, seventy leagues off. A great bustle was made

made in arousing the hostess. Colonel Miller entered the house soon afterwards, and expressed, in a conversational tone, his fears that the remedy would not be administered in time to save the life of poor Sanchez.

'The royalist officer was, on the next morning, civilly dismissed; and it was contrived, that the blacks, who had accompanied the flag of truce, should be placed in his way. Some other negroes, in the fatigue dress of the legion, were dispersed about in a manner to make him believe that they belonged to another regiment. Half a mile on his road, he saw officers, galloping about, and bawling after men purposely scattered, and ordering them to their encampment in the rear. The royalist officer said, when going away, to the hostess,— "It is all very well for Miller to have a couple of battalions: but we have a couple as well as he." Manzanedo retreated from Chumpi to Pausa, a distance of fourteen leagues; he afterwards advanced three times upon the patriots, but as often retreated. Half-a-dozen veterans, and a montenero party, several of which had been lately organised, were quite sufficient to make him retrograde, because he thought them the advance of a larger force.'

Against hardships such as he was necessitated to undergo, and an absolute deprivation of rest to mind and body, Miller's constitution could not hold out for ever. He was at last attacked by *cholera morbus*; and, being carried in a litter to the sea-side, he caused his followers to re-embark, and returned to Lima.

In the meanwhile, various events had occurred in the capital, which speedily brought about a complete revolution, and placed the supreme power, civil as well as military, in new hands. General Arenales, who had been left in command of this army of observation, instead of acting with vigour against the royalists in Xauxa, contented himself with moving a few leagues in advance of Lima, by which means Canterac was enabled to detach largely to the support of Valdez, and both united to destroy the corps of Alvarado. The chiefs and officers of the army of observation took just umbrage at this; and rising in a body, they not only removed Arenales from his command, but displaced the Junta Gubernativa; appointing Colonel Don Jose de la Riva Agüera, president of the republic, and General Santa Cruz, commander-in-chief. These changes gave universal satisfaction, as did the promotion of Colonel Miller to the rank of General of Brigade, which took place on the 8th of April, 1823; and to Miller himself, the increase of rank proved the more gratifying, that he was still permitted to remain in command of the legion.

Soon after the above revolution was effected, certain information reached Lima, that an army of nine thousand men, under Canterac, was about to move from Xauxa, for the purpose of recovering possession of the capital and province of Lower Peru.

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To counteract this, it was resolved, that Santa Cruz, at the head of a large force, should make a fresh irruption into the Puertos Intermedios ; and he proceeded accordingly, with five thousand Peruvian troops, in the month of June, to Iquique. The expedition had hardly sailed, when Canterac, confident that no such effort would be made, broke up from his cantonments. He pushed forward with so much vigour, that the patriots were unable to arrange their plans, or to equip a force at all adequate to oppose him ; and he entered Lima on the 18th of June ; Riva Aguera, and the other republican functionaries, retiring to Callao. There fresh intrigues arose, and Riva Aguera being in his turn deposed, the supreme authority, civil as well as military, was assumed by General Sucre.

On the 20th of June, General Canterac made a reconnoissance of the fortress, forming the whole of his troops in line within range of the castle. Whilst the light troops, on both sides, were briskly skirmishing, General Miller, who happened to be in front, was addressed by the Spanish colonel, Amellar, whom he had often seen at the outposts ; who, after giving him the customary salutation, said, ‘Your friend Loriga is close at hand.’ Loriga immediately galloped down ; and the two friends, who had both become generals since their last meeting, held a conversation for a quarter of an hour, in advance of their respective outposts, which, as well as the artillery from the ramparts, continued their fire all the while, without seeking to molest them. On quitting Miller, Loriga shook hands with him warmly ; and then, with an expression of peculiar *naïveté*, inquired after *his friend*, Colonel Sanchez, of No. 4, of Chile.

The blockade of Callao lasted no longer than till the 10th of June, when the successes of General Santa Cruz, who overran the whole country from Arica up to Oruro, recalled the attention of Canterac to that quarter. He broke up from before the place, soon after General Sucre had despatched a fresh force of three thousand men to support Santa Cruz ; and, abandoning Lima, withdrew to Huancavelica, from whence strong reinforcements were sent off to sustain Valdez, and to preserve Upper Peru. It was General Miller’s fortune to accompany the force of which we have just spoken. He landed at Chala on the 21st of July, in command of the cavalry ; Sucre himself following with the infantry ; and on the 26th of August the whole force was concentrated in the valley of Siguas, several royalist detachments retreating before it.

By this time, however, the indefatigable Valdez had succeeded in obtaining several advantages over Santa Cruz ; whose first successes had inspired him with so much confidence that he declined
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the proffered co-operation of Sucre's corps. Santa Cruz determined upon a retreat; but he wavered so long as to the proper course to be pursued, that the road of communication between himself and Sucre was occupied; and the viceroy forming a junction with Olaneta, an overwhelming force was turned against him. Nothing now remained but to fall back upon the shipping; but the route was by a desert—and the royalists hanging upon the rear of the retiring patriots, the latter deserted in great numbers from their standards. Finally, Santa Cruz escaped on board the *O'Higgins*, carrying with him no more than one thousand three hundred men; and as many of these were put on board of transports which afterwards foundered at sea, less than a thousand men, out of seven thousand, regained Lima. This was a disastrous issue to an expedition from which so much had been expected—and it brought other evils in its train. Sucre's corps, unequal to make head against the victorious royalists, was likewise compelled to retreat; a manœuvre which was not made without some loss and great hazard; but it escaped at last—the infantry by sea, the cavalry, under General Miller, through two hundred leagues of desert to Lima.

In that place affairs continued to go on so unprosperously, that the Liberator, Bolivar, was induced to repair thither in person, in order, if possible, to put an end to the cabals which were continually operating to the detriment of the general cause. He found the Marquess of Torre Tagle, to whom General Sucre had entrusted the temporary rule, a man open to every species of bribery and corruption, and his authority disputed by the expresident Riva Agüero, who had contrived to collect an armed party, to support his claims, in the department of Truxillo.—Bolivar was hailed at Lima as a deliverer; and he immediately took upon himself the full powers, leaving to Torre Tagle nothing more than the title of Head of the Republic. But even to him Riva Agüero refused to submit; and Peru would have been, in all probability, the theatre of intestine war, had not the latter chief been betrayed by one of his own followers. He was condemned to be shot—which punishment was commuted for banishment; after which, things assumed an appearance of greater order, under Bolivar as supreme director. It is worthy of remark that the very same spirit of discord which tended so much to weaken the hands of the Independents, was in full operation at this time among their enemies. Olaneta, an ultra-royalist, withdrew his allegiance from the viceroy Laserna, because the latter had, in 1820, acknowledged the authority of the Spanish junta; and he was now at the head of five thousand men in Potosi—an object of equal distrust to his countrymen, with the Patriot chiefs.

At the period when these changes were going on, General Miller, who after his return to Lima had been attacked with severe fever and ague, was seeking a restoration to health in the genial climate of Santiago. There intelligence reached him that the Patriot garrison of Callao had revolted; that the castle was once more in possession of the Royalists, and that a decisive campaign was at hand. General Miller required no urging to withdraw him from the pleasures of social life when the path of glory was open; so he hurried back to Lima, where he arrived in time to receive the chief command of the cavalry of Peru.

We regret extremely that the length to which this paper has already extended will not permit us to give more than a very meagre and imperfect outline of the series of operations which ensued. We must content ourselves with stating, that General Bolivar marched at the head of nine thousand men to meet the Viceroy,—that the advance of his column was gallantly covered by General Miller, first with a body of moutoneros, and afterwards with the cavalry,—and that numerous occasions presented themselves in which the last mentioned officer had an opportunity of again displaying that activity and military enterprise for which his name is, in the New World, so memorable. In crossing the Andes, in particular, his services became peculiarly valuable, not only in the more daring exploits of open war, but in providing the means of subsistence for his comrades; and that the reader may the better understand how this was effected, we extract the following sentences from the work before us:—

‘Depots of provisions and forage were secreted in mountain caverns, formed by the galleries of exhausted miners. Some of these depots were established within the line of country nominally possessed by the Royalists. That near Pachia, and on the same bank of the Rio Grande, was only eight leagues from Tarma. The entrance of the cave was in the perpendicular side of a cliff fifty or sixty feet from the ground, and as many from the top. The only way to get up was by the assistance of a rope fixed in the cave, and by notches cut in the rock to give foot hold. Indian corn, salt, charqui (jerked beef), potatoes, and barley, were hoisted up by means of the rope. A few men were sufficient to defend these cavern depots against any numbers. It often happened that when the Montoneros advanced these depots were left exposed; but the Royalists were not always aware of the exact situation, and entertained no suspicion that supplies had been accumulated in that way to any considerable extent.’

The liberating army crossed the Cordillera in divisions, one following another at the distance of a day's journey, but the cavalry, and indeed the battalions, often diverged from the general line of march. This is not to be wondered at when we bear in mind that the only road was an indistinct footpath, which wound
over

over ledges of bare rock, and would frequently admit of no more than one person abreast, and that the column in single file, often broken by gullies and glens, extended sometimes many miles from the head to the cue. In traversing such a district, losses, both of men and horses, could not always be avoided, but of the latter the utmost care was taken by express orders from Bolivar, and the former contrived to escape from many perils, which, under different circumstances, they would have hardly faced.

It was well for the liberating army, that their late successes had inspired the royalists with such confidence as to prevent their taking the most ordinary precautions in this emergency. Instead of hushing up their private quarrels, Olaneta still kept aloof from his brother generals, and a division of five thousand men received ample occupation in watching his movements. Canterac, however, who remained at Xauxa, at the head of a formidable army, no sooner ascertained that Bolivar was in march towards him, than he advanced in the direction of Reyes, under the full persuasion that he would be able to destroy the Independents whilst debouching from the mountains; but that opportunity was lost, for Bolivar was already at hand; and on the 5th of August the two armies came in sight of one another. A brilliant affair of cavalry ensued on the Plain of Junin, a little southward of Reyes, in which the patriots, led on by Miller, were completely successful, and in which the Spaniards lost nineteen officers, and three hundred and forty-five rank and file killed, besides eighty prisoners. Canterac immediately retreated, and Bolivar pushed on to Guamanga, where he went into cantonments.

Taking it for granted, that the campaign was, for the present, at an end, the Liberator retired to Lima, leaving General Sucre in the temporary command. He had not departed many days, when a variety of rumours came in, all of them confirmatory of the suspicions which General Miller had from the first entertained that the Royalists would not continue in the state of supineness to which they had of late given way. It was ascertained that Valdez, by one of those extraordinary marches for which he was celebrated, had joined Canterac, in the province of Cuzco; and that the viceroy was preparing, in person, to take the field. Miller was immediately despatched to the front to reconnoitre. He pursued his old plan, passing from village to village with wonderful celerity, till he might be said to mingle with the enemy's outposts, and yet be unseen; and he picked up the most ample information, as well respecting the force and condition of the Royalists, as of their intended plans and lines of operation. In executing this perilous duty, Miller's escapes were frequently such as to astonish even himself. We must describe one of them.

On a certain occasion, this enterprising officer set out, attended by a small escort, towards Guailate, to ascertain whether or not the viceroy was moving, as had been reported, in that direction. He had ascended about two leagues, when abruptly reaching a summit, he beheld the whole royalist army in full march for Mamara, a village in the same valley which he had just crossed, and, as it were, beneath him. He had scarcely time to shift his saddle from a mule, on which he was riding, to his charger, ere a party of hussars, which was sent in pursuit, reached the spot; and he escaped only by riding boldly down a precipice, where one false step of his horse must have hurled him to instant death. Miller continued his retreat by the opposite side of the valley, and passed within half a league of Mamara, on the heights above which he could count the Royalist columns in bivouac; but all knowledge of his 'whereabouts' was lost, and he and his followers wandered about till three in the morning, when they halted at random among a cluster of deserted huts.

Next day, Miller reached Chuquibamba, where he found a brother soldier, Colonel Althaus, employed, like himself, in collecting intelligence. Him he sent a league to the rear; but he himself remained in the town with Captain Melendez, and two or three men; by whom large fires were lighted for the purpose of deceiving the enemy into a belief that the place was occupied in force.

'The priest of the village (continues his biographer) promised to give timely warning of the approach of an enemy, which could easily be done, because the only entrance on the Mamara side, was by a bridge over an unfordable torrent. As an additional security, Miller sent, unknown to the priest, a couple of Indians, to keep watch also. Under the impression of security, Miller took off his clothes for the first time for a fortnight, and retired to rest. The Royalist general, Valdez, never deficient in courtesy, and who had, a few days before, sent Miller a box of Havannah cigars, now despatched a company of infantry to procure him the society of his opponent. In the course of the night, some Indians, employed by the Spaniards, entered the village, and were suffered to return; of this Miller was informed by his own scouts, and contrary, as it afterwards appeared, to the wishes of the priest, who reckoned upon making his peace with the Royalists, by betraying his guest. On the first alarm, Miller rode to an eminence on the way to Lambrana, over against Chuquibamba. The Royalists who had been deterred by the blaze of fires from advancing, ran into the town at day-break. At this moment, the Indians, instigated by the priest, rose *en masse*. They perched themselves on the hills, and hurled down stones upon the Patriots without mercy. General Miller's charger, considered the finest horse in the army, and the one on which he rode at the battle of Junin, fell, with an orderly, into their hands. Colonel Althaus, who had taken up his quarters at a little distance from

from the road, had sent his party on towards Lambrama, and remained behind with a few attendants. On hearing the shouts of the Indians, Althaus retired: but finding they gained upon him, he dismounted, to remove the saddle from his milk-white mule to his best horse, while the attendants, being in advance, galloped off without looking behind them. The Colonel was thus left on foot, and alone. So long as the road was tolerably open, he kept the Indians at bay with his sword; but when he came to a narrow pass, they closed upon him, bound his arms, and conducted him to Chuquibamba. It is probable they would have taken his life, but that his clerical figure led them to imagine that he was a regimental chaplain, an illusion which Althaus took no pains to dispel.

From dangers such as these General Miller continued, by dint of great activity and self-possession, to escape; and, at last, rejoined the liberating army, now in full retreat. On the 7th, head-quarters were at Lambrama; on the 9th, at Casinchigua; and on the 20th of November, the advanced guards of the hostile armies met on the heights of Bombon, near Chincheros. After a brief contest, the Royalists were driven down into the valley of Pomacochas, and across the river Pampas, by the bridge of Bijucos, which they destroyed. They afterwards bivouacked on the heights of Concepcion, the Patriots occupying those of Bombon; by which means the valley alone divided the one from the other, rendering the position of each equally secure. But no great space of time was spent in repose. At dawn, on the 25th, it was discovered that the Spanish tents and huts had disappeared, and the columns were soon afterwards seen passing the river at Huancaray, and moving upon the flanks of the Independents.

General Sucre lost no time in recommencing his retreat, but crossed the valley with all speed, in order to restore his communications with Lima. He was closely followed by the Viceroy, who manœuvred to gain the rear of his retiring adversary; and, on the 3d of December, the lines were so close to one another that to avoid coming to blows was impracticable. A sharp affair accordingly took place, between the Royalist division Valdez, and the Independent rear-guard, in which the latter were roughly handled; indeed, the consequences might have been fatal to the liberating army, but for the promptitude of Miller, in rallying a broken regiment of infantry, and covering the retreat of the defeated cavalry. Nor was it from such encounters only that the Patriots began now to suffer. Many instances of desertion occurred; whilst the Indians, imagining that all was lost, rose upon their stragglers and detached corps, and cut them off in great numbers. Yet was the retreat continued with much skill, and the most determined perseverance; though all began, before long, to perceive that nothing short of a decisive victory could preserve the army from absolute destruction.

Sucre

Sucre twice offered battle to his pursuers, on ground which held out no very decided advantages to either party; but the challenge was, on each occasion, declined: indeed, the Viceroy appeared so confident of reducing the Patriots to extremities, that he avoided many inviting opportunities of bringing matters to the issue of a struggle. Nor is his policy to be reprehended. Sucre's corps was now reduced from nine to little more than four thousand fighting men; he retained but a single gun out of all his train; and the horses of his cavalry had become in many instances unserviceable, from fatigue, the want of nutriment, and the loss of shoes. The Royalists, on the other hand, though equally suffering from fatigue, were greatly superior in numbers; their appointments, more especially those of the cavalry, were of the best description; and past successes had given to them a degree of confidence, which promised to carry them happily through any trials either of courage or patience. It was, therefore, natural in their leader to expect that a campaign of marches would lead to a result as favourable as could arise out of the most successful contest. That, however, which his prudence led him to shun, the impatience of his troops, and the remonstrances of his junior officers, at length effected; and a battle was fought on the 9th of December, by which the fate of South America may be said to have been determined.

On the night of the 8th, the two armies formed themselves in position, the Independents in a hollow, or rather upon the summit of a little table-land, having the Indian village of Quinua, on the western extremity of the plain of Ayacucho, in the rear; and the Spaniards, along the front of the ridge of Condorkanki, within musket shot of the foot of the hill, and of the enemy's outposts. Here the Patriots determined to make their final stand; and here the Viceroy, acting rather by the advice of others than according to the dictates of his own judgment, resolved to attack them. Both armies accordingly drew out in battle array, at the first peep of dawn, on the 9th; and, at nine o'clock, a Spanish division, commanded by General Villalobos, began to descend. The Viceroy, on foot, placed himself at its head; and the files wound down the craggy sides of the Condorkanki, obliquing a little to their left.

'The division Monet, forming the royalist right, commenced at the same time to defile directly into the plain. The cavalry, leading their horses, made the same movement, though with great difficulty, at intervals, between the infantry of each division. This was a moment of extraordinary interest. It appeared as though respiration were suspended by feelings of anxiety, mingled with doubts and hope.'

It was during this operation, which had an imposing effect, that General Sucre rode along his own line, and, addressing a few emphatic words to each corps, recalled to memory its former achieve-

achievements. He then placed himself in a central point, in front of his line, and, in an inspiring tone of voice, said, 'that upon the efforts of that day depended the fate of South America;' then, pointing to the descending columns, he assured his men 'that another day of glory was about to crown their admirable constancy.' This animating address of the general produced an electric effect, and was answered by enthusiastic *vivas*.

'By the time that rather more than half the Royalist divisions Monet and Villalobos, had reached and formed upon the arena, General Sucre ordered the division Cordova, and two regiments of cavalry, to advance to the charge. The gallant Cordova dismounted and placed himself about fifteen yards in front of his division, formed into four parallel columns, with the cavalry in the interval. Holding his hat with his left hand, above his head, he exclaimed "*Adelante, paso de vencedores*" (onwards with the step of conquerors). The words, pronounced with dignified animation, were heard distinctly throughout the columns, which, inspired by the gallant bearing of their leader, moved to the attack in the finest possible order. The Spaniards stood firmly, and full of apparent confidence. The Viceroy, Monet, and Villalobos, were seen at the head of their respective divisions, superintending the formation of their columns as they reached the plain. The hostile bayonets crossed, and for three or four minutes the two parties were seen struggling together, so as to leave it doubtful which should give way. At this moment the Columbian cavalry, headed by Colonel Silva, charged. This brave officer fell covered with wounds; but the intrepidity of the onset was irresistible. The Royalists lost ground, and were driven to the heights of Condorkanki with great slaughter. The vice-king was wounded and taken prisoner. As the fugitives climbed the sides of Condorkanki, the Patriots kept up a well-directed fire, and numbers of the enemy were seen to drop and roll down, till their progress was arrested by the brushwood or some jutting crag.

'General Miller, who had accompanied Cordova's division, perceiving its complete success, returned to the regiment of Usares de Junin, which fortunately, as it subsequently turned out, had been left in reserve.

'At dawn of day the royalist division Valdez had commenced a detour of nearly a league. Descending the sides of Condorkanki on the north, Valdez placed himself on the left of the Patriots at musket-shot distance, separated by a ravine. At the important moment of the battle just described, he opened a heavy fire from four field-pieces and a battalion in extended files. By this he obliged two battalions of the Peruvian division La Mar to fall back. The Columbian battalion Bargas, sent to support the Peruvian division, began also to give way. Two Royalist battalions crossed the deep ravine already spoken of on the left, and advanced in double-quick time in pursuit of the retreating Patriots. At this critical juncture, General Miller led the hussars of Junin against the victorious Spaniards, and by a timely charge drove them back, and followed them across the ravine—being further supported by the *Granaderos a Cavallo* and by the division La Mar, which had

had rallied. The artillery of Valdez was taken, his cavalry retired, and his infantry dispersed.'

The Royalists thus repulsed at every point lost all confidence and order, and fled with the utmost precipitation to the heights of Condorkanki; but to retreat further, with any hope of ultimate escape, was impracticable. Shortly before sunset, therefore, General Canterac, on whom the chief command had devolved, sued for terms; and the remains of the Spanish army laid down their arms and became prisoners of war. A capitulation likewise was entered into, by which the castles of Ulloa, and indeed every place of strength then held by the Royalists, were given up to the Patriots; and South America became, to all intents and purposes, independent.

We must not lengthen out our present paper, which has already far exceeded the limits originally designed for it, by extracting any one of the numerous and entertaining adventures to which the subsequent course of events gave birth. Miller was, in due time, rewarded for his exertions, by large grants of land and the rank of General of Division, and, upon the formal termination of the war, the civil government of the department of Potosi was allotted to him. Here, by the integrity of his proceedings, the suavity of his manners, and the good sense which characterised his schemes, he soon became as popular as he had previously been with the army; and his name will long be coupled, in the minds of the inhabitants at large, with all that is just, noble, and generous.

We believe that the brave and meritorious individual, of whose career we have drawn this sketch, is still in England—where he arrived about twelve months ago, the same modest and single-minded person, we are assured, that he was when, in 1817, he quitted it as a mere adventurer. He means, however, ere long, to return to the scene of his exertions, success, and honour; where, as he happens to be a Roman Catholic, there is every likelihood of his becoming the founder of a great family. The work in which his adventures are detailed by his brother, Mr. John Miller, appears to us to be one of the most interesting that have recently issued from the press; calculated, certainly more than any other we could name, to give a lively and distinct notion of the nature of the warfare which has terminated in the independence of the Spanish colonies, and paved the way, we are to hope, for the future civilization and prosperity of those vast regions—regions, on which so much British treasure, we ask not how wisely or profitably, has been lavished; which have drank so deep of the blood of our countrymen; and which, if moral and political good be the result, will owe so heavy a debt of gratitude to their conduct and their gallantry.

ART.

- ART. VIII.—1. *An Appeal to England against the New Indian Stamp Act; with some observations on the condition of British Subjects in Calcutta, under the Government of the East India Company.* London. 1828. 8vo. pp. 141.
2. *A View of the Present State and Future Prospects of the Free Trade and Colonization of India.* London. 1828. 8vo. pp. 124.

AS the period approaches, when the renewal of the East India Company's charter, and the relations, political and commercial, of India and China to England must come before parliament, the publications which we propose to examine in this article acquire a practical interest, as evincing the temper and arguments of those by whom a view adverse to the continuance of the present system has been already taken. When the period of discussion in parliament shall arrive, unless public attention be occupied by some engrossing measure of domestic or foreign policy, the East India question will stand paramount in interest, extent, and importance. The years which have elapsed since the last renewal of the Company's charter, have been remarkable for the impulse given to the spirit of inquiry and speculation. The authority of long-established opinions and rules of conduct, has been shaken; indeed, the temper of the time is to require proof, not of the necessity for change, but for the continuing that which already exists; nor are these feelings more largely displayed than on all colonial and commercial questions.

The author of the works now before us (for we apprehend that, though the entry be in different names, the property is in the same hands), has availed himself very freely of the prejudices of the day; his statements and reasonings are addressed, with most gallant disregard of accuracy and fairness, *ad captandum*. We quote the following passage from the preface to the Appeal, as containing, in fact, the whole case which has been preferred by the petitioning merchants of Calcutta, and submitted to the consideration of the legislature; merely observing, that instead of Mr. James Hogg, Mr. Crawford has been appointed their agent in England. The sinews of war have not been overlooked, for a sum of 3,000*l.* has been subscribed to remunerate Mr. Crawford for his services. Mr. Crawford is a gentleman who has run a career of honourable and successful service in India. Like another great Indian and Scotch reformer, he commenced in the medical department of the East India Company, which, however, he quitted in 1809 for the political branch of their service. In that branch he has been employed, with an interval of three years passed in England, up to the year 1827, when his mission as

envoy

envoy to the court of Ava terminated. In the course of this service, galling as it must have been, under this arbitrary and oppressive government, he has received, in the painful form of nett salary, the sum of fifty thousand six hundred and forty-two pounds sterling. We do not mention these facts in detraction of Mr. Crawford's character or abilities, but as illustrative of the different feelings which appear to prevail on the relation to the government of public servants in this country and in India. That a servant specially favoured and enriched by royal patronage should become the active agent of attack and censure upon his Majesty's government, would excite here a degree of surprise sufficient to deter the most adventurous from taking such means of attracting public notice. It would, however, seem that no such feelings have place in regard to the East India Company; a gentleman may be their confidential servant in 1827, and yet become the remunerated agent of their enemies in 1828, without incurring any disagreeable imputation. So much for the agent; and now to the matter of the agency, as expressed in the preface to the 'Appeal.'

'From the nature of the Indian revenue, as is explained at length in the following sheets, the existing taxes could not be increased; but it appeared to *some* of the advisers of the government, that a new tax might be imposed, which would extract some revenue from the inhabitants of Calcutta, who (as they pretended) contributed little or nothing to the wants of the state. The reader of the following pages will judge of the fairness and intellect of the statesmen who could deliberately make this assertion. It is certain that the inhabitants of Calcutta pay a house-tax, town duties, and inland customs, besides the harbour duties and customs upon the whole foreign trade of Bengal; this surely is something. And when it is considered that the Englishmen who inhabit Calcutta are not permitted, by the Company's regulations, to possess an acre of land over the whole of the provinces under their exclusive government; that they cannot go eleven miles from the capital, for pleasure or business, without a passport; that their licences may be withdrawn, and their persons deported to England, because they have "incurred the displeasure of the government," without any other cause being assigned,—it may be doubted whether it is quite fair to call upon *them* to pay for the glory or distant territory which the Company may acquire by their wars.

'It appeared, however, to the Indian government, quite fair and reasonable; and having discovered, what seems to have been unsuspected for thirteen years before, that the 98th and 99th sections of the act of 1813,* renewing the charter, conveyed the power of imposing all manner of taxes in Calcutta, with no other checks than the previous sanction of the Court of Directors and the Board of Controul, they obtained this sanction for a stamp tax, which was promulgated in

* 53 Geo. III., c. 155, sect. 98 and 99.

December 1826, to take effect from the first of May 1827. This publication of the law was the first notice the inhabitants received of any such intention. Alarmed, as they might well be, at this novel assumption of power by their rulers, they began to examine the grounds on which it was founded. It appeared to them, that the sections in question only related to duties of customs, and taxes of a like nature; and that, if the words seemed to have a wider scope in that section, it was plain, from the whole tenor of the enactment, that this was all that parliament intended. They met, and petitioned the government to forbear from levying the tax; at least until a reference could be made to England: this was refused, and they were plainly told that the clauses in the 53d Geo. III., c. 155, were considered by the government as conferring upon them as full and ample a right to levy taxes in Calcutta, as they already had in the provinces. Upon this, the inhabitants determined to make a stand, to have a public meeting to discuss the matters, and to petition parliament against this encroachment upon their rights and upon their property.

‘They were prevented from taking this course by hints that some peculiarly vexatious clauses in the tax might be modified, if they would only submit quietly to the rest. If the arbitrary power claimed by the government were submitted to, those clauses might at any time be re-enacted, and the stamp duty might be followed by a property tax, or any other oppressive impost. It was not to save the thirty shillings at which he was rated, that Hampden resisted the payment of ship-money. A meeting was accordingly held, in spite of all intimidation, and various attempts to prevent it; petitions to both Houses of Parliament were agreed upon, and a subscription was opened to defray the expenses of a legal resistance to the tax, in India, and in England. Upwards of 3,000*l.* were subscribed in an hour for this purpose; and the petitions have been signed by nearly all the respectable European and native inhabitants of Calcutta, who are not in the Company’s service.’

It is unnecessary to offer any remarks on the alleged illegality of the stamp duty—that point has been abandoned; and we have therefore only to examine the measure as to its general merits and policy. The petitioners have borne for many years, without remonstrance, the imposition of stamp duties throughout the interior of India. This fiscal oppression for some time afflicted only the natives and their property. It would have been a work of supererogation in these Anglo-Indian Hampdens to have called the attention of parliament to this mode of arbitrary taxation, while the favoured precincts of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court remained secure from its influence; but, alas! in 1826, the necessities of the state—really nothing more nor less than the necessities of the state, produced by a war of unexampled expenditure for its duration—required an augmentation of revenue; and as the unjust distinction, on this very head of taxation, between the metropolis and the provinces, had already attracted the notice of the governing
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ing authorities in England as well as in India, an extension of the stamp duties to Calcutta was one of the most obvious, and apparently least exceptionable modes of effecting the object in view. Our readers may rely on the accuracy of the following statement of the measures taken by the Bengal government on the occasion.

Towards the end of the month of October, in 1826, the Bengal government received a despatch from the Court of Directors, dated 24th May, 1826, conveying their sanction, and the approbation of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, to a regulation for raising and levying stamp duties in the town of Calcutta, prepared under their instructions of the 29th October, 1817, and which had been transmitted for approval, according to the 98th section of the act 53d Geo. III., c. 155. In that year, the Indian expenditure exceeded the income, and there were demands outstanding against the government, which added greatly to the public embarrassment. The pressure of financial difficulties was therefore immediate, and the local government would have been wanting in their duty, if they had hesitated at once to avail themselves of the authority by which an additional source of revenue had been placed within their reach. It is to be presumed that the government were quite aware that the attempt to enforce the stamp duties in Calcutta would excite much dissatisfaction, and would probably be resisted by all lawful means, as well by the native as European inhabitants: but this anticipation could not be considered as a reason for hesitating to execute the orders received on the subject, knowing as they did that those orders were dictated by a desire to remove the invidious and unequitable distinction which existed between the inhabitants of Calcutta and those of the interior, and to place all, in respect to money transactions, on a footing of perfect equality.

The revised stamp regulations for the interior, Regulation xvi., 1824, corresponding exactly in the rates of duty on deeds, and in all material points with that proposed for Calcutta, had been in force nearly two years. It must be admitted that the regulation had been received at first with dissatisfaction; but when the principle on which it was framed came to be more known, and as its object was perceived to be the establishment of a gradation of duties, according to the nature of the security, and, consequently, in most instances, a reduction, not an enhancement, of the rates previously existing, the dissatisfaction had gradually worn away, and a correspondent advantage had begun to be experienced in the productiveness of the revenue from this source.

The extension of the system to the presidency, with a view to which the complicated forms of the schedule are known to have been framed, was all that was wanting to reconcile the people at large

large to the new rules, and to ensure their general observance. Influenced by these considerations, the government passed the regulation in the judicial department, on the 14th December, 1826, in the form prescribed by Regulation xli., 1793, as Regulation xii., 1826. The mode thus adopted by the Bengal government for bringing the regulation into operation, however supported by previous practice, as it was not accompanied by registration in the supreme court of justice at Calcutta, a process held by the present chief-justice to be indispensable for sanctioning the enforcement of penalties, proved ineffectual; and this omission of form compelled the government to postpone the levying of the stamp duties from the 1st of May to the 16th of June. The delay is a matter of great triumph to the petitioners, and is thus alluded to in the 'Appeal':—

'The 1st of May arrived, and June rolled on, but by universal consent of the population no one would make use of the stamps—all awaited with firmness and respect the consequences. Alas! after all the vapouring of the functionaries, they were obliged to come into court, and sue for the despised registration, without which the stamp and stampers were of no avail. What is to be thought of the precipitation and legal ignorance which could thus commit a haughty government into such humiliating two months' struggle?'

The point is in itself unimportant, and in truth is a pure question of form. The chief-justice did not dispute the higher right of imposing the duty, but insisted on the registration of the regulation, as being required to sustain actions for recovering penalties, and for enforcing other penal enactments. It was known that such laws had heretofore been passed without observation, even to the extent of a code of laws of customs; and it may be asked whether, under such circumstances, a charge either of 'precipitation' or 'legal ignorance' can be fairly preferred against the executive government, for presuming that the chief-justice of the day would take the same view of a given legal question as his predecessors. We must confess, however, that our own opinion is with the chief-justice. As, since the enactment of the 53d Geo. III., the only mode in which a fine or penalty of any kind, arising out of a revenue regulation, could be enforced in the township of Calcutta, was by information in the Supreme Court, registration in that court (such as takes place in the case of rules and ordinances applicable to the inhabitants of Calcutta) would seem a fit, if not an indispensable form of authentication. It was, however, a case of difficulty and doubt; and the legal authorities who contended for the registration admitted that, if the tax had been imposed without any penalty or punishment whatever, it would have been a good and valid law without registry, and one which all would be clearly bound

bound to obey. In truth, disobedience to an Act of Parliament which prescribes no punishment is, by the common law, punishable by indictment; and such might have been the legal proceeding on disobedience to the stamp regulation. Moreover, it was the opinion of the legal advisers of the government, that 'every duty imposed by the regulation, and incurred by any individual under it, might be recovered, if under 100*l.*, by information in the nature of action for debt.'

It would be unjust to the Bengal government not to add to the above statement a short account of the measures of detail adopted by them for carrying the stamp regulation into effect. The 1st of May, 1827, was fixed as the date from which the regulation was to take effect; but the regulation was published, together with a compendious abstract of the schedule, in the *Gazette* on the 1st of February, in order, as was stated by the government, 'to give the community three complete months to consider its provisions, and to make representations on the subject, before it should come into operation.' A gentleman of acknowledged abilities and popular manners was selected for the situation of collector of stamp duties for the town of Calcutta; and he was specially instructed, 'to be accessible to communications regarding the effect of the rules, and to correspond directly with the secretary on this branch of the subject;' he was further directed 'to put himself in communication with merchants and others, in order to learn from themselves in what way they could most commodiously be supplied with stamp paper to suit their purposes.' Intimation was given that it was the wish of the government to consult the convenience of the community in the introduction and details of the regulation; and they so far succeeded that no omission in these respects has been imputed to the government, while the collector has personally given complete satisfaction.

It is difficult to recognise, in these proceedings, the arbitrary and oppressive government described by the petitioners; on the contrary they are in complete accordance with the practice of our government at home, which, having decided on the necessity of a tax, and obtained authority for levying it, neglects no measure of detail calculated to diminish the inconvenience to the community in paying it. The government of Bengal certainly rejected the prayer of the petition of the merchants of Calcutta; for this rejection they might find many precedents in the conduct of the Lords of the Treasury on similar occasions, and we do not conceive that the general tone or language of the reply to the petition would be considered harsh from a Secretary of the Treasury to a remonstrance against a particular tax, by any class of merchants
or

or manufacturers in England. The author of the 'Appeal', while, he enters into a very detailed examination of the reply to the petition, in our opinion has so misrepresented its general character that we think it right to quote the following paragraphs, for the purpose of enabling our readers to pronounce upon the real spirit of this much reviled document. Appendix, No. III., p. 120.

'The petitioners may rest assured that this government, far from desiring to check or discourage the free expression of the sentiments of the public in the form adopted on the present occasion, is always ready to receive the representations of the community regarding any public measure affecting their interests, which may have been adopted, or may be in agitation, in order that their objections may be fully and candidly considered.

'The Vice-President in Council was prepared to expect, from the intelligent and practical men whose names are subscribed to the present petition, such a representation as might assist government in judging of the probable effect of the stamp regulation on the various interests effected by it; and he looked naturally for a statement of the particular transactions on which the duty would bear with undue severity. Instead of this, however, the petition declares the general unwillingness of the subscribers, and of the community, to be subject to any kind of taxation whatsoever, and relies mainly on an argument against the legality of any measures directed to this end.

'The argument is not substantial as applied to the enactment under consideration. If this were indeed illegal, the means of enforcing it would be wanting to the government. It must, in such case, remain a dead letter, and the petitioners would not need to address a memorial to the Vice-President in Council soliciting its abolition.'

Now, to our apprehension, this is very moderate language; we however, admit that the observation in the last paragraph must have been most unsatisfactory, by reason of its unanswerable truth, to the petitioners. The petitioners were aware of the fact, that the stamp regulation had received the sanction of the Court of Directors, and of the Board of Commissioners, and they might have inferred the possible consideration of the legality of the regulation law by the officers of the Crown and the East India Company; but what could be the value of their opinion as compared with that of 'Begbie and Navin, Gregory Apcar, Maharaja Siva Crishna Bahadur, Woomanandana Thagore, Kamalacont Doss,'* and many other equally distinguished European and native petitioners? Really there is no equality in weight or length of names, and the Attorney-General of England and Mr. Sergeant Bosanquet must not presume to enter the lists with such doughty champions.

The secretary to the government in Bengal further ventured upon the following propositions:—

* See the signatures to the Petition.

'That

‘ That the banker, the money lender, and the capitalist of Calcutta, to whom, above all others, the stability of the government, protection from external enemies, the preservation of internal tranquillity, and the strict administration of justice, are essential, contribute nothing in return for such inestimable benefits. There is no sufficient reason why their dealings should be exempt from the obligation of contributing to the maintenance of that order under which they thrive. Nor is it just and proper that such dealings should be protected from taxation in Calcutta, when elsewhere, throughout the country, they are carried on subject to the disadvantage.’

With the last proposition we must cordially concur ; we, however, think that the secretary has not well expressed himself in asserting that the mercantile classes in Calcutta contribute ‘ nothing ’ to the expenses of the state, for inasmuch as their very occupations promote the general prosperity, they increase funds from which the public establishments are maintained. But let us deal fairly in the controversy. No merit whatsoever is due, on the other hand, to the English and native merchants residing in Calcutta, for paying duties of customs, excise, or the other contributions so elaborately enumerated in the ‘ Appeal ; ’ in the course of business they must be reimbursed for the money applied to these purposes, or they would close their counting-houses and carry their capital and industry elsewhere.

We will not injure the effect of the enumeration in page 55 to page 64 of grievances and disadvantages, under which Englishmen residing within the territories of the East India Company at present labour, by any abridgement, nor have we space for the quotation of the pages themselves ; the grievances, according to this statement, are such, that the continued residence of so many individuals, under such afflicting circumstances, can only be compared to the tenacity with which the Jews, in the barbarous ages of European legislation, clung to countries where many natural and all civil rights were denied to them. In fact, some readers, with minds disposed to admit the truth of all alleged grievances, may fancy that in the fiscal oppressions of the Bengal government upon these sojourners in the East, they discover a close similarity to the proceedings against the Jews in the Exchequer of our own Plantagenet monarchs. Madox says,—‘ ’Tis true he (the king) let them enjoy their trade and acquests, but they seemed to trade and acquire for his profit as well as their own ; for at one time or other their fortunes, or great part of them, came into his coffers.’ The Jews too, like Englishmen in India, were obliged ‘ to have license to trade and negotiate.’

These afflicted individuals, and amongst them the leading English petitioners, are, nevertheless, very thriving gentlemen,
some

some of whom return annually to England, with large fortunes, to take their places among the great ones of the land ; and—will it be believed?—occasionally, in that very band of conspirators against the rights of Englishmen in India, the Court of Directors.

But let us ask in what dark age of legislation, under what needy and spendthrift monarch, did these merchants purchase the power thus to tyrannise over the lieges who rashly conveyed their persons and property to India? The answer is :—exactly fifteen years since, under the reign of his late Majesty, of blessed memory, and after a most elaborate discussion of every circumstance connected with the government and trade of India, by the Parliament of Great Britain. What, therefore, is the crime of the Bengal government !—that they use the powers, granted by the Parliament, for the purposes expressly specified by the Parliament.

The author of the Appeal, conscious of the high situation which he holds, as the representative of the gentlemen with the uncouth British and long Sanscrit names, always speaks in the first person plural, and thus delivers himself :—

‘ Our primary object is a higher one ;—we would fain interest our countrymen, if we can, in the struggle we are endeavouring to make against our Indian “ Stamp Act,” as being *illegal* and *unconstitutional*. It is here we desire to make our stand, to resist, by all *lawful* means in our power, this first instance of a local impost, levied, as we aver, by incompetent authority ; on grounds that are to justify hereafter the imposition of direct and indirect taxes of every kind and degree, without our concurrence, or *even our previous knowledge* of the meditated imposts, and with no other limitation than the declared will and pleasure of the authorities set over us. In the nomination of those authorities we have no voice ;—of their proceedings we are allowed to know nothing ;—their wants we have no means of appreciating ;—they are men with whom, from *the absence of institutions of any description*, we have no organ of communication, far less a due influence proportioned to property ; and, to sum up all, they have the most absolute power over our persons and fortunes, and can put down all opposition offered to their will in the shape of petitions,—writings,—printing,—speaking,—or actions in court, by the summary deportation of any obnoxious European at a moment’s notice, and without cause assigned.

‘ We desire it to be understood, distinctly, that we do not now go to the lengths that other dependencies of England have gone in days not so long passed by that they should be so soon forgotten. There is not one of us who is not as yet willing to submit to taxation by *express* authority of Parliament. Waiving all nicer questions, we still defer to that body as our *virtual* representatives ; and so long as each particular impost is justly and fairly discussed in Parliament, *after reasonable previous notice to those whose interests will be affected by such measures*,

of its intended provisions, so that they may have opportunity to petition against it, and instruct their friends in either house accordingly, we are content to submit to reasonable taxation. We shall even then labour under great disadvantages in making any effectual opposition to intended imposts, owing to our distance from the spot where they are to be debated,—to the want of representatives or regular *agents*,—and to the chances of new clauses, not previously made known to us, being inserted by Parliament in Indian Money Bills.'

To us this moderation appears pregnant with threatening; those little qualifying words 'now' and 'still' are calculated to spread alarm from Cannon-row to Leadenhall-street; and we would especially recommend to the consideration of his Majesty's Government and the Court of Directors the remedy modestly, yet firmly, suggested in page 23, that there should be a 'nomination by election, among citizens of large property, or by any other means, of even a single member in council, to represent and watch over our interests,' that is to say, that a member of the executive government of Great Britain should be elected by Kamalacont Doss and the other petitioners. To deal seriously with the author, and those for whom he writes, we must say, that the above quotations evince an arrogance and an ignorance, only to be accounted for by the not unprevailing notion, that the public and parliament of England are wholly uninformed touching the past, as well as present, state of India.

The restrictions under which British subjects born in Europe are allowed to proceed to, and reside in India, are the acts, not of the East India Company, but of the Imperial Parliament; and the only charge which by possibility can be preferred against the local government, is that of having pushed the powers with which they have been trusted to the utmost verge of legality. Let us examine the extent of this charge under the present disputed head of taxation. The local government in India has possessed the legal authority to tax the inhabitants of Calcutta in common with their subjects in the provinces since the year 1813, and fourteen years have been allowed to elapse without the exertion of that authority in any matter or in any manner which has become a subject of complaint: such forbearance must, with all impartial persons, acquit the Company's government of precipitancy or rapacity in taxation, although it has led, perhaps not unnaturally, to the present exhibition of intolerance under a not hasty exercise of an undeniable right—which has no other effect but that of equalizing the rate and objects of taxation, throughout the territories of the East India Company.

The mercantile community of Calcutta, whose interests are managed by the leading English houses of agency, is a class specially favoured by the local government: this is a natural consequence

quence of their business, and of their composition. Many gentlemen, now members of these houses, have of late years been tempted from the civil service of the East India Company, by the prospect of securing, within a shorter period than their public employments afforded, the means of returning to their native country: this is *their* advantage in the exchange; while the purely mercantile partners have found corresponding benefit in the accession of local knowledge, and individual ability which the civilians bring to the establishments. It may also be inferred, that the previous habits of official life might, on some occasions, prove highly convenient in the transactions of business with the different public departments. These houses of agency, moreover, are the depositaries of the savings of the civil and military servants of the East India Company from their salaries; the aggregate of which savings constitutes no inconsiderable portion of the capital employed in the trade of Calcutta: here, therefore, we have habits of intercourse, and community in pecuniary interest, as bonds of connexion between these very petitioning merchants, and the officers of the local government. Indifference to the well-being of the mercantile class, or fiscal rapacity as applied to commercial transactions, (which, like the fool in the proverb, must destroy the source of its own gratification,) are not, therefore, probable principles of action with the secretaries or members of council in Bengal. The fact is decidedly otherwise; the treasury of government has been frequently opened to relieve the pressure of commercial embarrassment—an instance of such assistance actually occurred in the month of April 1827.

The government of Bengal, having persisted in exercising the parliamentary right of taxation, further deemed it advisable to exert another parliamentary right, that of prohibiting a public meeting to discuss the legality of their proceeding. It is not our purpose, at present, to examine whether a representative form of government is practicable in India; we shall rest satisfied with stating that, as yet, the parliament of England has neither recognized the possibility nor expediency of such a system. Legislation, judicial and fiscal, has, under acts of parliament of limited duration, been intrusted to the executive government; a public meeting, therefore, to discuss the exercise of a power so established, can answer no useful purpose, while it is pregnant with most serious evil. If public meetings to examine the legality of the legislative acts of the supreme government be permitted in Calcutta, why should they be refused at Moushedabad, Patna, Benares, or Delhi? Is not the sovereignty of the provinces, as well as of Calcutta, vested in the crown of Great Britain? are not the inhabitants of those provinces mediately, if not immediately,

diately, subjects of his Majesty? Cannot parliament institute inquiries into acts of tyranny committed at Delhi, as well as at Calcutta? and why should not the excellent Woomanandana Thagore, and the illustrious Maharaja Siva Cishna Buhadur, carry with them their freedom of speech and action across the Mahratta ditch, which bounds the jurisdiction of the Supreme court? Alas, parliament has placed public meetings under the control of the executive government throughout India, influenced, no doubt, by motives which appear paltry to the petitioners, namely, consideration for the peculiar nature of the British rule in that country—and a conviction, that where there is no constitutionally acknowledged representative body, such assemblages can only serve the purposes of faction, and of personal vanity.

It remains for us to offer some remarks on the pamphlet entitled 'A View of the Present State and Future Prospects of the Free Trade and Colonization in India.' The same tone of asperity and injustice towards the East India Company, and the local administrations in India, prevails in this work, as in that which we have just examined. Each and every restriction upon an absolute freedom of trade, as well as all regulations affecting the conduct and interests of Europeans in India, are brought forward as matters of positive charge against the East India Company. It is true, that the Company, in 1813, were opposed to opening the monopoly of the trade to India, which they possessed under their former charter; and that persons of ability, and local knowledge, at that time expressed opinions regarding the trade, which experience has proved to have been erroneous and exaggerated. It is, however, to be observed, in extenuation of the error which led these individuals to underrate the possible extension of the supply of British manufactures, that the prodigious power of abundant capital and improved machinery in lowering prices, was then much less understood than at present; and that the fact of merchants in this country being able to import cotton from a given district in India, and to return it to the same, manufactured, at a cheaper rate than the cloth could be made on the spot, by a weaver earning a few shillings a month, was a thing utterly unknown. Adherence to established usage, and to maxims of conduct, is unquestionably characteristic of all corporate bodies; and we readily admit, that to the enterprise of individual merchants we owe the vast extension in the export of our manufactures to India: the question, however, which we put to our readers is, what is the degree in which the existing laws regulating the government and trade with India affect or diminish the value of the connexion between that country and Great Britain? We learn from the work before us that

'There are at present in Bengal three hundred and nine manufactories

tories of indigo for exportation, of which thirty-seven only are conducted by natives, and these in imitation of the European process. The Indians cannot even imitate us to any advantage with so many examples before them, for the indigo thus prepared is full fifteen per cent. lower in value than that manufactured by Europeans: and as to indigo made by the old native process, it is still wholly unfit for the foreign market; and even when re-manufactured by Europeans, which is sometimes done, it is still a very inferior commodity. The average quantity of indigo produced in Bengal yearly, may be taken at 8,000,000 lbs., a precarious crop, from its nature; it has sometimes been as low as 3,500,000 lbs., and at other times risen to near 12,000,000 lbs. Last year's produce was equal to the last amount. Here is a property worth about 2,000,000*l.* sterling per annum, created solely by the skill, capital, and enterprise of British-born subjects, living in India on sufferance. About four-fifths of the consumption of Europe, Asia, and America is now supplied with good Bengal indigo; a commodity which, forty-five years ago, had no existence. All Bengal indigo is better than all Spanish America indigo by about twelve and a half per cent. Before Europeans undertook its culture and manufacture, it was, as already stated, so bad as to be unsaleable in a foreign market.—p. 8.

The author, with that spirit of injustice for which these publications are remarkable, says, in a tone of mixed triumph and reproach, that this flourishing manufacture has been created and improved by British-born subjects, living in India on sufferance. We answer, that the sufferance can neither be very precarious nor burthensome, if such advantages can be realised: in forty years the increase of the export of indigo has been thirty-fold. Is it to be imagined that such could have been the result under a government so jealous of commercial enterprise—so vexatious to individuals, as that of the Company has been represented? On the contrary, have not the Company a right to contend that this very statement proves, that property and industry have received the protection to which they were entitled from the local administration? Let us turn to another article on cotton, page 11:—

‘In 1814 the quantity of this article imported into Great Britain, from India, was 2,850,318 lbs.—in 1818 it rose to 67,456,411 lbs., but afterwards fell off greatly from this amount, and in 1826 was only 21,187,900 lbs.’

The author assigns as a reason for this difference, that the cotton of America, Egypt, and other places being of superior quality, and having found its way generally into the market, has superseded the inferior growth of India. This to a certain degree may be true, but surely there can be no support, derived from this fact, for the following conclusion:—

‘What European, holding land at a high rent from a native proprietor,

prietor, from year to year, in a country where no civil suit is brought to trial under three years from its institution, and often not under seven, and where by law he may be removed from his property for ever, with or without offence, would enter upon a precarious speculation?"

Our author, however, thus endeavours to convert the fact into an accusation against the Company, by asserting that, to the restrictive system alone, respecting the residence of Englishmen in India, is to be attributed the absence of all attempt to improve the quality of the cotton produced there; and to the same cause he attributes the imperfect manufacture of sugar. The improvement in the manufacture of indigo under this system, both as to quality and quantity, is nevertheless a startling circumstance; and he thus disposes of it, page 16:—

'Indigo works, capable of producing yearly 10,000*l.* worth of the dye, may be constructed for about the sum of 700*l.*; sugar-works, capable of yielding a produce of equal value, would require an investment of capital to the amount of 24,000*l.* Who would invest such a capital where he can neither buy nor sell land, nor receive security upon it; where the judge and the magistrate are hostile, because labouring under the usual prejudice and delusion of their caste; and where the administration of justice is in such a state that an appeal to it is nearly hopeless?"

This reasoning may appear satisfactory to the author: we, however, will suggest another cause for the preference given to indigo; we strongly suspect that the profits upon that article are more certain than upon cotton or sugar, and that the latter products will receive an equal degree of personal superintendence from resident Englishmen, whenever our worthy countrymen can secure equal advantage in so bestowing their cares. Unless it be admitted that leasehold tenure is incompatible with improvement in agriculture—an admission somewhat opposed to experience in this and other countries—we do not immediately see that the possession of the freehold of a sugar estate must be indispensable to its improved cultivation, or to the application of machinery to the manufacture of the produce. The whole argument is fallacious; and the facts obviously lead to a conclusion the very opposite of that which the author tries to establish. Much stress is laid by him on the importance of directing British capital to the internal improvement of India; and, attributing the advances that have been made in production to the British capital already so employed, the proposition is plausibly maintained. We are inclined to doubt that the actual improvement has been effected by British capital, properly so called; on the contrary, we believe that it has been achieved by European skill and enterprise using the capital already accumulated in India itself. Englishmen resident in that country seldom

dom carry thither capital—they carry with them the superior intellect and knowledge of their race : native bankers and traders are to be found possessing wealth that brings them on a level with the Barings and Rothschilds of Europe ; and operations devised by European talent and energy are carried into effect, in conjunction with those natives, and chiefly by means of their capital.

India neither wants capital nor population : a general diffusion of knowledge amongst the latter will give full development to the former ; and the result must, and ought to be, not the colonization of India by Europeans, but the possession by the natives of a large portion of those advantages of civil life, and of commercial profit, which now form the patrimony of the master caste, whether the individuals comprising it be employed in the actual service of the East India Company, or live under the protection of its bankers, as prosperous, though portioning merchants.

ART. IX.—*Salmonia, or Days of Fly-Fishing.* By an Angler.
12mo. London. 1828.

WHEN great men condescend to trifle, they desire that those who witness their frolics should have some kindred sympathy with the subject which these regard. The speech of Henry IV. to the Spanish ambassador, when he discovered the King riding round the room on a stick, with his son, is well known. ‘ You are a father, Seigneur Ambassador, and so we will finish our ride.’ No doubt, there was to be remarked something graceful in the manner with which the hero of Navarre bestrode even a cane—something so kind in his expression, while employed in the most childish of pastimes, as failed not to remind the spectator that the indulgent father of his playmate was the no less indulgent father of his people. In taking up this elegant little volume, for which we are indebted to the most illustrious and successful investigator of inductive philosophy which this age has produced, we are led to expect to discover the sage even in his lightest amusements.

We are informed, in the preface, that many months of severe and dangerous illness have been partially occupied and amused by the present treatise, when the author was incapable of attending to more useful studies or more serious pursuits. While we regret that the current of scientific investigation, which has led to such brilliant results, should be, for a moment, interrupted, we have here an example, and a pleasing one, that the lightest pursuits of such a man as our angler—nay, the productions of those languid hours,

toil and the disgust attending the slaughter-house and the kitchen. Homer's heroes prostrate the victim and broil its flesh, and were, we must suppose, no more shocked with the moans of the dying bullock than the greyhound with the screams of the hare. The difference produced by a degree of refinement is only that, still arranging our bloody banquet as before, the task of destroying life is, in the case of tame animals, committed to butchers and poulterers—while in respect of game, where considerable exertion and dexterity is necessary to accomplish our purpose, and where the sense of excitement, and pride in difficulties surmounted by our own address, overbalance our sympathy with the pain inflicted, we interdict by strict laws the vulgar from interference, and reserve the exclusive power of slaughter for our own hands. The sportsman of the present day is, therefore, so far modified by the refinements of society, as to use the intervention of plebeian hands in the case of cattle, sheep, and domestic fowls; but he kills his deer, his hares, his grouse, and his partridges for himself: in respect to them, he is in a state of nature. But if his retaining this touch of the qualities with which

‘ Nature first made man,

When wild in woods the noble savage ran,’

shall be considered as a crime, it is surely equally inhuman to cause to be killed, as it is to kill; the guilt, surely, of the criminal who causes a murder to be committed, must be the same as that of the actual bloodspiller. My lady, therefore, who gives the *maitre d'hotel* orders, which render necessary sundry executions in the piggery, poultry-yard, and elsewhere, is an accomplice before the fact, and as guilty of occasioning a certain quantity of pain to certain unoffending animals, as her good lord, who is knocking down pheasants in the preserve, or catching fish in the brook. In short, they that say much about the inhumanity of killing animals for sport, must be prepared to renounce the equally blameable practice of causing them to be killed, lest their delicacy be compared to that of the half-converted Indian squaw, whose humanized feelings could not look upon the tortures of a captive at the death-stake, but, nevertheless, whose appetite was unable to resist a tempting morsel of the broiled flesh, conveyed to her by the kindness of a comrade, as a consolation for her wanting her share of the sport. Our diet, in that case, would become rather lean and Pythagorean, much after the custom of our brahminical friend, the late Joseph Ritson. Of the hundreds who condemn the cruelty of field sports, how many would relish being wholly deprived, in their own sensitive persons, of animal food?

Our author takes a more special defence than the above—alleging that he is not guilty, like his predecessor, Walton, of using
living

living baits, but always employs the artificial fly or minnow. This is, undoubtedly, more agreeable, more cleanly, and much more scientific. He also urges that, in all probability, fishes are less sensitive than man. Under the favour of such high authority, this is a point which none can know but the fish himself. The variety of modes in which the trout endeavours to escape from the hook certainly seem to show that his apprehensions are extreme, and the hurry and vivacity of his motions indicate irritation and pain. Being, however, a denizen of another element, our sympathies are not so strongly excited by the sufferings of fish as of the creatures that share the same element with us. We remember an amiable enthusiast, a worshipper of Nature after the manner of Rousseau, who, being melted into feelings of universal philanthropy by the softness and serenity of a spring morning, resolved, that for that day, at least, no injured animal should pollute his board; and having recorded his vow, walked six miles to gain a hamlet, famous for fish dinners, where, without an idea of breaking his sentimental engagement, he regaled himself on a small matter of crimped cod and oyster sauce. After all, the progress of extermination and reproduction seems to be the plan on which Nature proceeds in maintaining the balance amongst the animal tribes and carrying on the system of the universe. Man, in his sphere, is one of the most constant exterminators; and if, in satisfying the instinct which impels him to be such, he can acquire the power of realizing the following beautiful picture, there is little to be said concerning the inhumanity of angling:—

‘The fisher for salmon and trout with the fly employs not only machinery to assist his physical powers, but applies sagacity to conquer difficulties; and the pleasure derived from ingenious resources and devices, as well as from active pursuit, belongs to this amusement. Then, as to its philosophical tendency, it is a pursuit of moral discipline, requiring patience, forbearance, and command of temper. As connected with natural science, it may be vaunted as demanding a knowledge of the habits of a considerable tribe of created beings—fishes, and the animals that they prey upon, and an acquaintance with the signs and tokens of the weather and its changes, the nature of waters, and of the atmosphere. As to its poetical relations, it carries us into the most wild and beautiful scenery of nature; amongst the mountain lakes, and the clear and lovely streams that gush from the higher ranges of elevated hills, or that make their way through the cavities of calcareous strata. How delightful in the early spring, after the dull and tedious time of winter, when the frosts disappear and the sunshine warms the earth and waters, to wander forth by some clear stream, to see the leaf bursting from the purple bud, to scent the odours of the bank perfumed by the violet, and enamelled, as it were, with the primrose and the daisy; to wander upon the fresh turf below the
shade

shade of trees, whose bright blossoms are filled with the music of the bee; and on the surface of the waters to view the gaudy flies sparkling like animated gems in the sunbeams, whilst the bright and beautiful trout is watching them from below; to hear the twittering of the water-birds, who, alarmed at your approach, rapidly hide themselves beneath the flowers and leaves of the water-lily; and as the season advances, to find all these objects changed for others of the same kind, but better and brighter, till the swallow and the trout contend as it were for the gaudy May-fly, and till in pursuing your amusement in the calm and balmy evening, you are serenaded by the songs of the cheerful thrush and melodious nightingale, performing the offices of paternal love, in thickets ornamented with the rose and woodbine.'—pp. 8—10.

Before leaving this beautiful passage, in which the angler seems to contemplate nature with the eye at once of a poet and a philosopher, we may inform our reader, supposing him more ignorant than ourselves, that not all the love of rural scenery which is inspired by Walton—not all the instructions in practice which may be collected from this work, the composition of that far more illustrious successor, who has condescended to be his imitator, will ever make an angler out of one who is not gifted with certain natural qualifications for that amusement. No degree of zealous study will supply the want of natural parts. To 'fish by the book' would be as vain an attempt as Master Stephen's proposal to keep his hawk on that principle.

There must be a certain quickness of eye to judge where the fish lies—a precision and neatness of hand to cast the line lightly, and with such truth and address that the fly shall fall on the very square inch of the stream which you aimed at; and that with as little splash as if it were the descent of the natural insect; there is a certain delicacy of manipulation with which you must use the rod and reel when (happy man!) you actually have hooked a heavy fish; all of which requisites must combine to ensure success. There are the same personal qualities requisite in shooting, billiards, and other exercises of skill, in the use of the turning-lathe, and, as no one knows better than the author of the present work, in the management of philosophical experiments. If thou hast any of this species of alertness of hand and truth of eye in thee, go forth, gentle reader, with '*Salmonia*' in thy pocket, and return with thy basket more or less heavy in proportion to thy perseverance. But if thou wantest this peculiar knack, we doubt if even the patience that is exercised in a punt above Chelsea bridge would greatly mend thy day's work: though thy dinner depended upon it, thou mayest go on flogging the water from morning till midnight, entangling the hook now in a bush, now in a stem, now driving it through the nose of some brother of the angle, and now through

through thine own, but not a fin wilt thou basket, whether of bult, trout or minnow; and thou must content thee with half the definition of the angler, and be the fool at one end of the stick and string, without the gudgeon at the other.

Indeed, there always seemed to us something magical in this peculiar dexterity, which no chance or advantages of circumstances ever came to balance. The inequality between individual anglers exists to a degree which simple men will not be able to comprehend from a perusal of *Salmonia*. Halicus exhorts his less skillful companion—

‘ Try in that deep pool, below the Tumbling Bay; I see two or three good fish rising there, and there is a lively breeze. The largest fish refuses your fly again and again; try the others. There, you have hooked him; now carry him down stream, and keep his head high, out of the weeds. He plunges and fights with great force;—he is the best-fed fish I have yet seen at the end of the line, and will weigh more, in proportion to his length. I will land him for you.’—
p. 39.

Instant success follows on the adopting of the precept, but, general reader, do not hastily trust that it will be so in real life. We used sometimes to pursue the amusement with an excellent friend now no more, and we still recollect the mortifying distinction between his success and our want of it. With all the kindness and much of the skill of Halicus, he trained us to high adventure:—‘ Throw where yonder stone breaks the stream; there is a trout behind it ’—we obeyed, and hooked the stone itself: ‘ Let your fly fall light on the ripple ’—we threw, and it fell with the emphasis of a quoin. Our Mentor gave us the choice of his flies, and relinquished in our favour even that which we had seen do instant execution. It seemed as if what in his hands had been a real, animated insect, the live child of heat and moisture, was disenchanted in ours, and returned to a clumsy composition of iron, wool, fur, and feather. The changing from one to the other bank of the stream in no respect mended the matter, and while trouts came wriggling to the shore as if our companion had charmed them out of the river, we had nothing to struggle with except eel-weeds and alder roots. In short, there was a spell in it, and we have our suspicions at this moment, that set a bucket of water before our comrade, he would have drawn out a fish, while we, angling in a duke’s preserve, might have failed of catching a *bane-stickle*.

There are, however, those to whom this fatality attaches in a much greater degree than to us, who, after all, were not without having occasionally our lucky days; whereas all men have heard of the fisherman of the Eastern tale, whose persevering ill fortune
first

first fished up a pannier full of slime, next the carcase of an ass, and taking no warning by these omens, at last dragged out a genie, who had like to have wrung his head off. We ourselves know a respected friend whose only attempts at angling were equally ominous with those of this oriental. In his first experiment, he fished up the carcase of a drowned man; in the second his hook, indeed, was only entangled in the body of a horse, but, which perhaps equalised the two accidents, that horse proved to be his own. We have not heard of his making a third experiment, but we have no doubt that should he be unwise enough to attempt it, the result must be something portentous. *Non cuivis*,—therefore it is not every one who can pursue with success this delightful sylvan amusement; there must be, as Tony Lumpkin says, ‘a concatenation accordingly.’

The work before us alarms us on another topic, or rather would have alarmed us, had we acquired the information contained in the following passage, during a more active period of our life. The party of anglers are seated at dinner, a scene which our author understands as well as he does the art of fly-fishing, or the more recondite mysteries of philosophy, and it is after a hearty meal upon fresh salmon, eaten with the salt and water it is boiled in, and some delicate snipes from a Highland morass, that one of the pleasant interlocutors, Ornithier, makes a genial proposal for another bottle of claret, observing (most reasonably, as we should have thought, *à priori*), that a pint per man (Scottish measure, we hope, for the scene lies on Loch Marec) was not too much after such a day’s fatigue. To this motion, which we are afraid we might, in our rashness, have seconded, Halicus makes the following unexpected opposition:—

‘*Hal.*—You have made me president for these four days, and I forbid it. A half-pint of wine for young men in perfect health is enough, and you will be able to take your exercise better, and feel better for this abstinence. How few people calculate upon the effects of constantly renewed fever in our luxurious system of living in England! The heart is made to act too powerfully, the blood is thrown upon the nobler parts, and with the system of wading adopted by some sportsmen, whether in shooting or fishing, is delivered either to the hemorrhoidal veins, or what is worse to the head. I have known several free livers who have terminated their lives by apoplexy, or have been rendered miserable by palsy, in consequence of the joint effects of cold feet and too stimulating a diet; that is to say, as much animal food as they could eat, with a pint or perhaps a bottle of wine per day. Be guided by me, my friends, and neither drink nor wade. I know there are old men who have done both and have enjoyed perfect health; but these are *devil’s decoys* to the unwary, and ten suffer for one that escapes. I could quote to you an instance from
this

this very county, one of the strongest men I have ever known. He was not intemperate, but he lived luxuriously, and waded as a salmon fisher for many years in this very river ; but before he was fifty, palsy deprived him of the use of his limbs, and he is still a living example of the danger of the system which you are ambitious of adopting.

‘ *Orn.*—Well, I give up the wine, but I intend to wade in Hancock’s boots to-morrow.

‘ *Hal.*—Wear them, but do not wade in them. The feet must become cold in a stream of water constantly passing over the caoutchouc and leather, notwithstanding the thick stockings. They are good for keeping the feet warm, and I think where there is exercise, as in snipe-shooting, may be used without any bad effects. But I advise no one to stand still (which an angler must do sometimes) in the water, even with these ingenious water-proof inventions. All anglers should remember old Boerhaave’s maxims of health, and act upon them: ‘Keep the feet warm, and the head cool, and the body open.’—pp. 102—104.

We before hinted that we have had our lucky fishing-days, and the most propitious time, both as to the size and number of trouts, were the hours before and after sunset upon the very warmest days of July and August. The large trouts which have lain hid during the whole day are then abroad, for the purpose of food, and take the fly eagerly. These moments,

‘ When the sun, retiring slowly,
Gives to dews the freshen’d air,’

are still alive in our recollection as green spots in the waste of existence. We recollect with what delight we entered knee-deep into the stream after the heat of a sultry day ; the green boughs on the margin scarce waving a leaf to the balmy gale of the evening—the stream which glided past us almost alive with the object of our pursuit—the whole a mixture of animal enjoyment, gratified love of sport, with a species of mental repose which enhanced both. This delightful amusement was not to be obtained if, ‘like the poor cat in the adage,’ we spared wetting our feet ; for the shallowness of the stream, as well as the branches of the trees, impeded our sport, if we could not reach the middle-current with our cast. Neither see we much cause to feel regret or remorse when we add that any little chillness which might arise from pursuing this fascinating sport too late in the evening, was effectually removed by a glass of right Nantz, Schiedam, or Glenlivet ; which remedy, if the glass be not too large or filled a second time, we can with a good conscience recommend as a sovereign specific upon occasions of wet feet.

We will not, however, suppress evidence, though somewhat contradictory of our own, as we happen to recollect an anecdote corroborative of the view taken by *Halieus* concerning the risk of wading,

wading, and at the same time indicative of the passionate hold which the sport of angling maintains over the minds of some individuals, with whatever risk it may be accompanied. It is now a great many years (considerably above thirty) since we met in fishing quarters the very pleasing and accomplished gentleman, then engaged in his medical studies, from whom we heard the story.

In a former fishing excursion, such as that in which he was engaged at the time, our friend had observed a follower of the same sport holding his course down the very midst of the small river; and the angler in question was a 'noticeable man.' He was of uncommon stature—a large and portly figure, brandishing with both hands a rod which commanded the stream on either side—while, being immersed to the waist, his fair round belly seemed to project like a dark rock when in the shallow water, and in the deep current to rest and float on the surface of the waters like the hull of some rich argosy.

Our friend could not help looking back more than once at this singular figure, until he suddenly observed the angler quit the stream, get out upon the bank, and hasten towards him with shouts which seemed a signal of distress. On his closer approach, our medical friend observed that the countenance of the fisherman, naturally bluff and jolly, and not unfitted to correspond with the height of his stature and importance of his paunch, seemed disordered and convulsed with pain. He begged earnestly to know if our acquaintance had in his basket a flask with spirits of any kind, complaining, at the same time, of an attack of cramp in the stomach which gave him intolerable agony. This was supplied, with all the benevolence which should subsist between brothers of the angle, according to the instructions of their patriarch, Izaak Walton. When the tall fisherman had experienced the relief which the cordial drop afforded, our informer told him his profession, and inquired whether these attacks were frequent, and whether they seemed constitutional. 'Very frequent,' answered the lusty edition of Piscator, 'and I am afraid rooted in my system.' 'In that case, sir,' replied our friend, 'allow me to tell you that fishing, or at least wading while you fish, is the most dangerous amusement you could select for yourself.' 'I know it,' said the poor patient dejectedly. 'Assure yourself,' pursued the physician, 'that your very life depends upon your forbearing to pursue your sport in the manner you do.' The intelligence seemed nothing new to our forlorn angler. 'I know it, sir,' he said, 'I have been told so by the best doctors—but,' he added, with an air of stoical yet rueful resignation, that might have graced a man who sacrificed life to some weighty duty, 'Heaven's will be done! I cannot live without fishing, and without wading I can never catch

catch a fin.' So saying, the Giant thanked his adviser, went back to the spot where he had left his rod, and was seen a few minutes afterwards bowel-deep in the stream.

Our friend had the curiosity to inquire after the name and condition of this devoted angler, to whom life was nothing without wading waist-deep after trouts. In the course of the year he saw his death announced by the newspapers. He was found dead on the banks of his favourite stream—*nota-bene*, no brandy flask. Halieus and we ourselves have each a portion in this sad story, and may part stakes upon it; for while he fortifies his doctrine concerning wet feet by this doleful example, we are entitled to hang a label, with *sic evitabile*, round the neck of a certain *vademecum*, which John Bunyan allows even to pilgrims, and without which, in our humble opinion, no wanderer ought to walk the wold.

Indeed, after all, we have difficulty in separating our pleasant recollections of the exercise of fishing from the green bank where we rendezvoused at noon—our slice of cold beef and a gentle flirtation which we held with that same flask, after the manner of the cavaliers of Cervantes and the *pícaros* of Gil Blas. So, perhaps, we do not after all possess the genuine admiration of the sport itself, abstractedly considered; and the want of this undivided ardour may be at once the cause and the consequence of the imperfect progress we have made in the art. This at least all the world, and the subjects of our criticism in particular, will be ready to verify, that our indifferent success cannot arise from any want of equanimity and good nature.—We must recollect, however, that we are taking the privilege of a sportsman, to which we are by no means entitled, and prating about our exploits and recollections of field sports, while our readers have no game to eat by way of indemnification. The fact is, that whenever we 'babble of green fields' we feel a tendency to lose our way. We will, however, endeavour to proceed more methodically in future, and to give something like a general account of '*Salmonia*,' before proceeding further with our miscellaneous remarks.

The book is confessedly written in the conversational form and discursive style of old Izaak Walton, whose *Complete Angler*, augmented with a second part, has long been a standard work of our language; and has passed through so many editions, as to ascertain its undiminished attractions, in spite of the fashion of all things that passes away. The form of both works is the same in the outline. In each, a zealous fisher is the Coryphæus of the dialogue, who replies to the objections made to his art by a friend who has prejudices against the pursuits of the angler—confutes him by reasons, introduces him to the practice of the art which
he

he had vindicated in theory—teaches him the secrets upon which success depends, and familiarizes him with those innocent accessory pleasures which render the simplest and most accessible of country sports, the most agreeable also to a person of calm and contemplative habits.

In comparing the two treatises, the authors occur to our imagination as pilgrims bound for the same shrine, resembling each other in their general habit—the scalloped hat, the dalmatique, and the knobbed and spiked staff—which equalize all who assume the character; corresponding no less in the humble mien, and unpretending step, with which they approach the object of their common reverence, and sympathizing also in the feeling of devotion which, for the time, lessens all temporal distinctions, whether resting upon distinction of rank or difference of intellect. Yet, though alike in purpose, dress, and demeanour, the observant eye can doubtless discern an essential difference betwixt those devotees. The burgess does not make his approach to the shrine with the stately pace of a knight or noble; the simple and uninformed rustic has not the contemplative step of the philosopher, or the quick glance of the poet. There is, in short, something of individuality in each personage, which distinguishes advantageously or otherwise, in spite of the circumstances of general resemblance.

The palm of originality, and of an exquisite simplicity which cannot, perhaps, be imitated with entire success, must remain with our worthy patriarch, Izaak. But, on the other hand, his incalculably more limited range of experience of every kind, has, after his first voyage of discovery, left a huge continent of terra incognita for our modern to make the scene of further discoveries, and, though holding the same course, to introduce us to regions of which his predecessor did not even know the existence. *This concordia discors*, which gives us the power of comparing the habits of remote times, the ideas and sentiments of persons so strongly contrasted, and treating the same subject in such different styles—forms one of the charms of this book, and at the same time makes us look back to old Izaak's with additional interest.

Izaak Walton, a London citizen of the middle of the seventeenth century, does not aspire above his sphere in any particular. His walks are to Finsbury, and up Tottenham Hill; his farthest excursions, even in pursuit of his favourite amusement, only reach Ware and Waltham; his diversion, when there, is the drowsy watching of the immersion of a cork and a quill; and almost all his ideas confined to baits of lob-worms and live maggots. This picture is of a most cockney-like character, and we no more expect the Piscator to soar beyond it, and to kill, for example, a salmon

of twenty pounds weight, with a single hair, than we would look to see his brother linen-draper, John Gilpin, leading a charge of hussars. What is there, we ask, that relieves the low character, we had almost said the vulgarity, of a picture so little elevated and so homely? It is the exquisite simplicity of the good old man, enjoying tranquillity in his own mind, and breathing benevolence to all around him, and expressing himself with such a graceful ease, that the London shopkeeper dapping for chubs, acquires the veneration due to a Grecian philosopher, within whose cheerful heart, to use an expression of his own, wisdom, peace, patience, and a quiet mind did cohabit.*

Our modern Piscator is of a different mould, one familiar equally with the world of books and those high circles in society, which, in our age, aristocratically closed against the pretensions of mere wealth, open so readily to distinguished talents and acquirements. His range, therefore, both of enjoyment and of instruction, is far wider than that of Walton.

The latter carries us no farther than the brooks within a short walk of London, though his rich vein of poetical fancy renders their banks so delightfully rural, by seating himself and his scholar under a honey-suckle hedge during a soft shower, there to sit and sing while gentle rain refreshed the burning earth, and gave a yet sweeter smell to the lovely flowers that embroidered the verdant meadows. Halieus, on the contrary, transports us to the ornate scenes of Denham upon the Colne, where the river is strictly preserved within the park of a wealthy and hospitable proprietor,

* We cannot resist the temptation to transcribe some sweet verses introduced in the first dialogue of *Salmonia*, the contribution of a lady, whose elegant genius adorns her high rank:—“A noble lady (says Halieus), long distinguished at court for pre-eminent beauty and grace, and whose mind possesses undying charms, has written some lines in my copy of Walton, which, if you will allow me, I will repeat to you.

“Albeit, gentle Angler, I
Delight not in thy trade,
Yet in thy pages there doth lie
So much of quaint simplicity,
So much of mind,
Of such good kind,
That none need be afraid,
Caught by thy cunning bait, this book,
To be ensnared on thy hook.

“Gladly from thee, I’m lured to bear
With things that seemed most vile before,
For thou didst on poor subjects rear
Matter the wisest sage might hear.
And with a grace,
That doth efface
More laboured works, thy simple lore
Can teach us that thy skillful lines,
More than the scaly brood confound,

“Our hearts and senses too, we see,
Rise quickly at thy master hand,
And ready to be caught by thee
Are lured to virtue willingly.
Content and peace,
With health and ease,
Walk by thy side. At thy command
We bid adieu to wordly care,
And join in gifts that all may share.

“Gladly, with thee, I pace along,
And of sweet fancies dream;
Waiting till some inspired song,
Within my memory cherished long,
Comes fairer forth,
With more of worth;
Because that time upon its stream
Feathers and chaff will bear away,
But give to gems a brighter ray.”

and

and gives us the following picturesque description, as a contrast to the unadorned meadows of the Lea.

Poict.—This is really a very charming villa scene, I may almost say, a pastoral scene. The meadows have the verdure which even the Londoners enjoy as a peculiar feature of the English landscape. The river is clear, and has all the beauties of a trout stream of the larger size,—there rapid, and here still, and there tumbling in foam and fury over abrupt dams upon clean gravel, as if pursuing a natural course. And that island, with its poplars and willows, and the flies making it their summer paradise, and its little fishing house, are all in character; and, if not extremely picturesque, it is at least a very pleasant scene, from its verdure and pure waters, for the lovers of our innocent amusement.—pp. 21, 22.

This Italian and ornamental species of landscape may be compared advantageously with a voyage down a Highland lake, a scene which never disturbed Walton's quiet thoughts even in a dream.

Poict.—That cloud-breasted mountain on the left is of the best character of Scotch mountains: these woods, likewise, are respectable for this northern country. I think I see islands, also, in the distance: and the quantity of cloud always gives effect to this kind of view; and perhaps, without such assistance to the imagination, there would be nothing even approaching to the sublime in these countries; but cloud and mist, by creating obscurity and offering a substitute for greatness and distance, give something of an Alpine and majestic character to this region.—p. 82.

In the continuation of this description, our modern, by what painters call an accident, enlivens his still scenery with a touch of science and painting at once, far beyond the limited sphere of father Walton. The latter has done all that his extent of travel and experience could suggest, when he has taught us to listen to a 'friendly contention between the singing birds in an adjacent grove, and the echo whose dead voice lived in a hollow tree near to the top of a primrose-hill,' or shown us how to beguile time 'by viewing the harmless lambs seen leaping securely in the cool shade, while others sported themselves in the cheerful sun, or craved comfort from the swollen udders of their bleating dams.' The modern author, in a wild land, calls our attention to a far less usual phenomenon, and describes the flight of an eagle, and the education of its callow brood, with the pencil of a Salvator Rosa, and the accuracy of a Gilbert White.

Poict.—The scenery improves as we advance nearer the lower parts of the lake. The mountains become higher, and that small island or peninsula presents a bold craggy outline; and the birch wood below it, and the pines above, make a scene somewhat Alpine in character. But what is that large bird soaring above the pointed rock, towards the

end of the lake? Surely it is an eagle! *Hal.*—You are right, it is an eagle, and of a rare and peculiar species—the grey or silver eagle, a noble bird! From the size of the animal, it must be the female; and her aery is in that high rock. I dare say the male is not far off. *Phys.*—I think I see another bird, of a smaller size, perched on the rock below, which is similar in form. *Hal.*—You do: it is the consort of that beautiful and powerful bird; and I have no doubt their young ones are not far off. *Poiet.*—Look at the bird! She dashes into the water, falling like a rock, and raising a column of spray; she has fallen from a great height. And now she rises again into the air; what an extraordinary sight! *Hal.*—She is pursuing her prey, and is one of our fraternity,—a catcher of fish. She has missed her quarry this time, and has moved further down towards the river, and falls again from a great height. There! You see her rise with a fish in her talons. *Poiet.*—She gives an interest which I hardly expected to have found to this scene. Pray are there many of these animals in this country? *Hal.*—Of this species I have seen but these two, and I believe the young ones migrate as soon as they can provide for themselves; for this solitary bird requires a large space to move and feed in, and does not allow its off-spring to partake its reign, or to live near it. Of other species of the eagle, there are some in different parts of the mountains, particularly of the Osprey; and of the great fishing or brown eagle; and I once saw a very fine and interesting sight in one of the Crags of Ben Weevis, near Strathgarve, as I was going, on the 20th of August, in pursuit of black game. Two parent eagles were teaching their offspring—two young birds, the manoeuvres of flight. They began by rising from the top of a mountain in the eye of the sun, (it was about mid-day, and bright for this climate.) They at first made small circles, and the young birds imitated them; they paused on their wings, waiting till they had made their first flight, and then took a second and larger gyration,—always rising towards the sun, and enlarging their circle of flight so as to make a gradually extending spiral. The young ones still slowly followed, apparently flying better as they mounted; and they continued this sublime kind of exercise, always rising till they became mere points in the air, and the young ones were lost, and afterwards their parents, to our aching sight. But we have touched the shore, and the lake has terminated: you are now on the river Ewe.—p. 84—86.

In like manner our ancient Piscator's habits make us acquainted with the snug honest English ale-house, where they find a cleanly room, sweet-briars and honeysuckles peeping into the windows, and Chevy Chase, the Children in the Wood, the Spanish Lady's Love, and twenty ballads more, stuck about the walls; where the landlady is tidy, and handsome, and civil; where they dress a chub so admirably as to equal a trout, and wash him down with a modest cup of the best home-brewed; where they tell tales, sing songs, or join in a catch, or find some other harmless sport to content them

them without offence to God or man, until it is time to occupy a bed where the linen looks white, and smells of lavender. Halieus and his company repose themselves, on the contrary, in the elegant villas of Denham or Downton, or the lordly castles of Inverara or Dunrobin, partake of *chère exquisite*, and give philosophic rules for the practice of Apicius. Or else the sportsmen are the romantic inhabitants of some Irish cabin or Scotch *bathy*, where they dress their own salmon with sauce à la Tartare, and dilute it with *mountain dew* and claret cooled in the next spring.

And here, lest we be accused of passing over the most interesting and edifying passage of the volume, we will communicate to the curious gastronome, a circumstance of which, if his travels have been as limited as those of Isaak Walton, we suspect he is not aware. The salmon exposed to sale in London, in however excellent condition, very, very rarely is, or can be had in what those who inhabit the banks of a salmon-stream account the first perfection. Halieus gives us the following tempting account of the proper preparation of the fish, where extraordinary attention is employed. It succeeds an account of hooking and playing a salmon in Loch Maree.

‘*Hul.*—He seems fairly tired: I shall bring him in to shore. Now gaff him; strike as near the tail as you can. He is safe; we must prepare him for the pot. Give him a stunning blow on the head to deprive him of sensation, and then give him a transverse cut just below the gills, and crimp him by cutting to the bone on each side, so as almost to divide him into slices; and now hold him by the tail that he may bleed. There is a small spring, I see, close under that bank, which I dare say has the mean temperature of the atmosphere in this climate, and is much under 50°—place him there, and let him remain for ten minutes, and then carry him to the pot, and let the water and salt boil furiously before you put in a slice, and give time to the water to recover its heat before you throw in another, and so with the whole fish, and leave the head out and throw in the thickest pieces first.’—pp. 94, 95.

This receipt reminds us of the various *kettles of fish*, technically so termed, and dressed after the recipe of Halieus, which we have partaken of, *fronde super viridi*, near the ruins of Tillmouth Chapel, finding, when we had fair companions, some subject for wit from the Wishing Well where Saint Cuthbert is supposed to indulge with a grant of their desires the votaries who drink of his spring with due devotion to his sanctity. There we enjoyed ourselves

Where none was unwilling, and few were unable

To sing a wild song, or to tell a wild tale.

But as our patriarch Walton says, ‘these companions are gone, and with them many of our pleasant hours,’ even as a shadow that passes

passes away and returns not.”’ The rationale of this mode of cookery is thus explained by Halieus.

Poiet.—‘ I am endeavouring to find a reason for the effect of crimping and cold in preserving the curd of fish. Have you ever thought on this subject ?

Hal.—Yes : I conclude that the fat of salmon between the flakes, is mixed with much albumen and gelatine, and is extremely liable to decompose, and by keeping it cool the decomposition is retarded, and by the boiling salt and water, which is of a higher temperature than that of common boiling water, the albumen is coagulated, and the curdiness preserved. The crimping, by preventing the irritability of the fibre from being gradually exhausted, seems to preserve it so hard and crisp, that it breaks under the teeth ; and a fresh fish not crimped is generally tough.’—pp. 97, 98.

Before quitting a subject which many may think one of the most interesting in our article, there may be some comfort for those who cannot put on the pot so soon as the fish is hooked, in reflecting, that the taste for crimped fish, dressed as above, is not universal. We have known strangers who had not been accustomed to eat salmon thus prepared, object to the curdy fish as poor and hard, and greatly approve of the same salmon when he had been kept for a day or two, until the curd dissolved into oil, and gave a richer taste to the flakes betwixt which it lay. The same mess will not please every palate. But the crimped fresh salmon is the natural taste, nor should it be eaten with any other sauce than a spoonful of the salt and water, or brine in which it has been boiled, with the addition of a little lemon-juice (or, if that cannot be had, vinegar) and pepper.

Of the risks and dangers which attend angling (to continue the contrast between the two works) Walton, too peaceful and grave a person to seek quarrels, and whose travels led him to no haunts where they were to be found without seeking, has but little to show. Some distant hint is thrown out, we believe, on the risk of encountering that Giant Despair of a sportsman’s pilgrimage, an ungracious and untractable gamekeeper, and Father Izaak talks rather feelingly, though we trust not from personal experience, of the harmless angler having his shoulders basted, his fish seized, and his rod broken by some such merciless faitour. Halieus and his brethren were protected from every risk of that kind. The name of their leader must have been an *open sesame* to the most jealous preserves, and a quietus to the Cerberus who guarded them. Yet that the sport of his characters might not altogether want the dignity of danger, we are treated with an encounter between a Highland dunnie-wassail and the fishing-party, which the civility of the *Southrons* brings to a happy termination.

The

The anecdote is well told, and we have little doubt, from the truth of the keeping, that the scene has been sketched from life.

Hal.—Now I will wager ten to one that this pool has been fished before to-day.

Orn.—By whom?

Hal.—I know not; but take my wager and we will ascertain.

Orn.—I shall ascertain without the wager if possible. See, a man connected with the fishing advances, let us ask him. There you see; it has been fished once or twice by one, who claims without charter the right of angling.

Their rival soon after appears:—

Hal.—But our intrusive brother angler (as I must call him) is coming down the river to take his evening cast. A stout Highlander, with a powerful tail, or, as we should call it in England, *suile*. He is resolved not to be driven off, and I am not sure that the Laird himself could divert him from his purpose, except by a stronger tail and force of arms; but I will try my eloquence upon him. “Sir, we hope you will excuse us for fishing in this pool, where it seems you were going to take your cast; but the Laird has desired us to stand in his shoes for a few days, and has given up angling while we are here; and as we come nearly a thousand miles for this amusement, we are sure you are too much of a gentleman to spoil our sport; and we will take care to supply your fish kettle while we are here morning and evening, and we shall send you, as we hope, a salmon before night.”

Poict.—He grumbles good sport to us, and is off with his tail: you have hit him in the right place. He is I am sure a pot fisher, and somewhat hungry, and provided he gets the salmon does not care who catches him!

Hal.—You are severe on the Highland gentleman, and I think extremely unjust. Nothing could be more ready than his assent, and a keen fisherman must not be expected to be in the best possible humour when he finds sport which he believes he has a right to, and which perhaps he generally enjoys without interruption, taken away from him by entire strangers.—p. 90—93.

Our readers will by this time probably be of opinion that, upon the general comparison of the works, the elder worthy author has not greatly anticipated or forestalled the work of our contemporary. Far less will this appear to be the case, when we consider the two manuals, whether with reference to the practical art of which they treat, or the philosophical, scientific, and general observations which accompany both. On the first of these we have already given an opinion. It is probable that honest Izaak knew nothing even of fly-fishing of any kind save what he learned, by report, from Cotton or others; and as for salmon, we question if he ever saw one entire, unless it were upon a fishmonger's stall. Now, salmon-fishing is to all other kinds of angling as buck-shooting

shooting to shooting of any meaner description. The salmon is, in this particular, the king of fish. It requires a dexterous hand and an acute eye to raise and strike him, and when this is achieved the sport is only begun, at the point where, even in trout angling, unless in case of an unusually lively and strong fish, it is at once commenced and ended. Indeed the most spritely trout that ever was hooked shows mere child's play in comparison to a fresh-run salmon. There is all the difference which exists between coursing the hare and hunting the fox. The pleasure and the suspense are of twenty times the duration—the address and strength required infinitely greater—the prize, when attained, not only more honourable, but more valuable. The hazards of failure are also an hundred-fold multiplied: the instinct of the salmon leads to the most singular efforts to escape, which must be met and foiled by equal promptitude on the part of the angler. However that faculty is acquired, the salmon seems, when hooked, at once to conceive the nature of its misfortune, and to follow the mode of disentangling itself most like to be successful. For this it makes the most extraordinary efforts, sometimes shooting off with fury that is apparently irresistible among such boiling currents and sharp rocks as seem most like to cut the line—sometimes lying at the bottom of the pool with the appearance of sullen indifference, as if nothing could rouse him. In the first case, it is the business of the angler to hold the fish in play, amid his wildest frolics using him as a prudent father does an extravagant son, neither allowing him so much line as may enable the youth to shake himself clear of the paternal restraint which hangs so loose on him, or curbing so tight as to induce him to break through it by a sudden effort of sturdy opposition. In the salmon's wildest vagaries he must be made to feel that there is a secret restraint on his motions, which yet must never amount to such a dead pull upon him as may be encountered and overcome by an attempt to break the line by main force. His sullen fits are no less to be dreaded. When the fish lies at the bottom of a pool, motionless and sulky as if he were a stone, the angler must summon together his utmost vigilance, for he is certainly collecting his strength for some decisive exertion. If the sportsman, growing impatient, tightens the line upon the fish while he is in this condition, his victim will probably spring into the air with his whole force, with the obvious purpose of throwing his body on the line in his descent, and so either breaking it or dislodging the hook. Should he succeed in falling with his whole weight on a tightened line, all is over; the best of hooks and most trusty gut must, one or other, or both, give way. But if the angler be sufficiently on his guard, he will throw downward the point of his rod with the quickness of thought, and

and drop his line on the water, the instant the fish makes his surmerset, so that his weight may descend on the water and on a slackened line, which the promptitude of the angler must instantly, by raising his rod and using his reel, again contract to the necessary tightness, leaving the fish not an instant to profit by the momentary relaxation. This manœuvre we have seen the same fish renew three times running, foiled in every attempt by the acuteness of an excellent fisherman, who gave way to his fury, and instantly recovered the command of his motions when he had eluded the emphasis of his flurry.

But we should overpower the patience of all, save brethren of the angle, were we to prosecute our description of this noble sport. We cannot help adding that although, as ordinarily practised, it is the exercise of a strong and robust man, yet, by help of a boat, it may in many situations be followed even by the aged and infirm, if possessed of the requisite skill; and so much does dexterity supply the want of bodily strength, that we have known a gentleman, in a very weak state of health at the time, kill a fish of twenty pounds' weight after playing him for an hour.

The delight afforded by success in this animating sport is of most engrossing character, and has had many illustrious devotees. It was Trajan's favourite pastime—it was, in our own time, Paley's and Nelson's;* and we have ourselves seen the first sculptor in Europe when he had taken two salmon on the same morning, and can well believe that his sense of self-importance exceeded twentyfold that which he felt on the production of any of the masterpieces which have immortalized him. But, perhaps, no one has followed this fascinating amusement so far and

* The author of *Salmonia* mentions Nelson's fondness for fly-fishing, and expresses a wish to see it noticed in the next edition of 'that most exquisite and jouching life of our Hero by the Laureate, an immortal monument raised by genius to valour.' We believe neither Halieus nor the Laureate will be displeased with the following little anecdote, from a letter of a gentleman now at the head of the medical profession, with which he favoured us shortly after perusing *Salmonia*. 'I was (says our friend) at the Naval Hospital at Yarmouth, on the morning when Nelson, after the battle of Copenhagen (having sent the wounded before him), arrived at the Roads and landed on the jetty. The populace soon surrounded him, and the military were drawn up in the market-place ready to receive him; but, making his way through the crowd, and the dust, and the clamour, he went straight to the hospital. I went round the wards with him, and was much interested in observing his demeanour to the sailors: he stopped at every bed, and to every man he had something kind and cheering to say. At length, he stopped opposite a bed on which a sailor was lying, who had lost his right arm close to the shoulder-joint, and the following short dialogue passed between them:—*Nelson*. "Well, Jack, what's the matter with you?" *Sailor*. "Lost my right arm, your honour." *Nelson* paused, looked down at his own empty sleeve, then at the sailor, and said playfully, "Well, Jack, then you and I are spoiled for fishermen—cheer up, my brave fellow." And he passed briskly on to the next bed; but these few words had a magical effect upon the poor fellow, for I saw his eyes sparkle with delight as Nelson turned away and pursued his course through the wards. As this was the only occasion on which I saw Nelson, I may, possibly, overrate the value of the incident.'

in so many climates and countries as the distinguished author of *Salmonia* himself. Without saying a word more on the subject of Walton—even Richard Franck falls far behind our modern worthy, although an angler and author who excelled old Izaak in experience and the advantage of distant travel, as far as he fell short of him in all the accomplishments of sense and style. This Franck, the self-entitled philanthropist, who, to use his own phrase, ‘stepped into Scotland to rummage and rifle her rivers and rivulets—her northern torrents, which shone so splendidly in every fir wood—her diminutive hills, that overtopped the submissive dales, and overlooked rapid torrents and pretty purling, gliding brooks, where they polished rocks and embellished fortifications’—did not at least venture out of Britain; whereas Halieus is not only familiar with the most remote streams and lakes of North Britain, but with those of Ireland, where the salmon fisheries flourish to a great extent,—nay, has followed his sport through most countries in Europe, and killed fish, the description of which makes an Englishman’s mouth water, in rivers, the names of which set his teeth on edge.

The instructions and information imparted to anglers are, as we may believe, equally clear, authentic, and entertaining. The account of the fabrication of fish-hooks is highly interesting: the best, our author says, are made by O’Shaughnessy of Limerick. He mentions, also, those made at Keswick—to which, if they have not lost credit, we would add the hooks of the Llandales of Carlisle, who in our younger days had good reputation. We do not intend to enter more particularly into these technicalities; for, as one of Franck’s eulogists says,—

‘We are no fishers,
Only wellwishers
Unto the game.’

The general tone of a moral teacher is so happily assumed by Walton that it appears a part of his nature. Halieus introduces such ethic lessons more sparingly, feeling, as we have before hinted, that that which is simplicity in an original author, becomes affectation in one who follows his footsteps. But though Walton had already said all that could be naturally and gracefully said on the subjects of temperance, humility, and unambitious peace of conscience, which are themes too monotonous to be repeated without satiety, as the sweetest melodies weary the ear upon frequent reiteration; yet Halieus and his companions do not shun such themes when they fall in their way. A debate takes place in their party, whether or not they should continue to pursue their amusement upon Sunday. The proposal is relinquished, on the anglers being assured that the people (the scene being in Scotland)

would

would highly resent their doing so. But the dispute continues on the difference, in this particular, betwixt the Church of Scotland and that of Geneva, and other Protestant churches abroad, where the forenoon having been occupied in divine service, the evening is spent in dancing, singing, games, and sports of every description. The contest not being decided, leaves us room to express our own opinion on the subject, which we will do in as few words as possible.

If we believe in the divine origin of the commandment, the Sabbath is instituted for the express purposes of religion. The time set apart is the 'Sabbath of the Lord;' a day on which we are not to work our own works, or think our own thoughts. The precept is positive, and the purpose clear. For our eternal benefit, a certain space of every week is appointed, which, sacred from all other avocations, save those imposed by necessity and mercy, is to be employed in religious duties. The Roman Catholic church, which lays so much force on observances merely ritual, may consistently suppose that the time claimed is more than sufficient for the occasion, and dismiss the peasants, when mass is over, to any game or gambol, which fancy may dictate, leaving it with the priests to do, on behalf of the congregation, what further is necessary for the working out of their salvation. But this is not Protestant doctrine, though it may be imitated by Protestant churches. He who has to accomplish his own salvation, must not carry to tennis courts and skittle grounds the train of reflections which ought necessarily to be excited by a serious discourse of religion. The religious part of the Sunday's exercise is not to be considered as a bitter medicine, the taste of which is as soon as possible to be removed by a bit of sugar. On the contrary, our demeanour through the rest of the day ought to be, not sullen certainly, or morose, but serious, and tending to instruction. Give to the world one half of the Sunday, and you will find that religion has no strong hold of the other. Pass the morning at church, and the evening, according to your taste or rank, in the cricket-field, or at the Opera, and you will soon find thoughts of the evening hazards and bets intrude themselves on the sermon, and that recollections of the popular melodies interfere with the psalms. Religion is thus treated like Lear, to whom his ungrateful daughters first denied one half of his stipulated attendance, and then made it a question whether they should grant him any share of what remained. We should do our readers and author the greatest injustice in concluding our reflections on this passage in any other than the words of the publication itself.

Phys.—I envy no quality of the mind or intellect in others; not genius, power, wit, or fancy: but, if I could choose what would be most delightful, and, I believe, most useful to me, I should prefer a
firm

firm religious belief to every other blessing; for it makes life a discipline of goodness—creates new hopes, when all earthly hopes vanish; and throws over the decay, the destruction of existence, the most gorgeous of all lights; awakens life even in death, and from corruption and decay calls up beauty and divinity: makes an instrument of torture and of shame the ladder of ascent to paradise; and, far above all combinations of earthly hopes, calls up the most delightful visions of palms and amaranths, the gardens of the blest, the security of everlasting joys, where the sensualist and the sceptic view only gloom, decay, annihilation, and despair!’—p. 136.

We might quote other passages, not unworthy of this strain. The work, as we had occasion to observe already, was written during a slow recovery from a severe illness; and the tone of the dialogue reflects throughout what a good and great man’s mind might be expected to exhibit under such circumstances. Serious thoughts may be expressed otherwise than in maxims. But we pass from this. If the modern author does not so frequently as Walton assume professedly the character of the moralist, it would, on the other hand, be absurd to compare poor Izaak with such assistants as Dubravius, Aldravandus, Gesner, and other naturalists of the seventeenth century, with the remarks of a distinguished philosopher, who has, by his own efforts, so widely enlarged the horizon of science, during the nineteenth century. A very great number of curious facts, concerning the natural history of fishes, are here recorded, and the high scientific character of the author of *Salmonia* is an ample pledge for their accuracy. Yet it is not to be expected that even this accomplished observer of nature should be able to clear up, in so brief a publication, the dark doubts which hang over many parts of the history of the salmo genus, through its various species. We observe that he displays the true spirit of philosophy in two most important particulars. He is never hasty in drawing general conclusions from individual facts, showing, by his modesty, that his object is the attainment of truth, not the desire to augment his own reputation by the display of ingenious theories. Indeed, standing so high in public estimation, as he deservedly does, no man can more easily afford to despise every species of favour which does not rest upon a genuine basis.

In like manner, we may observe that it is not sufficient to induce this acute investigator of science to discredit the report of a fact, that it has been rested by vulgar credulity upon erroneous grounds, since what is in itself true is often ascribed to false or absurd causes. The following passage, which concludes a train of remarks upon the superstitious belief in omens, coming, as it does, from the author of *Salmonia*, ought to impose a check on that vulgar incredulity

incredulity which is disposed to disbelieve all which it cannot understand. The passage is highly philosophical.

‘*Phys.*—In my opinion, profound minds are the most likely to think lightly of the resources of human reason; and it is the pert, superficial thinker who is generally strongest in every kind of unbelief. The deep philosopher sees chains of causes and effects so wonderfully and strangely linked together, that he is usually the last person to decide upon the impossibility of any two series of events being independent of each other; and, in science, so many natural miracles, as it were, have been brought to light,—such as the fall of stones from meteors in the atmosphere, the disarming a thunder cloud by a metallic point, the production of fire from ice by a metal white as silver, and referring certain laws of motion of the sea to the moon,—that the physical inquirer is seldom disposed to assert, confidently, on any abstruse subjects belonging to the order of natural things, and still less so on those relating to the more mysterious relations of moral events and intellectual natures.’—pp. 159, 160.

Among other curious phenomena, our author touches upon the strongly disputed character of the par, a small fish, whose appearance is as well known as his parentage and ultimate fate. From the boldness with which these Lilliputian fish rise to a large salmon-fly, many have been disposed to see in the par the young salmon, when they have just quitted the form of spawn. One of the most experienced and scientific anglers of our acquaintance entertains this opinion of the identity between the par and the smolt of the salmon, from having observed that when the silvery scales are rubbed off the sides of the smolt they exhibit the blue, or olive-bluish marks (see *Salmonia*, page 68), which are considered as distinguishing the par. The same curious observer of Nature has also remarked that the *lens* of the par’s eye is arranged in the same manner with that of the salmon, and totally different from the lens of the Lochleven trout, herring, sperling, and so forth. Others are disposed to think the par a distinct species of trout; and the author of *Salmonia*, again, is inclined to agree with a third set of naturalists, who consider this little fish as a mule, the offspring of a trout and a salmon according to some, or rather of the sea trout and common trout. It is difficult for us to reconcile the fact of their being found in such great numbers with the theory of their being of a neutral race.

There are other curious points of investigation. Experiments on the trouts of every species, show, as the author observes (in p. 69), that they change their character with their place of residence. We had ourselves occasion to put a number of small trout, of a very inferior description, into a pool which had once been a *marie-bog*, but was flooded for the purpose of forming a piece of artificial

artificial water. They are now of large size, as red as those caught in Loch Leven, and of a rich taste, as we would be happy to show, from experiment, to Halieus, or any of his party, providing they will take the trouble to catch the fish, which, from being well fed we suppose, defy all common skill.

The remarks on the various kinds of flies (p. 203), on the migration of eels (p. 191), on the grayling (p. 165), are all curious subjects, which must not, however, delay us.

We looked with some anxiety for a solution of the great doubt, what is the proper food of the salmon itself. No fisherman or cook that ever we saw or heard of, pretends to have found any thing in their stomach excepting a yellowish liquid. Yet they rise to artificial flies, and are also caught with bait. Our author conjectures that this phenomenon occurs because salmon are usually caught travelling up the rivers from the sea, in which progress they do not load themselves with food. Their digestion, he observes, is very quick, and they seldom seek more food until what they have previously taken is decomposed. Salmon, when taken *in* the salt water, *have* been found, says Halieus, with undigested food in their stomachs. This does not quite satisfy us. By far the greater part of salmon are taken by the net, which must, one would think, occasionally sweep out fish having their stomachs full, since their being taken in that manner has no reference to the state of their appetite. One would think, therefore, that let them be as abstemious as anchorites, they must eat sometimes, and be taken with food in their stomach; yet, we are assured, it never happens. It has also been remarked that the large gaudy fly, to which the salmon usually rises, has no resemblance to any known insect in earth, air, or water, (unless a wasp, perhaps,) and it has been suggested that the fish seems to take it rather from sport than from appetite; and, in that case, the very curious problem concerning the actual nature of their food, is not yet decidedly cleared up. At least, there is something very interesting and curious concerning the mode of their feeding, which seems so sparing, even when they are in the highest condition, and their process of digestion, which appears so unusually rapid.

Walton, as might be expected, is full of childish and absurd fables concerning those prodigies and miracles, in which superstitious eld was wont to believe. Our modern author places a microscope before us, instead of a magic lanthorn, and teaches us to look upon truth instead of amusing us with fiction. He has reviewed and disbanded the whole regiment of monsters which guarded the pages of Pontopiddan. Touched as with the spear of Ithuriel, the remains of a sea-snake appear those of a *squalus maximus*; the kraken, or island fish, is reduced into a compost of

of *urticæ marina*, or sea-blubbers; and, what we should least of all have suspected, the celebrated Caithness mermaid arises before us in the form of a stout young traveller, who has proved himself, by his journal, to have been bathing at the spot and time when the sea nymph was seen, and who, while confessing some of the characters ascribed to the figure, denied the green hair and fishy tail as obstinately as Lady Teazle does the butler and the coach-horse.—pp. 243—245.

But we are called from this, and other curious subjects of enquiry suggested in *Salmonia*, to consider a point of much more interest—the question now being not what the salmon puts into its stomach, but whether we are likely, at no distant period, to have salmon for the benefit of ours. The very giants in Guildhall are moved at the surmise; Gog boweth down, Magog stoopeth, and the spirits of the fathers of the city wax faint at the suggestion. Yet the evil is not the less certain; and its approach is distinctly announced by Halieus, who, after recording former feats on the Tweed, Tyne, and other Scottish rivers, pronounces on each of them the melancholy conclusion *fuit*, and with good reason, as the reader will presently learn, declares they now afford much less sport to the angler, and even what remains is daily decreasing; so that there is very serious ground to fear that the salmon will ere long altogether desert the more southern, at least, of the Scottish rivers.

We need not tell our readers that the possession of immense quantities of this rich and valuable fish in her firths and estuaries was an advantage which nature allotted to Scotland, as some compensation seemingly for the great inferiority in soil and climate to the sister kingdom, since where the earth is most sterile the sea is often remarked to be most fruitful. Our northern neighbours seem to have been early aware of this national gain, and soon began to legislate for the preservation of the breed of this noble fish, as well as for the best mode of disposing of them for the general advantage of the country. Some of these statutes are so curious, that they are worthy of notice. The legislators of Scotland had observed the tendency of the fish, in the spawning season, to run up to the tops of the smallest brooks, and there deposit the spawn destined for the continuation of the race upon shallow beds of gravel. To assure them, of a free passage and protection, the salmon species were declared into *regalia* or *royal fish*, nor did possession of either or both banks of the stream confer the right of taking them, even though the term *fishings* stood in the charter, unless the word *salmon-fishings* was expressly employed.

In

In order to obtain free passage for the fish at the spawning season, all dikes, dams, and weirs drawn across the river, were directed to be constructed, with a breach in the centre for the run of the salmon, which breach was to be so large that a year-old hog might be turned round in it without touching the weir or dam-head either with nose or tail. The whimsical nature of the measure adopted ascertains the antiquity of the regulation.

Another statute adopted in Scotland contains the very essence of that system of political economy by which an anxious care for the prosperity of trade assumes into the hands of the legislators the power of directing commerce, and encumbers her with aid, where, left to her own exertions, she would make much more progress. In the year 1531, the Scottish legislature seemed to have become apprehensive that the persons who dealt in these exquisite fish might export them to their neighbours at too cheap a price; and they announce that in all time coming it shall be unlawful to export salmon, unless by such shippers as shall find security to bring home one-half of the value in coined money, the other moiety in Bordeaux wine, or *other good penny-worth*. This last clause seems to relax greatly the dictatorial character of the statute, which, so mitigated, only imports that the Scottish trader should get for his cargo of salmon as good an equivalent as the foreign market would afford.

Notwithstanding the apprehension of the ruling powers, on the subject of the imprudent exportations of this staple commodity of poor Caledonia, the salmon continued to frequent their rivers, and though much was sent abroad to supply Catholic countries during the period of Lent, plenty still remained at home, for the use of the inhabitants. Franck, the travelled angler already mentioned, tells us, that in his time a large well-fed salmon (suppose about twelve pounds) cost only sixpence; and he mentions what is still remembered by tradition, a rule that domestics were not to be fed on salmon more than three times a week. It was, indeed, scarcely possible to procure so much excellent food at so cheap a rate; and we may easily understand the error of the Highland gentleman who, visiting London for the first time, indulged himself in the luxury of a beef-steak, but ordered Donald a cut of fresh salmon. The account of the reckoning must have afforded the honest dunnie-wassail no pleasing surprise.

But a capital like London is a Maelström—an immense whirlpool—whose gyrations sweep in whatever is peculiarly desirable from the most distant regions of the empire—so active becomes the love of gain when set in motion by the love of luxury. We recollect once being on shipboard to the north of Duncan's Bay
Head,

Head, and out of sight of land, the nearest being the Feroe Islands:—we were walking the deck, watching a whale which was gambolling at some distance, throwing up his huge side to the sun, and sending ever and anon a sheet of water and foam from his nostrils. Our thoughts were on Hecla and on the icebergs of the Pole, on the Scalds of Iceland and the sea-kings of Norway, when a sail hove in sight: we asked what craft it was—and were answered, ‘a Gravesend brig dredging for lobsters.’ Never was enchantment so effectually broken—never stage-trick in pantomime more successfully played off. Scene changes from Feroe and Iceland to the Albion in Aldersgate Street—Exeunt Scald, champion, and whale—Enter common councilman, turbot, and lobster-sauce.

Thanks to that same omnipotent power of attraction possessed by wealth and luxury, the art of packing salmon in ice, for the London market, was perfected, thirty or forty years ago; since which time, as was to be expected, the fisheries have risen incalculably in value, the fish have become dear in proportion, and the natives of the countries through which salmon-rivers flow, become accustomed to see them taken and cased up for the great city, by scores and hundreds, without having it in their power to purchase a pound for their table. It followed as an unavoidable consequence, that more industry was exerted in the fishery, which now afforded so much more profit, and newer and more effective modes of entrapping the salmon were from day to day employed. The law, indeed, placed a certain check upon those proceedings, without which restraint the fish would scarcely ever be suffered to enter a tide river. The veneration due to the Sabbath, and the interest of the inhabitants on the higher part of the river, alike recommend that, from twelve o’clock at night on Saturday to the same hour on Sunday, the water should be free for the run of fish,—not only from the actual drawing of nets or other fishing operations, but from all bar-nets or similar obstacles thrown across the stream. Six-sevenths of the fish are therefore delivered up at the very outset to the proprietors of fisheries at the mouth of the river, whose nets are planted and managed with such dexterity, that they can, if they please, catch every single salmon that attempts to enter. While the fish are thus sought for, and destroyed at the mouths of the rivers, with ever-increasing avidity, inspired by decrease of the commodity, and increase of the demand, other causes are at work in the upper parts of the rivers where the salmon breed, which diminish the production of the fish, in a degree more than corresponding with the destruction of the full-grown fish beneath. Two of these causes are in full and active operation, threatening, in process of no distant

time, the total destruction of the fish in all the southern salmon-rivers of Scotland.

One of these causes of destruction is the general system of drainage practised upon all the high pasture lands of the mountain farms, in a degree unheard of in any former period, and which has produced, and is daily producing, the most complete change on the brooks and rivers which, twenty years since, were fed from morasses that are now dry pasture. Halieus alludes to this, in accounting for the diminution of the number of insects on which grayling, trouts, and other fish of estimation are subsisted. We quote the passage at length :—

‘ I attribute the change of the quantity of flies in the rivers to the cultivation of the country. Most of the bogs or marshes which fed many considerable streams are drained; and the consequence is that they are more likely to be affected by severe droughts and great floods—the first killing, and the second washing away the larvæ and aurelias. May-flies thirty years ago were abundant in the upper part of the Teme river in Herefordshire, where it receives the Clun: they are now seldom or rarely seen. And most of the rivers of that part of England, as well as of the west, with the exception of those that rise in the still uncultivated parts of Dartmoor and Exmoor, are after rain rapid and unfordable torrents, and in dry summers little more than scanty rills. And Exmoor and Dartmoor, almost the only great remains of those moist, spongy, or peaty soils which once covered the greatest part of the high lands of England, are becoming cultivated, and their sources will gradually gain the same character as those of our midland and highly improved counties. I cannot give you an idea of the effects of peat mosses and grassy marshes on the water thrown down from the atmosphere, better, than by comparing their effects to those of roofs of houses of thatched straw, as contrasted with roofs of slate, on a shower of rain. The slate begins to drop immediately, and sends down what it receives in a rapid torrent, and is dry soon after the shower is over. The roof of thatch, on the contrary, sponge like, is long before the water drops from it; but it continues dropping and wet for hours after the shower is over, and the slate is dry.’—p. 63.

The author speaks of England, but we are equally sure of his testimony when we add, that in the more southern parts of Scotland the same causes and effects take place on a scale much more extensive, and affect the salmon more than the inferior kinds of fish. Small drains, formed with a peculiar spade, at a rate as low as a penny a rood, have seamed, as it were, with numerous veins, the sides of the hundred hills, amongst which the Clyde, Tweed, Annan, and Nith have their sources. The morasses by which these hills were formerly covered, used to receive and retain, like sponges, the quantities of rain which fall in that region of mists, and soaking from thence, by slow degrees, into rivulets

rivulets and streamlets, they transmitted the moisture gradually to the main body of the river. The consequence was, that the rivers, slower in rising to flood, and slower in subsiding from that state, maintained, in general, a full and equable stream, permitting the salmon, at almost all times, to pursue their instinctive progress towards the upland sources. Haleius, so well acquainted with these localities, must remember well the manner in which fish used to come up to the upper streams in a course of showery, or, as it is there termed, soft weather, which, without producing an overwhelming torrent, rendered the river full enough to carry the salmon through every impediment. In these degenerate times, such showers are not felt on the river; but when it is at all swollen, the water rushes down in an immense inundation, which forces the fish into pools and dams. The flood subsides as suddenly as it arose, and deserts the fish, who would otherwise have made a long and rapid journey, and supplied, in their passage, the upper fisheries; whereas, at present, they remain in the places where they have been arrested by the flood, and never mount higher, being there killed with spears.

This cause of the destruction of the upper fisheries may, perhaps, find a remedy from some check being put to the system of indiscriminate drainage, which, in some respects eminently useful and even necessary, has been carried to an excess hurtful to the pasturage, to benefit which was the object of the practice. The original purpose of draining was most just and proper. The farmers of olden times were in use to lay numerous flocks upon their farms, trusting that the sheep (an animal of extraordinary endurance) would shift through the winter months, in an ordinary season, partly by scraping up the snow, and obtaining such coarse food as lies beneath,—partly by enduring want of food, with the patient and hardy habits which the animal is endowed with. But the consequence was, that spring found the flock in a weak and emaciated condition, and disposed to throw themselves eagerly upon the fresh and lushy grass, which first appears on the spring-heads and marshes which surround them. This rich and tender food, eaten in quantity by an animal in a state of exhaustion, was naturally calculated to produce a disease that swept off whole flocks, which, having survived the winter's famine, were unfitted to gorge themselves, at once, on the spring-grass. Draining was in such circumstances highly advantageous. It prevents the existence of the grass which the flock could not feed upon with safety.

But in the present improved system of store-farming there is much more economy of animal life. Most tenants lay on the farm a less numerous stock, attend to giving them food

during the severe storms of snow, and expect to bring them through winter in a healthy and hardy condition. To such the entire loss of the early spring-grass, afforded by the undrained bogs, is a heavy sacrifice. The species of grass which grows upon the drained lands, and especially near the drains themselves, is peculiarly destitute of sustenance, tough and unfit to be eaten by the sheep; and thus hundreds, nay thousands, of acres have been rendered sterile whose former fertility only caused disease, because sheep were admitted to them when in a weak and unhealthy state. We have some reason to believe that this truth begins to be felt, and that judicious farmers (always maintaining the system of draining to a certain extent) may be now disposed to qualify its excess, and restore a part of their spring-heads to their natural character, observing, of course, a careful system of herding, which shall exclude from the dangerous food the weaker and more exhausted part of their stock. This would of course be attended with benefit to the fisheries by restoring a more equable state of the river.

The other main cause of the scarcity of salmon, and which threatens the total annihilation of the fisheries, rests on moral circumstances, for which it is far more difficult to find a remedy; for while erroneous practices may be corrected when the cure is to be applied to passive nature, it is almost impossible to remedy those evils which spring from the clashing interests, passions, and prejudices of mankind.

We have stated that the activity and success of the means adopted in the lower fisheries, and particularly at their outlets to the sea, by help of modern invention and industry, exerting itself to meet the increasing demand, have had a great effect in altogether intercepting the passage of salmon, during the lawful fishing season, to the upper parts of the river. Taking the Tweed for an example, there are now no fisheries above Kelso which afford any considerable rent to the proprietors. Those of Makerston, Mertoun, &c., are let for inconsiderable sums. The streams about and above Melrose, in which *Haleus* was so successful under the guidance of the late amiable and lamented Lord Somerville, are now of no value; and those at Yair Bridge, where within the memory of man ninety-nine salmon (we mark the exact number) were taken in one day, are now totally unproductive.

Were it not for the peculiar habits of the salmon, it might be justly argued, that the upper proprietors must submit to this loss as one incidental to their local situation, which gives them only a reversionary right in such fish as escape the nets of those placed lower down the river,—which are now so very few, that scarce one occurs without bearing the mark of having encountered a mesh in his passage. But then it is to be considered that the upper streams
are

are those in which the fish deposit their spawn, and that during the whole close-time or breeding season, when the salmon, by law, ought to be undisturbed, their safety, and that of the shoals which are to supply the demand of the next season, must rely upon the protection afforded them at that period. Accordingly, all nets and other obstructions are removed from the river, and the fish ought to be permitted to ascend to the very heads of the streams uninjured, for the purpose of depositing the spawn. The plain handwriting of Nature, as well as the regulation of municipal law, seems to prohibit the killing of the fish at this season, when they are said to be *foul*, are most uncomely to look upon, and even when smoked (the only mode of using them) are accounted a very unhealthy and deleterious food. The penalties are also very high, sufficiently so to prove totally ruinous to the class of persons by whom the laws of close-time are infringed. Yet neither the fears of punishment nor of poison have any effect in preserving the spawning fish, which are destroyed in the upper parts of the river, and the brooks and streams by which these are fed, with a degree of eagerness which resembles a desire to retaliate upon those who engrossed all the fish during the open season by destroying all such as the close-time throws within the mercy of the high country. The proprietors and better class of farmers do not indeed partake in these devastations, but they witness them with perfect indifference, perhaps not without a sense of gratified revenge. As they neither have the amusement of angling, nor the convenience of a fish for their tables, when the salmon are in season, it is not of the least personal consequence to them whether the breed is preserved or destroyed, and they are as indifferent to it as a man who has no game of his own, is to the extent of poaching on a sporting squire's manor.

The proprietors of the lower fisheries, the only persons whose purses are interested, may, indeed, prosecute offenders in the proper courts; but the country in which the spear and torch are so actively employed during the *black-fishing*, as this species of poaching is called, is wild, mountainous, and thinly inhabited, so that it is difficult to obtain such proof of delinquency as is requisite for conviction. If water-bailiffs are sent from a lower part of the river, they must encounter, as strangers employed in an obnoxious office, much difficulty and even danger. If they desire to engage officers within the district for this species of preventive service, the office will not be accepted by any with the purpose of discharging its duties with the necessary activity, in a case where the whole peasants of the country make common cause, and where the gentry are totally indifferent. It is only by enlisting these last in the cause, that a predominant authority, constantly excited, might probably lessen this great evil. For two or three years after the last Tweed act was passed, we believe the laws were
better

better kept both at the mouth of the river and in the upper country. But at present the destruction of the spawning fish is universal, and joined to the engrossing activity with which the fish are prevented from ascending in the lawful season, must necessarily compel the salmon to leave the river; for even the strong instinct which induces the salmon to return to the stream in which it was bred, will give way under such unremitting persecution as the river at present undergoes—while, to use a vulgar but expressive phrase, the two classes of persons inhabiting the upper and lower banks are ‘burning the candle at both ends.’

Neither do the upper and lower *heritors*, as they are called in Scotland, play for equal stakes. It is true the occupation of Hallies and his philosophical companions are nigh lost in the upper districts. But the loss is that of sport merely; whereas that which may be suffered at the mouth of the river shall affect patrimonial interest, to the extent of several thousands a year.

The most probable mode of redeeming these fisheries from almost sure ruin would, perhaps, be a compromise, by which the upper *heritors* should be admitted to share such a portion of the fish for their sport and their table as they formerly enjoyed—they, on the other hand, exerting themselves, as they have the means of doing, to prevent or punish those who transgress during close-time. But we have no expectation of such an agreement. If, for example, it were proposed to afford a free use of twenty-four hours per week in addition to those already conceded between Saturday and Sunday night, it would probably be difficult to induce the inferior proprietors to sacrifice one-sixth part of their immediate weekly gains even for the probability of securing from destruction the fishery out of which these gains arise. Or, indeed, if the proprietors of the lower fisheries took a more expanded view of their own interests, and judged it worth while to make a partial sacrifice to preserve the whole, it might still be found difficult or impossible to reconcile their tenants, whose interest is of a temporary character, to submission to a loss which should affect their profit immediately, in order to secure the prosperity of the fisheries at a period when they might be let to other persons.

We are happy, therefore, that a sport which we *have* admired is recorded in *Salmonia*—where the descendants of those who have witnessed or shared it will read of it with the same feelings where-with the present generation peruse accounts of the chase of red or fallow deer, wild boars, or wild cattle

‘——— All once our own.’

We must now conclude with the parting address of the Coryphæus of *Salmonia* to his party, p. 270.

‘I have made you idlers at home and abroad, but I hope to some purpose; and I trust you will confess the time bestowed upon angling
has

has not been thrown away. The most important principle perhaps in life is to have a pursuit—a useful one if possible, and at all events an innocent one. And the scenes you have enjoyed—the contemplations to which they have led, and the exercise in which we have indulged, have, I am sure, been very salutary to the body, and, I hope, to the mind. I have always found a peculiar effect from this kind of life; it has appeared to bring me back to early times and feelings, and to create again the hopes and happiness of youthful days.'

- ART. X.—1. *A Letter to an English Layman on the Coronation Oath, &c., and the Present Claims of the Roman Catholics in Ireland.* By the Rev. Henry Phillpotts, D.D., Rector of Stanhope. London. 1828.
2. *The Coronation Oath, considered with Reference to the Principles of the Revolution of 1688.* By Charles Thomas Lane, Esq., of the Inner Temple. London. 1828.
3. *The History of the Policy of the Church of Rome, in Ireland, from the Introduction of the English Dynasty to the Great Rebellion.* By William Phelan, D.D. Dublin. 1827.
4. *Substance of Two Speeches, delivered in the House of Commons on May 10th, 1825, and May 9th, 1828.* By Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart. London. 1828.
5. *Letters to a Friend on the State of Ireland, the Roman Catholic Question, and the Merits of Constitutional Religious Distinctions.* By E. A. Kendall, Esq., F.S.A. Dublin. 1828.
6. *Letters to His Majesty King George the Fourth.* By Captain Rock. London. 1828. 12mo.
7. *Captain Rock Detected; or, the Origin and Character of the recent Disturbances; and the Causes, both Moral and Political, of the present alarming Condition of the South and West of Ireland, fully and fairly considered and exposed.* By a Munster Farmer. London. 1825. 12mo.
8. *Protestant Principles: exemplified in the Parliamentary Orations of Royal Dukes, Right Rev. Prelates, Noble Peers, and Illustrious Commoners; with the Constitutional Declarations of Irish Protestants, against the Roman Catholic Claims. To which is prefixed an Address to the Protestants of Great Britain and Ireland.* London. 1827.

IN that dialogue concerning the state of Ireland, which shows that its author, Spenser, was not less highly endued with political sagacity than with poetical genius, one of the interlocutors notices, as prevalent in those days, an unhappy opinion that 'through the fatal destiny of that land, no purposes whatsoever which are meant for her good, will prosper, or take good effect;'
'which,'

‘which,’ saith the speaker, ‘whether it proceed from the very genius of the soil, or influence of the stars; or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation; or that *he reserveth her in this unquiet state still, for some secret scourge, which shall by her come unto England,* it is hard to be known, but yet much to be feared.’

This melancholy opinion, which, while it prevailed, was likely to paralyse good intentions, and prevent good purposes, has been disproved by time; insomuch that if we looked for examples of the great benefit which wise measures may produce, even when undertaken under circumstances the most unfavourable, they might be found in the history of Ireland. The plantation of Ulster may be instanced in proof of this; because a race of colonists were settled there who had been educated in the Protestant faith, and accustomed to obey the laws, or at least to acknowledge their authority—the condition, moral and physical, of the inhabitants is so much better there than in any other part of Ireland, that it has not been found necessary to enforce the Insurrection Act in any of the counties then planted there by James I. It is an Irish author who says, that for its superior civilization, the comfortable circumstances of the peasantry, and what he calls ‘the moral more than the legal policy of the province, Ulster has more the aspect of an English than of an Irish county.’ The introduction of the linen manufactory is another instance,—the staple trade of Ireland, and that to which, in those parts where Ireland may be called prosperous, it owes most of its prosperity. Two facts relating to that manufactory are worthy of special remembrance:—Strafford, who introduced it, and expended upon the experiment no less a sum than thirty thousand pounds of his own fortune, was rewarded by hearing the measures, which he had taken in furtherance of this most useful design, charged against him as grievances by the Papists and Puritans of the Irish parliament, who conspired against his life. The other noticeable circumstance is, that Ireland, upon which the Romish religion has brought, and is bringing, so many and such tremendous evils, has, in the single case of this its staple trade, incidentally derived great benefit from it: the perfection of that manufacture was brought about by the revocation of the edict of Nantes; government having aided with adequate funds, for carrying it on, a Huguenot, whose family had been, for many generations, linen-manufacturers at St. Quintins. The church of Ireland affords a third example:—When Laud and Strafford undertook to reform, almost indeed to re-edify that church, it was said, by an Irishman, that the king’s priests were as bad as those of the pope. They were described as an unlearned clergy, which ‘had not so much as the outward form of churchmen to cover themselves with,’ nor their persons

persons anyways revered or protected.' The church had been so 'impiously preyed upon by persons of all sorts, that its ministers were reduced to such utter poverty and contempt, as is (said Strafford) a most lamentable and scandalous thing to see it among Christian commonwealths.' From this state they were raised, when Charles II. (it is one of the few redeeming acts of his reign) carried into effect his father's intentions, and restored that church property which the crown had appropriated. From that time, the church of Ireland has held its becoming rank among the Protestant churches; its clergy have become not merely respectable and respected, but eminently useful, supplying, as far as in them lay, by their presence,—and, to the extent of their means, by their beneficence also,—the want of a resident gentry: so that, at this time, when their Establishment is attacked more violently and more virulently than it has ever been since the great rebellion—they may rest with confidence upon their own deserts, as well as upon the strength and justice of their cause. Here, then, are three measures which, counteracted though they have been by the evil stars of what hitherto may too truly be called an ill-fated land, nevertheless have prospered to the full scope of the expectations wherewith they were undertaken. A fourth we have recently seen in the Tithe Commutation Bill, a measure in which greater political sagacity and ability were manifested than in any other of our times: for it was steadily pursued by the statesman that brought it forward, with little encouragement from those with whom he acted; and against much opposition, as well from those who deprecated it, because, in their opinion, it did too much, as from those who condemned it for attempting too little. The bill, however, was carried through with excellent judgment, and it has already worked so well that it is in a fair way of putting an end to that particular cause of complaint, which, in all latter presentments of the grievances of Ireland, had been made to hold the most prominent place.

But the wisest statesman by whom that country was ever governed has observed, that 'a hard task it is to do good for them who are obstinately set to do ill for themselves.' If it has been shown by experience that well-considered purposes for the good of Ireland will prosper there and take good effect; and that neither the genius of the soil, nor influence of the stars, have prevented the good seed, which has been sown there, from bringing forth abundant fruit,—on the other hand, the seeds of evil have been so profusely scattered, the ground is so well prepared for them, and the crop has been so carefully nurtured through all the stages of its growth and progress, that one of the ablest and wisest of those men who have written with reference to the existing position of Irish

Irish affairs, asks, with apprehensive solemnity, which result is the more likely, ‘whether Ireland is, at length, to have the benefit of English connexion? or, whether Spenser’s mournful prediction shall be accomplished, and England experience the disastrous consequences of a connexion with Ireland?’*

Most truly has that very able writer observed, and most clearly has he shown, that ‘the great source of Irish misery has been, not the *power* of England, but its *want* of power.’ There are cases in which, as the great poet tells us, ‘to be weak is to be miserable;’ this is one of those in which to be weak is to be mischievous; and not to have done good, has been to permit and give opportunity for evil. The evil has recoiled upon England; and Spenser’s apprehensive foresight has already been so far fulfilled, that in every season of embarrassment Ireland has proved to the sister-country worse than a broken reed. In his own days, it occasioned more uneasy thoughts to Elizabeth and her counsellors, (the ablest who have ever directed the affairs of these kingdoms,) than all the other difficulties and dangers with which they were beset. The Pope and the Catholic king had there found where England was assailable, and they failed not to occupy the ground. The war in the Low Countries, as Mountjoy assured the government, was begun and maintained by a force of native Spaniards, little exceeding those who effected their landing in Ireland; and, though Elizabeth had such confidence in her soldiers, as to make full account and send them word to that effect, with her blessing, ‘that every hundred of them would beat a thousand, and every thousand of theirs doubled;’ yet the charge of keeping the country, she said, was such, that ‘the crown of England could not endure, without the extreme diminution of the greatness and felicity thereof, and alienation of the people’s minds, by reason of the great payments which, for those only rebellions, she was forced to draw from them.’ Threatened with invasion by the most formidable power that had arisen in modern Europe, and continually harassed by conspiracies at home, it was yet from Ireland that Elizabeth apprehended most danger, and suffered most injury. One generation passed away; and under Strafford’s wise and vigorous administration, ‘something began to appear as if that kingdom might, in time, become a strength and safety to the crown of England,’ and without charge. Their trade, their rents, their civility, were increasing daily, when the opportunity, which an incipient civil war in Great Britain afforded, was taken by those whom certain members of parliament were unwilling to designate by any stronger appellation than that of ‘the discontented gentlemen,’† and the rebellion and massacre ensued. In the next great

* Dr. Phelan’s *Policy of the Church of Rome*, p. 47.

† Leland, iii. p. 142.
crisis

crisis of our civil and religious liberties, it was on Ireland that James chiefly relied for the strength which might enable him to subvert both; and after the failure of his designs, Ireland was again chosen, as it had been in Elizabeth's reign, for the ground on which the church of Rome, in alliance with a foreign power, might bring its force to bear with most effect against heretical England. Then ensued a hundred years of misgovernment, and of what in Ireland is deemed tranquillity; and, then, at a time when England was engaged in a disastrous contest with her American colonies, and France, and Spain, and Holland had declared against her;—then, when her difficulties were at the greatest, Irish claims were brought forward by that aristocracy to which the whole misrule of Ireland is imputable: they were supported and enforced by armed associations,* and the hopes which Washington† had founded upon such a diversion were fulfilled. The dragon's-teeth, which were then sown in a land prepared for them, produced their proper crop during the French Revolution; and then, once more, too, in a time of increasing embarrassments, pressing difficulties, and adverse fortune, the nearest and greatest danger with which England was assailed, was on the side of Ireland. That crop was trampled down;—it has sprouted forth again;—it is now in full bearing,—and the fields are white unto harvest. If we had not more reliance upon an all-wise and all-merciful Providence than upon human counsels, we should surely anticipate a dreadful harvest-home!

Let us look at the state of Ireland, as it is represented to us, *in terrorem*, by the agitators and their partisans. Notwithstanding the *malus animus* of the painter, the picture is not overcharged in any of its features; and for this simple reason, that truth serves the purpose, in this case, better than falsehood, and, therefore, truth is told. They tell us that the Catholic Association has erected a complete *imperium in imperio*, or, rather, that it has taken the people entirely out of the hands of the government, the police, the local authorities, and the magistrates;—that in every village throughout the south of Ireland, and in Leinster also, there is a conservator of the peace, bearing the commission of Catholic churchwarden from this self-constituted government, and in constant communication with that body;—that the whole country is actually organized, disciplined, and regimented, like a single company of soldiers, ready to obey the command of the Catholic Association, under officers, and for a cause to both of

* The reader who wishes to understand the history of this great movement, is referred, for an exposition of its political causes, to Dr. Phelan's History (pp. xxvii. xxx.); and for a picture of its moral consequences, to Mr. Gamble's Views of Society in the North of Ireland, pp. 292—298.

† He enumerates this among his grounds of hope, at a time when, in his own words—'the Americans had neither magazine, nor money to form them, and had lived upon expedients till they could live no longer.'—*Marshall's Life of Washington*, 8vo. p. 324.
which

which they are devoted. 'There never,' says a newspaper partisan,* 'was organization so complete as that of the Irish Catholics at this moment; peaceful as we are persuaded is its primary object, (!!) its principles are all of a military cast. It is an array and discipline of almost countless numbers, under known officers, with gradation of ranks, commanded from one centre, and inspired by one soul. This, we say, however pacific in its immediate purpose, (!) is convertible, on the miscarriage of that purpose, to any and every service of actual hostility.' 'We are masters of the representation,' says one of their incendiary orators. 'This is the pivot of the case. We have wrested their influence from the gentry, and the Protestant who draws rent from thousands of acres is almost as much destitute of power at an election, as the peasant without a rood.' 'The Association will continue to sway and to controul the passions of the enormous and powerful population of this country, so long as government persevere in the miserable system of anomaly and misrule which has produced that great convention.' 'If that body,' says one of its newspaper advocates, 'decreed it, every county in Ireland would be in rebellion in the course of a week. But of this,' the same writer assures us, 'there is not the slightest apprehension. The leaders of that body feel the tremendous responsibility with which they are invested. They know that they are surrounded by vigilant and active enemies, and everything they do is done openly. Mr. O'Connell can wield five or six millions of the Irish people at will: with Mr. O'Connell, however, the peace of the country is safe!'

If proof of this latter part of the assertion be required, Mr. O'Connell and the Association are held up to us as the pacificators of their country! When they bring the people together, in whatever numbers, and on whatever occasion, they bring them in order, keep them sober, and obtain from them the most willing and entire obedience while they are assembled. They have them under perfect command, like dogs who are held in the leash, till they who hold them shall cry havoc! and let slip. More than this—interfering, as the Popes were used to do, in former times, by their legates between contending potentates, they have succeeded in putting old enmities to rest, and making peace between inveterate factions. Effecting thus what the laws never could effectuate, and what the priests never before attempted, they have reconciled the Moll Doyles and the Padeen Gars, the Cummins and Darriks, the Dungans and Hackets, the Carneys and the O'Flannigans; the Shanavests, so called because one of their leaders (like El Chaleco, in the Spanish war) was distinguished by his waistcoat, which was an old one, and the Caravats, so denominated because one of their chieftains was unfortunate enough, at last, to

have the place of his cravat supplied by a hempen noose, the bight of which was so adjusted, by a certain legal practitioner, as to press under the left ear. At their entreaties, the Three Years' Old and the Four Years' Old have thrown down their shillelals, and embraced like heroes of the Homeric age. Peace has been concluded between the Magpyes and the Black Hens, the General of the Magpyes presenting, in token thereof, a living magpye to the Cock of the Black Hens, and the Cock of the sable poultry giving a black hen in return to his former rival. Under the same auspices, peace also was made between the Coffeys and the Rieskavalla Boys—made, alas! but not concluded;—for, upon casting up the number of the slain, on both sides, the Rieskavalla Boys discovered that the Coffeys had a majority over them, having notched one death more; and, therefore, they resolved that peace could not properly be concluded, till they should have killed one of the Coffeys, just to balance the account, and make things even. Such relations will be perused in England with a smile or with a sigh, according to the mood or disposition of the reader; but in Ireland it is remembered, that 'previously to every insurrection, since the year 1798, whether political and general, like the rebellion of that year; or local and Rockite, like those which occurred in the years 1812, 1813, 1819, and 1823, these quarrels seem to have ceased, as if by mutual and tacit consent;' and this is a consideration which may reasonably excite alarm. 'I well remember', says Mr. Gamble*, 'that on the eve of our rebellion those who knew the country best were never thoroughly alarmed until they remarked the entire change and conduct of the people, and saw them go home from fair and market as sober as they had come: they then said that the cloud which hung over us would soon come down in a storm.'

'It is distinctly proved,' said Mr. George Robert Dawson, (speaking in 1825,) 'that the Catholic Association has assumed a form inconsistent with the principles of the constitution; that it usurps the functions of government; that it exasperates party hatred; that it interferes with the administration of justice; that it calumniates the character of every respectable man in the country; that it paralyses the magistracy; that it keeps the people, through the instrumentality of the priests, in a state of servile vassalage, ready to obey their orders, however dangerous; and that it levies a tax upon the people, to be converted to their own mischievous purposes, no matter what they are.' Of what those purposes are, Mr. Dawson, in the same speech, produced indications sufficiently clear, and avowals, more or less explicit, afforded or made by the Association itself, its agents, and its ringleaders. The Association, when it apprehended from the government an

* Sketches of Society in the North of Ireland, p. 13.

exertion of vigour which was not made, exhorted the people ‘to wait in the sullen silence of discontent for a more favourable opportunity and better-organized resources, to prove to Britain and the world that they were men, and deserved to be free.’ ‘Hereditary bondsmen,’ said Mr. O’Connell to those who are, indeed, held in a worse than Egyptian bondage by their priests,

‘Know you not,
Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow.’

‘Scotland,’ he tells them, ‘did not exhibit the patience and self-controll of Ireland, nor patiently suffer herself to be trampled on, while her oppressors rode by in triumph. *She hewed down, with the sword of the Lord, the archbishops and bishops*; and when the force of the British arms became too strong for her people, they retired to their mountains, and, after renovating their vigour, they returned to carry desolation to the very dwelling of their assailants.’ ‘He would not,’ he said, ‘press the introduction of the claim of arming the Roman Catholics,—for, if he did, it might be supposed they were going to proclaim war *at once*.’ One priest advises his parishioners to contribute largely to the Catholic rent, because money is the sinew of war, and because that rent will supply the Association with those sinews, whenever the proper occasion should present itself. And another priest informs the Association that ‘many of his parishioners have sworn to appropriate the whole of the corn-crop to the payment of the rent, (observe, the Catholic—not the landlord’s rent!) no matter what other creditors may be justly entitled to, or even the wants of nature may imperiously demand.’ Well, indeed, might Mr. Dawson say, that ‘the Catholic Association is the most dangerous and most mischievous body which has ever been suffered to exist in Ireland.’ Truly has he said, that ‘its proceedings, and the speeches of its members, and the agency of the priests, unite in making it the most dangerous of all engines for working upon the passions of such a people as the Irish.’ ‘It commands a paid press’ (in England, we may add, as well as in Ireland) ‘to circulate its poison through every part of the country; it has actors who stick at no falsehood to alienate the people from their confidence in every established institution of the country;’ and the priests have amply fulfilled the expectations of the Association, by their undisguised expressions of hostility to the constitution, and by their unceasing efforts to instil the same hatred into an ignorant and infatuated peasantry; a peasantry too truly described, not only as the most ignorant and the most deluded in the world, but also as ‘the most ready tools for any work of blood!’ And wherefore are they so?—Not because the Roman Catholics are excluded, by the constitution of these kingdoms, from seats in Parliament, and from some forty offices,

offices, but because no other peasantry throughout Christendom is at this time so grievously and grindingly oppressed by the landholders; and because their aptitude for becoming the instruments of mischief and murder is, as it were, the original sin of the race—their unhappy inheritance—the national crime and the national curse. Let the reader turn to the authentic annals of Ireland—to the history of that ill-fated country, not merely before the restrictions which are now complained of, or the penal laws, were known, but before an English conqueror ever set foot upon its shores—let him look to the ages when, in the language of a villainous incendiary, ‘sovereign Ireland enjoyed her wholesome days of buxom independence,’ and he will find, in every page of those annals, three words, wherein the ancient and modern history of Ireland, from the earliest to the latest times, is comprised; the words are—*occisio, combustio, devastatio*. ‘Never,’ says Peter Walsh—an Irishman himself, a Roman Catholic, and a Franciscan friar—‘never has any other nation upon earth *unlearned* the Milesian race (inhabiting Ireland) in the most unnatural, bloody, everlasting, destructive feuds that have been heard, or can well be imagined:—such feuds as not only had for necessary concomitants the greatest pride, most hellish ambition, and cruellest desire of revenge; but also had for no less necessary consequents the most horrible injustice, oppressions, extortions, rapine, desolations of the country, perfidiousnesses, treasons, rebellions, treacheries, murders; and all this from time to time, for six and twenty hundred years, only a very few lucid intervals of the frenzy excepted. Never have we read of any other people in the world so implacably, so furiously, so eternally set upon the destruction of one another.’

To such a nation it is that the men who purchase for themselves brazen opinions, and those of whom brazen opinions are purchased, address their inflammatory harangues. The Irish are told that the present fearful state of their country has been produced by ‘eagerness to obtain redress from an intolerable wrong, which, as it affects millions, millions have combined to be relieved from.’ They, and that part of the English public whom the agitators seek either to dupe or to confirm in their dupery, are told that ‘it is not merely religion by itself, or civil liberty, that is at stake—but the contest is one for Catholicism, embittered by Hibernicism, and fermented by the growing leaven of democracy, against *Protestant* pride, *Protestant* power, *Protestant* avarice, *Protestant* insult, *Protestant* menace—at last, rendered desperate, it is armed against Protestant heresy.’ Dr. Doyle has ‘read somewhere *nihil profici patientia nisi ut graviora tanquam ex facile tolerantibus imperentur*; and he tells his countrymen that he is reminded, by the *Tithe Com-*
position

position Bill, of the truth contained in this observation. An English newspaper says to them, 'Patience never did any good in this world, and never will. We must fight for all that is valuable; and as it is a condition of our existence that rest can only be enjoyed after labour, so in like manner we can have no good without a struggle. John Bull must be constantly poked in the ribs.' The Irish—the associated, organised, and disciplined Roman Catholic Irish—the sworn and banded Rockites and Ribbonmen, are told that 'the crime of being too passive under the weight of murder, spoliation, indignities, insults, and persecutions, which they have endured for centuries, is the chief accusation to be urged against them!' 'The same incendiary * tells them that they are 'chased like foxes, hunted like deer, snared like hares, trapped like vermin, caged like birds, tied to stakes and baited like bulls!'—'That, for all this usage, and for the concomitant curses of poverty, and famine, and disease, they are 'indebted solely to the external power, the foreign sovereignty, which plays the despot there, by means of its factious resident garrison of infuriated sectarists; who, clothed in purple and fine linen, faring sumptuously, riot at their

* The author of Captain Rock's Letters to the King. There are few of our readers who can need to be informed that these Letters are certainly not written by Mr. Moore, to whom, while the publication was suspended, they were so positively ascribed. That gentleman has indeed laboured to inflame the vindictive passions of an ignorant and ferocious people most industriously; and he has exulted, merrily exulted, in the display of their ferocity, with a recklessness which would be incredible, if we did not know that the spirit of party can sometimes sear the heart as much as it warps the understanding.

'Through Connaught, Ulster, Leinster, Munster,
'Rock is the boy to make the fun stir!'

The *fun* which the Irish poet thus encourages in his countrymen, consists in maiming cattle, and leaving them to die in lingering agony; murdering individuals; surrounding houses at night, setting fire to them, and shooting or piking the inmates when they endeavour to escape from the flames! This is a text upon which the Munster Farmer has read a wholesome lecture to Captain Rock's laureate. But Mr. Moore has not to answer for the virulent and slanderous letters which have given occasion to this note. The author of those letters impudently asserts that, in the great Irish rebellion, the Irish Roman Catholics 'committed no massacres, unless the destruction of their enemies on the field of battle is to be so called! ' p. 116. Even this is not more remarkable than his address to Lord O'Neil. 'O'Niall,' he says, 'rouse yourself! your brother Rock calls upon you to recollect who your present associates are; he beseeches you, in the name of country, to abandon the fellowship of men whose ancestors murdered yours, and who have never ceased, *until lately*, to calumniate and revile your illustrious race.' p. 219. When this incendiary thus called upon Lord O'Neil to remember what he evidently considers the obligations of hereditary hatred, he seems to have forgotten what he had said, only three pages before, concerning the father of the present lord—'he lost his life fighting in the cause of the oligarchy of England, against his country, and his own very flesh and blood, in the year 1798; when the Irish exposed themselves to a dreadful fire that they might take vengeance on him, and piked him to death with many a wound.' p. 216. The act of butchery, which is described in this diabolical spirit, was set in its proper light by Mr. Dawson. In justifying Lord O'Neil for his encouragement of the Orange societies, he said—'His father found himself deceived in the appeal which he made to the humanity of a neighbouring dependant. He found kindness forgotten, and all the kindly feelings of nature destroyed by the poison of political hatred; and can we, or ought we, to blame the son, who seeks only to know those to whom he can trust?'

charges,

charges, in every species of debauchery—living on the fat of the land—dwelling at their ease in magnificent mansions and comfortable cottages—whilst the Irish people, the *legitimate owners* of the soil, half naked, half starved, are doomed to linger out a wretched existence in filthy hovels, to which an Englishman would not run the hazard of committing his hogs.’ The mind of the people is on fire, and the breath of these demagogues ‘like a stream of brimstone doth kindle it.’ Well might Mr. Dawson say that, in ‘what is called figurative language, the exuberance and eloquence of a heated imagination, and so forth,’ by those who seek to apologize for the incendiaries, with more or less participation in their desires and designs, ‘the Roman Catholic peasant sees good practical matter, and would not be sorry to have it brought to the test of experience.’ ‘Every artifice,’ says Dr. Phelan, ‘has long been used to familiarise our fiery peasantry to the contemplation of the most ferocious deeds; insurrection is acted over weekly, almost daily, in the imagination of those multitudes who are swayed by the speeches of a few cool incendiaries.’

‘But everything is done quietly and lawfully: the Catholic Association act as they have a right to do.’—Oh yes! We have an old illustration at hand, and an illustrious one it is, of this sort of quietness, and lawfulness, and right. Guy Faux and his associates had a right to hire a vault under the House of Lords; there was nothing but what was quiet and lawful in this. They had a right to purchase gunpowder, like any other freeborn Englishmen: they had a right also to deposit any part of their property in the vault—as many barrels, for instance, as they pleased—and to cover the barrels with faggots; this also was lawful, and nothing could be done more quietly. Moreover, Guy Faux had an undoubted right to go into the aforesaid vault when he pleased, at any time or season, whether the king and the peers of the realm were or were not assembled in the chamber above; and he had a right also, an undoubted right, to carry a dark lantern with him. Thus far every step in the business was quietly taken; nothing had been done but what was lawful—nothing but what Guy and his associates had a right to do. It was in the ulterior measures—in their object, that the treason lay.

With Mr. O’Connell, however, says one of their most strenuous partisans, the peace of the country is safe. Yet we are told, and by the same authority, that, when this same Mr. O’Connell desired his auditors to husband their pugnacious disposition for the Orangemen of the North, ‘he was answered by a ferocious shout, mixed with a merriment that was terrifying.’ There is something in this which may remind us of the firemen of Constantinople, who are accused of sometimes discharging oil from their engines instead

of water. At the very time when this reliance was expressed upon the peace-preserving powers and intentions of Mr. O'Connell, the following passage appeared in the report of his harangue at Clonmel:—

'Am I not standing in the town where, in the year 1769, fifty-nine years ago, a priest of the Catholic church was tried by an Orange jury, found guilty on the swearing of a perjured informer, and hanged ignominiously for the murder of a man who lived for forty-four years after the death of Father Sheehy? (Hear, hear!) Tell it at home to your wives and children; and, believe me, no man ever did wrong who consulted with his good wife. (Hear, hear!) Are not your enemies of this day, the sons and grandsons of the murderers of the martyred Father Sheehy? And would they not, if they could, treat you as their Orange grandsires treated the Catholic priest?' (Cheers.)

If it be true, as too certainly it is, that Mr. O'Connell at this time wields at will some millions of the Irish people, can we indeed persuade ourselves, or suffer ourselves to be persuaded, that the peace of the country is safe in his hands, when we find him haranguing the multitude in this strain—a multitude, whom another agitator describes as being 'in martial array, and ready to start up in insurrection if, in their maddened judgment, they should think there was a disastrous necessity for it?' It is not, however, merely as a specimen of the tenour and tendency of this demagogue's orations that this passage has been here adduced, but for the sake of introducing some remarks upon the spirit now existing among the Irish peasantry, and exemplified in the case of a person nearly related to the very Father Sheehy, so mischievously and malignantly thus alluded to as a martyred Catholic priest, murdered by the false verdict * of an Orange jury, six and twenty years *before* the Orange Societies were instituted! The case is related with especial reference to the Memoirs of Captain Rock, and for the purpose of making the author of those Memoirs understand the real character of the exploits performed under the auspices of Captain Rock's name, and celebrated in exultant and jocose verse by that distinguished writer:—

'There lived in the county of Waterford, a gentleman of small property, but of a family which, independent of its antiquity, was venerable in the minds of the people for having suffered in their cause. He was a Roman Catholic; he was a man of the kindest manners, a most humane and indulgent landlord, even to his own detriment, and from his earliest youth he had never forsaken the popular side. If such men

* If the case had been as bad as it is represented, it would afford no justification, no excuse, no palliation for the demagogue who, after fifty-nine years, thus revived it, for the purpose of exasperating a ferocious multitude. But the fact is, that this Father Sheehy was mainly instrumental in exciting the Whiteboy disturbances; and having thoroughly deserved death, suffered it (like Probert) after a verdict upon which, it is probable that he might not have been executed, had it not been for his previous and notorious character.

are regarded as the enemies of the people, I could wish to know whom they consider their friends? This gentleman was a tenant to Lord Middleton, a nobleman of whom it is little to say, that he is a munificent and benevolent landlord, and who has the rare advantage of having his good intentions not marred, but carried into perfect execution by intelligent and upright agents. It will readily be understood, that there may have been an anxiety generally felt to be the tenant of such a nobleman, and to be under the direction of such agents. Mr. Sheehy, the tenant of whom I speak, held under Lord Middleton, on a lease for his own life; and (the lease of one of the persons to whom he had re-let the ground having expired) he gave a farm, containing about thirty acres, to his son, whom he wished to leave in possession of so much on his own demise. The tenants began to think that, if Mr. Sheehy died while they were in possession, they might have their leases continued under Lord Middleton, as their immediate landlord: and the resolution was adopted to murder an innocent kind-hearted old man, who had been living for the greater part of sixty years with the old people and their children, on terms of the most affectionate intercourse—and who had been indulgent to all his tenants at personal losses, and at the expense of suffering such inconvenience in his family as made his indulgence a fault. He had been walking on a winter evening towards his home—a home from which, while Sheehy had means to be generous, no poor man was ever sent empty away. He was, with his usual open-hearted and benevolent hilarity, conversing with a young peasant about his approaching marriage, and assisting him with his counsel on the arrangements he should make. The young man entered into the house where his mistress lived, and Mr. Sheehy pursued his way, unacquainted with fear, and imagining that there was not perhaps in existence a being who could entertain a hostile feeling against him. In the mean time, the young man from whom he parted with a blessing, had armed himself, and gone in pursuit of his unsuspecting victim; and while *his* mind was, perhaps, occupied with benevolent projects for his murderer—the murderer stood silently at his back, and, with the heavy coulter of a plough, beat in his skull, and repeated his blows until his benefactor was lying a mangled corse upon the snow. “Rock is the boy to make the fun stir!!!”

It happened, that there was resident near the scene of this achievement, a young barrister, who, as the missionary had not then published his *Practice of Moral Sentiments*, thought this victory a murder, and by his activity and intelligence succeeded in bringing the conqueror to trial, and to what used, in the old time, to be called justice; but although the country people knew well who had performed the act, or, as plain men might say, perpetrated the murder, yet they used all means in their power to facilitate his escape from the pursuit that was made after him, and to favour his departure from the country.

I have not selected this instance in consequence of any peculiar atrocity attending the murder. I could enumerate many cases marked by a much more sanguinary and ferocious spirit, but the instance I have

chosen will serve to show how very worthless a thing human life is considered to be, and how little capable the people are of feeling that abhorrence of the most odious offences which would lead them to bring the man of blood to justice. Another reason which decided me in making my selection is, that if these pages shall find their way into the circle in which Lord Middleton moves, *he may not suffer my statement, if it be false, to pass uncontradicted.* I give it—one out of numberless instances of equal atrocity—as the manifestation of a spirit which one writer gravely describes as a spirit of martial prowess, and of which the missionary discourses with an easy sportiveness of manner, very distinct, indeed, from that reckless irony that sometimes breaks out from a vexed and sorrowful heart. I do not envy these gentlemen their honours, or the comfort of their mutual admiration. Let one declare that Captain Rock “in his own person,” as well as through his Memoirs, has been of essential service to Ireland: let the other delight himself with such merry comedies as the mangling poor dumb beasts, and leaving them to die in lingering agony, the wrapping a secure and sleeping family in sudden conflagration, and the prudent valour with which, when fight is to be maintained against men, Captain Rock’s heroes so rapidly disperse. Let the missionary rejoice and exult in these martial and factious performances; I do not envy him; I cannot imitate his conduct; I cannot free myself from the heavy conviction that, whatever Ireland may have gained, or may be likely to gain, from the lesson which her privileged orders have been taught, her advantages are but a very slight recompense indeed for the spirit of cowardly ferocity which has been cherished and matured in her peasantry by the troubles in which they have been engaged; a spirit at which the hearts of other men are sickened, but which the missionary (himself in safety) invokes and eulogizes. If this spirit be not soon suppressed, it will be impossible to save Ireland; and Ireland will not be worth saving.’—*Captain Rock Detected*, p. 344.

We repeat the emphatic words, ‘*if this spirit be not soon suppressed, it will be impossible to save Ireland.*’ How, then, may this be effected?—By conciliation, exclaims the whole host of confederated concessionists: this it is which is called for by the orators-general of the Catholic Association, who breathe out their brazen menaces from ‘throats wide as their consciences;’ and the cry is echoed by the last new converts who have been cajoled or intimidated into the unholy alliance. But as parliamentary reform had a very different meaning in the understanding of those who meant to stop at Hounslow, from what it bore among that division of the reformers whose intention it was to proceed till they came before the middle window at Whitehall: so does this word, conciliation, mean more or less, according to the principles of the person who uses it. Earl Grey and Lord Grenville attach no such signification to it as is attached by Lord King; and when Sir Thomas Acland and Mr. Grant join in voting for it with Sir Francis

Francis Burdett and Mr Hume, they would find themselves, if they came to compare meanings, in widely different degrees of latitude. In one thing only are all the advocates for this undefined and undefinable conciliation agreed, and that is, that, whenever the subject is agitated in Parliament, the golden opportunity is arrived, they have reached the *τὸ νῦν*, the moment of projection, the point of time in which the great work is to be accomplished. And, indeed,

‘ If it were done when ’twere done, then ’twere well
It were done quickly.’

‘ It is to be well considered,’ in Lord Bacon’s words, ‘ whether time will be still more propitious, or whether deferring remedies will not make the case more difficult. For if time give us advantage, what needeth precipitation to extreme remedies? But if time will make the case more desperate, then we cannot begin too soon.’ ‘ It is an old device,’ says Burke, ‘ though methinks not a very wise one, to trust to the chapter of accidents. The book in which it is contained has the beginning and the end torn out!’ But to that chapter it is to be—feared, shall we say, or hoped? that we can trust no longer. A crisis is manifestly at hand; and the question is, what is to be done when the expectant system of policy or of mispolicy can be pursued no farther?

Man is so pugnacious an animal, that even the Quakers, who in all other things seem effectually to have subdued this part of their animal nature, carry on controversy, whenever they engage in it, tooth and nail. If this propensity manifests itself upon topics which rest on mere opinion, and are connected neither immediately nor remotely with any other feelings than those of vanity and self-love, much more may we expect it to be kindled by questions which are directly practical in their bearings, and upon which the most momentous consequences are supposed to be dependent. And, too surely, this is not one of those political questions which, though they excite an intense interest, and call forth the most vehement passions while they occupy the public mind, are nevertheless so unimportant, and affect the welfare of the community so little, that it matters not how they may be decided. What is now proposed to us must be either a great good or a great evil—a blessing or a curse; a blessing, indeed, if it could heal the wounds of Ireland, eradicate the old inveterate cancer, and give to that poor country a tranquillity which it has never known; but a curse, if it should inflame those wounds, and an evil which would bring all other evils in its train, if it should undermine and subvert the constitution of these kingdoms. The one result is not more confidently promised by those who insist that further
concessions

concessions should be made to the Roman Catholics, than the other is foreboded by those who exhort us to stand upon the old foundations, and warn us to beware how we disturb the

‘ Safe underbuildings of the wisdoms dead.’

The question is argued by the former upon the grounds of toleration, justice, civil rights, and political expediency. But how little can they who represent this as a question of toleration, have reflected upon the import of that word, unless they address their arguments to that great multitude which, as South says, ‘ is wholly and absolutely governed by words or names ; without, nay, for the most part, even against the knowledge men have of things ! ’ To tolerate is to allow that which is not approved,—to suffer that which is not and ought not to be encouraged. Toleration is such allowance, such sufferance ;—nothing more. And more no dissidents ought to expect or ask, more being inconsistent with the fundamental principles of any constitution whereof religion is a part. And this, too, must have its limits ; for nothing may be tolerated which would manifestly endanger the public peace,—nothing which is offensive to public decency,—nothing which is contrary to a divine command,—nothing which is in itself nefarious ; though conscience may be pleaded for all, since ‘ among the many practical errors which are gotten abroad into the world, a very large proportion there is of those which have either suckt their poison from, or disguised it under, that specious venerable* name.’ ‘ I hold it,’ says Lightfoot, ‘ a truer point in divinity that *errans conscientia liganda* than *ligat*.’ Were a party of † Hindoos, for example, to establish themselves, with their families, in England, however desirous the women might be to burn themselves when they became widows, and however desirous their friends and relatives might be that they should be gratified in their desire, no such sacrifice would or could be tolerated in this country. Were a sect to arise among us who should reject the ordinances of marriage, such a sect would be suppressed by law, unless they were so insignificant in number as to escape observation, like certain schismatical Quakers in Ireland, who some twenty years ago separated from their society, or were rather cast out by it, because even the Quakers’ form of matrimony was too ceremonial for them. They were a set of harmless enthusiasts, acting in the simplicity of their hearts, under the influence of an erring and over-stimulated conscience working upon weak minds ; but if a proselyting sect were to be formed upon the principle of having a

* Hammond.

† There were some, about sixteen in number, who found their way to the Holy Land, in the middle of the seventeenth century, and lived a penitential life in one of the caverns of Mount Carmel.

community of wives, or any other such scheme, in which conscience should be made the flimsy pretext for profligacy, the interposition of authority would be called for. If such testimony were to be volunteered in these days as in the times of the Commonwealth was not unfrequently borne against the priest and the steeple-house before the congregation, by men sometimes, sometimes by women, —were such exhibitions to be made, as they then were, in naked truth or even in semi-nude sincerity, though there are no persons who would think of punishing the poor, pitiable fanatics as criminals, all will agree that they ought to be regarded as insane, and put under restraint accordingly. In the first and lightest case, that where the evil amounts to nothing more than a probability of disturbing the public peace, those who see the propriety of suppressing the processions of the Orange Clubs, will admit that, precisely on similar grounds, the Roman Catholics should be prohibited from carrying in public the host and the images of their saints, with such display as is customary in countries where the Roman Catholic religion is established. Processions of this kind are not tolerated even in the United States of America. The gratification of any party or sect, however numerous or respectable, must give way to public convenience.

As there are limits to toleration, so are there degrees of it; just as in insanity there are certain cases for which constant and strict coercion is necessary, and others where the hallucination being perfectly harmless the afflicted person may and ought, upon every principle of humanity and justice, to be left at large, and indulged in every thing that may alleviate the calamity with which he is visited. The Protestant dissenters must be deemed erroneous, some as to their doctrines and all as to their discipline, by those who profess the principles of the Established Church; and in this light they are regarded by the law. Their conduct in former times produced greater and more lasting injury to the Protestant cause than could have been brought about by all the efforts of all the Catholic powers, and all the artifices of the Church of Rome; and their existence in such numbers and with such an organization as to constitute an active, and powerful, and increasing party in the kingdom, is a circumstance which undoubtedly lessens the security of the state. Still they are Protestants, and being so, they acknowledge no foreign jurisdiction; their allegiance is imperfect, but it is not divided; no case can be imagined in which the head of their religion could call upon them to disobey their temporal sovereign, or to act against him. Their discipline is not dangerous to the state, and none of their doctrines or practices are, in their immediate and obvious effects, injurious to society. Therefore they are entitled to the fullest toleration; they are not excluded

cluded from the legislature ; and the Test Act, by which alone they were affected for the last hundred years, affected them incidentally, not by design, that act being expressly intended ‘ for preventing dangers that may happen by Popish recusants.’

And here it may be remembered, pertinently to the present subject and the present time, that when that bill was brought before the House of Peers, Digby, who was then a professed Roman Catholic, spoke in favour of it, saying that, in his opinion, it was ‘ as full of moderation towards Catholics as of prudence and security toward the religion of the state. In this bill,’ said he, ‘ notwithstanding all the alarms of the increase of Popery and designs of Papists, here is no mention of barring them from the private and modest exercise of their religion ; no banishing them to such a distance from court ; no putting in execution of penal laws in force against them. All its precautions are reduced to this one intent, natural to all societies of men, of hindering a lesser opposite party from growing too strong for the greater or more considerable one. And in this just way of prevention is not the moderation of the House of Commons to be admired, that they have restrained it to this sole point of debarring their adversaries from offices and places, and from accessions to wealth, by favours of the sovereign ? And after all, my Lords, how few do these sharp trials and tests of this act regard ! only a few such Roman Catholics as would fain hold offices and places at the price of hypocrisy and dissimulation of their true sentiments in religion. Upon the whole matter, my Lords, however the sentiments of a Catholic of the Church of Rome (I still say not of the Court of Rome) may oblige me, upon scruple of conscience, in some particulars of this bill, to give my negative to it, when it comes to passing ; yet as a member of a Protestant Parliament my advice prudentially cannot but go along with the main scope of it ; the present circumstances of time and affairs considered, and the necessity of composing the disturbed minds of the people.’

Such was the reasonable opinion delivered by that Romish proselyte, of whose conversion, were men to be estimated only according to their talents and accomplishments, the Romish Church might be more proud than of any other in this country of which it may ever have had to boast. He acknowledged the justice and propriety of the principle of exclusion which was then established. And indeed the show of reason, as well as the sense of shame must be laid aside by the Romanists, before they can complain of any restrictions, however rigorous, under which they may be placed in a Protestant state. We will not say to them, ‘ with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged ; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again :’ God forbid that this maxim, in its temporal application and full extent, should ever be enforced against them ! there are no religionists, there
never

never were any, on whom the *lex talionis* would fall with such terrible severity. But we will say that, with such limitations as humanity requires, and as our faith enjoins, no sect is entitled to ask for more toleration than it is willing to give, and than it actually gives wherever it is dominant. If our principles are declared by them to be so pernicious that a Protestant, however blameless, however amiable, however virtuous and pious, must necessarily be excluded because of them from the kingdom of heaven,—surely they ought not to complain, as of a grievance and injustice, that the British Protestant Government has deemed it necessary, because of theirs, to exclude them from seats in the legislature, and from a few offices in the state. Is it so hard a thing to suffer thus much, or rather thus little, for conscience's sake? and is it thought so by the professors of a religion which attributes so much actual value to sufferings of any kind, which, for the sake of that religion, are endured, or voluntarily incurred and self-inflicted? When Mr. O'Connell's election shall be annulled, he will purchase the honour and the merit of being a Confessor at a cheaper rate than was paid for it in old times.

So much for the principle of toleration, as urged in favour of further concessions to the Roman Catholics.

‘The matter (to use Mr. Burke's* words) does not concern toleration, but establishment. The complaint arises from confounding private judgment, where rights are anterior to law, and the qualifications which the law creates for its own magistracies, whether civil or religious. To take away from men their lives, their liberty, or their property—those things, for the protection of which society was introduced—is great hardship and intolerable tyranny; but to annex any condition you please to benefits artificially created, is the most just, natural, and proper thing in the world.’

Nor is the argument more tenable which affirms that we ought to deal with the British and Irish Catholics as Austria and Russia deal with those of their subjects who hold any other form of Christian faith than that of their respective church establishments. The case is not similar, what is demanded here not being employment in the state, (which, with very few limitations, they already possess,) but legislative power,—which in Austria and Russia is not exercised by deliberative assemblies. If it be rejoined that this also is conceded to the Protestants in France, and secured to them by Charter, neither will that case apply, for upon the slightest consideration it must be apparent that the circumstances of the two nations are widely different. The Protestants in France are an inconsiderable body, and with so little zeal for proselyting, that no efforts for that purpose appear to have been made by them

* Speech on the Acts of Uniformity. Works. Vol. x. (8vo. edition) p. 16.

during the revolutionary years, or under the Imperial government, when the attempt might have been made, certainly with safety, and perhaps at one time to the satisfaction of the Emperor. The privileges which the charter allows them were obtained, not by their own influence or efforts, but by the liberal party, comprising the Buonapartists and the revolutionists of every grade, as well as the friends of just and regulated liberty. Moreover, as Dr. Phelan has well observed, there are two important differences, which must always be kept in mind.

‘First, a Protestant clergy contracts no obligations to a foreign power: if Protestant ministers in France or Germany took oaths of allegiance, and were otherwise in subjection to the Archbishop of Canterbury, we should, probably, hear but little of Roman Catholic liberality. Secondly, the Roman ritual has an aggressive publicity, the free exercise of which would be an invasion of the freedom of other religions: Protestants have no procession of a Host, or a crucifix, or a statue of the Virgin; neither do they compel men to a cessation from business on the festivals of saints or reputed saints.’

The circumstances, therefore, under which the Protestants exist in France are so dissimilar to those in which the British and Irish Roman Catholics are placed, partly by the tenets which they profess, and partly by their aggressive movements, that no precedent can be drawn for one country from the course which is pursued in the other. But if the Jesuits obtain the ascendancy in France, the charter will be worth as much to the French Protestants as the Edict of Nantes was to their ancestors.

With just as little propriety can the example of Hanover be adduced as a precedent for what might and ought to be done in Great Britain and Ireland. Hanover and the British dominions have this in common—that they are both Christian kingdoms, and that they are under the same King: beyond this they differ as much in political circumstances as in language. There can be no question about church property in Hanover, the church property having been secularized. The General Assembly there resembles our British Parliament as little in its capability of doing hurt as in its power of doing good. The Hanoverians have had no bloody Mary, no James II. Their constitution has not been framed with special regard to evils and dangers which the Roman Catholic religion and the Roman Catholic church had brought upon them, and from which only by the mercy of God they were delivered. No Coronation Oath, expressly intended to guard against the recurrence of such danger, is taken by their sovereigns. Lastly, the Roman Catholics there, like the Protestants in France, are neither likely to endanger or to disturb the state; and any question relating to them is so far from convulsing the country,
that

that it is scarcely heard or thought of by any but the persons themselves who have something to hope from it; the people neither knowing nor caring anything about measures, by which there is not the appearance even of a remote possibility that they can be affected.

The argument which demands these further concessions on the ground of justice, rests on no better ground. We hear much declamation upon the abstract right of every man to worship God as he pleases; and, in God's name, who—but the Roman Catholic—disputes it? It is a right which has long been enjoyed by every denomination of sects in these kingdoms, which every man exercises at his own peril, and from which there is nothing in the laws, usages, or disposition of the nation to restrain him? To such an extent, indeed, has this admitted right been abused in latter days, that every one among us is practically at liberty not only to worship God as he pleases, but to blaspheme His holy name, deny His existence, and take his own way to perdition, and publicly endeavour to persuade as many as he can to accompany him! But though any monstrous consequences may follow as the effect and punishment of such an abuse, they must be very inconsequential reasoners who would infer as a corollary from the admitted right, that all men, whatever religious tenets they may profess, should be equally eligible to all offices in the state.

‘Care ought to be taken,’ said Mr. Burke, ‘that men do not, under colour of an abstract principle, deceive themselves. Abstract principles are what my clumsy apprehension cannot grasp: I must have a principle embodied in some manner or other, and the conduct held upon it ascertained, before I can pretend to judge of its propriety and advantage in practice. But of all abstract principles, abstract principles of natural right are the most idle, because the most useless and the most dangerous to resort to. They would supersede society, and break asunder all those bonds which have formed the happiness of mankind for ages. I will venture to say that if we go back to original abstract rights, there would be an end of all society!’

The exclusion which is represented by the Emancipationists as contrary to abstract rights and natural justice, is consistent with the general system of society: something analogous to it appears everywhere in the affairs of common life. He who is not in possession of landed property to a certain yearly value, or in assured expectation of it by inheritance, is disqualified for a seat in the House of Commons. Persons who are educated and stationed in the lower grades of life, are disqualified for familiar intercourse with those whom fortune has placed far above them. The man who is below a certain standard in his stature, is disqualified for a grenadier, though he might be as brave as Tydeus. A Quaker is disqualified by his

opinions

opinions for the army or navy, and from very many of the common offices and ways of life. The whole society of Bible Christians, who have published a ‘New System of Vegetable Cookery,’ adapted to their anti-carnivorous principles, are disqualified for the beef-steak club, and even for partaking of a parish feast. It may be an evil to be poor, a disadvantage to be diminutive, a misfortune to have inherited or imbibed sectarian tenets; but in the disqualifications which result from such an evil, such a disadvantage, such a misfortune, no hardship is felt, no injury is inflicted, no injustice is complained of. A Protestant is disqualified for the dignity of Vicar Apostolical, Bishop *in partibus*, Cardinal, or Pope. And the Pope himself, if he were Turkishly inclined, and wished to remove from the *malaria* of Rome to the delightful climate of Constantinople, could not exchange the tiara for the turban, and become Grande Mufti, unless he qualified as a Musselman. Every thing is subject to certain conditions; and the condition which the constitution requires from its legislators and its chief magistrates, is, that they should profess the Protestant faith. That faith is an essential part of the British constitution, and if men who are opposed to it covet and desire seats in the legislature, it is much more reasonable for us to require that they should change their opinions, than for them to demand that we should change the constitution of these kingdoms. ‘In a Christian commonwealth,’ (says Burke) ‘the church and the state are one and the same thing, being different integral parts of the same whole.’* ‘No man,’ says Mr. Kendal,† ‘was ever yet in possession of civil rights under a constitution of civil government to which he refused his allegiance: and every man refusing the Protestant faith of this kingdom, refuses its constitution.’

Abstract rights then may be left to be declaimed upon by statesboys in good faith, and by incendiary news-writers in bad faith. No statesmen will honestly appeal to them, except they are such statesmen as have never ceased to be boys in understanding and in knowledge, or have declined into their second childhood. And for special rights, such as have been confidently claimed for the Irish Roman Catholics as resulting from the treaty of Limerick, that argument has been so victoriously disposed of by Sir Robert Inglis, that the very parties who formerly dwelt upon it as if they believed in their own reasoning, deprecated, when they had heard his unanswerable speech, any further mention of a plea which they admitted then to be exploded. There remains then the single ground of political expediency. ‘Give

* Burke, vol. x., p. 44.

† We earnestly recommend this gentleman’s work as one of the very ablest in its kind that has appeared since the death of Mr. Burke.

the Roman Catholics,' it is said, 'what they ask, and we shall then be a united nation. Till they have obtained it, the question will never be allowed to rest. It may be granted with safety; it cannot safely be withheld; it cannot even safely be delayed; and it must be granted at last.' The marrow of their whole argument is here, and we will now break the bones of it.

First, then, when we are called upon to give the Roman Catholics what they ask, it behoves us clearly to understand what it is that is asked. To this point the emancipationists have more than once brought their vessel, wind and tide favouring, and with all sails set; and as often as they have brought it there, it has either split on the rocks, or grounded and gone to pieces on the shallows. When that question is to be answered, it is then perceived how little principle of cohesion there is between the gold and the brass, and the iron, and the clay, of which this brittle confederacy, like the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, is composed. How is the Marquis of Lansdowne to agree with his Irish tenants and with Captain Rock upon this matter? Earl Grey with Joseph Hume? Mr. Grant with Doctor Doyle? Lord Plunkett with Mr. O'Connell? Mr. Williams Wynn with Cobbett and Jack Lawless? Mr. Wilberforce with what Doctor Phelan emphatically calls the HIEROCRACY of Ireland? Sir T. Acland, and the few other county members who, unfortunately for their constituents and their country, have taken the same part, how are they to agree with the 'discontented gentlemen' of Ireland, who, following the example of their ancestors in 1641, have secretly organized and trained the Roman Catholic peasantry of whole counties, and now parade them, in green uniforms, regimented and officered, horse and foot? Master Flea's microscope is not required for seeing into their designs.

We know what was *not* intended by those distinguished statesmen who first stirred the question of what, by a gross abuse of terms, is called Catholic Emancipation. In an unhappy hour they moved it! Mr. Pitt entailed upon these kingdoms far greater evils by this part of his conduct, than by engaging in the war with revolutionary France, (supposing, which we do not believe, that the war might have been avoided,) or by his management of that war afterwards. But Mr. Pitt never intended to remove the existing restrictions without substituting others which should be equally or more efficient for the security of the constitution,—the Protestant constitution,—consisting consubstantially of church and state.

'As to any thing,' said he,* 'which I and my colleagues meditated to bring forward, I disclaim the very words in common use; the eman-

* Parliamentary History, xxxv., 1118.

cipation of the Catholics, or Catholic emancipation. I have never understood that subject so ; I never understood the situation of the Catholics to be such ; I do not now understand the situation of the Catholics to be such as that any relief from it could be correctly so described : but I think the few remaining benefits of which they have not yet participated, might have been added safely to the many benefits which have been so bounteously conferred on them in the present reign. I am of opinion that the very measure I allude to, as a claim of right, cannot be maintained ; and it is on the ground of liberality alone, and political expedience (and in that sense, wisdom, as connected with other measures,) that I should have thought it desirable, advisable, and important : but I would not have it founded on a naked proposition, to repeal any one thing which former policy had deemed expedient for the safety of the church and state. No, Sir, it was a comprehensive and an extensive system which I intended to propose, to relinquish things certainly intended once as a security, which I thought in some respects ineffectual, (and which were liable to additional objections from the very circumstance of the object of the Union having been accomplished) *and getting other security for the same objects, to have a more consistent and rational security both in church and state, according to the principle, but varying the mode, which the wisdom of our ancestors had adopted to prevent danger.* The measure I intended to propose, I think, would give *more safety* to the church and state.*

Mr. Pitt did not live to try the experiment of obtaining this more consistent and rational security, which, keeping still to the principle of our ancestors, was to give greater safety both to church and state. But it was tried, perseveringly and patiently by Lord Grenville, the most eminent of those persons who acted with Mr. Pitt at that time, and himself the person who must have been best acquainted with Mr. Pitt's intentions. And we know that he agreed with him concerning the necessity of such securities ; ' if tranquillity and union be our object,' said Lord Grenville, ' all due provision must be made for the inviolable maintenance of the religious and civil establishments of the United Kingdom ; such at least have always been my own declared opinions.' To the form of such securities he attached, he said, comparatively little importance ; but that there was a necessity for them, he distinctly stated. Accordingly under his auspices provisions were proposed, such as had been acquiesced in by the Papal church in its arrangements with other governments, and to these the most considerable of the Roman Catholic titular bishops expressly and formally consented. It was urged, ' upon * the mind of the Pope as a reason for obtaining his consent to that arrangement, ' that such was the returning spirit of kindness evinced by the British government towards the Irish Roman Catholics, that *it was not at all*

* Digest, part II., 209. Dr. Murray's Evidence (titular Archbishop of Dublin).

improbable,

improbable, that in the event of emancipation being granted, the Catholic bishops might be allowed to take their seats in the House of Peers.' The Pope believed this, and if Dr. Milner may deserve belief for any thing which he asserts, the titular bishops also 'were really led to believe that upon these events taking place, their church would not only be protected and honoured, but also that it *would, in a sort of subordinate way, become the established church of Ireland!*' Accordingly, the Pope would have consented to the *veto*, as the titular bishops had done. The public cannot need to be assured that no such hopes were ever held out to the Roman Catholics by any member of the British or Irish government, nor indeed by any persons except those of their own communion, who look for the complete re-establishment of their intolerant church in all its pretensions, and to the utmost of their power are labouring by any means to bring it about. But it may be needful to remind the public at this time that the leading persons of the British and Irish Roman Catholics having *twice* consented to the *veto*, *twice* retracted that consent, after they had authorized their advocates in parliament to signify it, and to bring in a bill founded thereon.

'When last I had the honour of addressing the House in behalf of the Catholic claims,' said Mr. Grattan, 'I then stated that the Catholics were willing to concede to his Majesty the right of the *veto* or the nomination of their bishops. I am sorry to say that I cannot now affirm that such are the sentiments of the Roman Catholics of Ireland upon that subject. Whether I have misinformed the House, or the Catholics have been guilty of retraction, is a question which I shall never agitate, it being my fixed principle never to defend myself at the expense of my country.'

With what propriety those Roman Catholics, with whom Mr. Grattan had communicated, could be called his country, it would require some of his peculiar logic to explain.

Mr. Keogh did not speak so calmly concerning the prelates of his church on this occasion; he said that to the propositions of granting the '*veto*, and receiving a salary from the treasury, they gave a private, dastardly, partly insincere, and partly corrupt assent.' Altogether insincere it was shown to be, by their own after-conduct, but private it was not; and assuredly there has been nothing dastardly in their proceedings: they have not wanted *robur et æs triplex* for saying or unsaying anything with perfect intrepidity. Lord Eldon has said truly that 'during the many years which have elapsed since this question has been contemplated, no man has yet found out what securities he could propose on the part of the Protestants, which the Roman Catholics would give as the price of what they were to receive.' Wherefore, indeed,

deed, should they be content to receive upon conditions that which they expect to obtain unconditionally, and to be courted to accept, and to be rewarded for accepting? They have calculated always upon the continued support of their friends in Parliament, being sure of the principles upon which that support is given to them by some, and with regard to others who both profess and feel a sincere attachment to the Protestant church as by the constitution established in these kingdoms, bearing in mind the old observation, that *quos Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat*, and looking upon them as thus demented. Hitherto they have not been deceived in that confidence. Whatever duplicity they have practised, whatever assurances they have broken, whatever agreements they have retracted, these faithful adherents, they knew, were at any time ready to renew the question for them, and plead for them, and vote for them again; and, if need were, to pledge themselves for them again, and to be again and again deceived by them, and again and again stultified and insulted. Patient Grizzle was but a type of such emancipationists!

In fact, any securities that might be proposed or accepted would not be worth a rush. To say that the Roman Catholics, as a body, are not to be trusted upon their declaration and their oaths, would in these days expose the person who should assert it to a full-mouthed cry of 'Hear! hear!' in parliament, and to a charge of bigotry, intolerance, calumny, and *ungentlemanliness*, from the Roman Catholic press, and that part of the press which, without being Roman Catholic, is decidedly anti-Protestant. The assertion, nevertheless, is true. They are not to be bound in their dealings with a Protestant state by any declarations or oaths, however solemn; and this is no secret part of their system, for it has been decreed and pronounced by popes, canons, and councils, that no such oaths and declarations are binding. It is upon the religious sincerity of other men that you have your surest reliance; but in exact proportion as the Roman Catholics are sincere in their religion, must they, upon any point in which the interests of their church are concerned, be distrusted. *Corruptio optimi pessima*. The better, the sincerer, the more religious they are, the more effectually are they disqualified by their creed. They are told in their decretals,* that *Non est observandum juramentum quo malum incautè permittitur*: that *Non omnia promissa solvenda sunt*: that *Non observentur juramenta quæ fiunt contra divina mandata*: and that *Aliquando non expedit promissum servare sacramentum*. To these authorities their creed binds them; and of the application of such maxims history affords abundant examples. In the bull† whereby Pope Innocent III. excommu-

* P. 2. Caus. 22. Quest. 4.

† Catel. Hist. des Comtes de Toulouse, p. 242.

nicated Count Ramon of Thoulouse, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance, the maxim that faith is not to be kept with heretics is there distinctly stated as canonical—‘*Juxta Sanctorum Patrum Canonicas sanctiones ei qui fidem Deo non servat, fides servanda non sit.*’ It was part of the Coronation oath in Arragon, that the king ‘should, upon no pretence whatever, expel the Moriscoes, nor force them against their wills to be baptized; and that he should neither directly nor indirectly ever desire to be dispensed with as to the said oath; or in case a dispensation should be offered to him, that he should not accept of it; and that, if he did, whatsoever should be done by him thereupon should be null and void.’ This oath was taken by Charles V.; and Pope Clement VII., in these words, absolved him from the solemn engagement: ‘And we do further release your Majesty from the obligation of the oath, which, we are informed, was taken by you in the general estates of the said kingdom and principalities, never to expel the said infidels; absolving you from all censures and penalties of the guilt of perjury, which you might incur thereby; and dispensing with you, as to that promise, so far as it is necessary. And we do further grant free and full power to the Inquisitors, to compel all that shall contradict the same, or prove refractory, by ecclesiastical censures, and other proper and lawful methods, requiring the assistance of the secular arm, if it shall be judged necessary: all apostolical constitutions, and all ordinances, statutes, and privileges of the said kingdoms and principality, to the contrary notwithstanding, though confirmed by an oath, and by an apostolical confirmation, or by whatsoever other authority; and notwithstanding it should be provided, that a relaxation from the said oath should not be desired, nor ever be made use of, if granted, and that the, said privileges should never be by any means abrogated; and that whatsoever shall be done to the prejudice of the same, shall be held as null and void.’ This dispensation, as is properly remarked by Dr. Michael Geddes,* may ‘plainly discover to the world how little all laws, statutes, and oaths, though confirmed by the See of Rome, do signify to the security of the lives, liberties, and property of subjects that are not Papists under a Popish king; it being impossible for the wit of man to frame an oath fuller to all those purposes than this was that is here dispensed with:—for, besides that it contained a promise never to desire a dispensation, or, if a dispensation should be offered, not to accept or make use of it, it contained a declaration likewise that whatsoever should, by

* Dr. Geddes’s translation is used (Miscel. Tracts, vol. i. p. 39) because we have not the original to refer to: but the fact is certain;—the substance of the dispensation is found in every history that treats of the Moriscoes, and there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the translator.

virtue of any dispensation, be done to the prejudice thereof, should be null and void to all intents and purposes: an oath *never to desire a dispensation*, or to accept or make use of one, if offered, being a matter which the plenitude of the Papal power (as we see by this) can *dispense with*, whenever it is for its advantage to do it.'

Will it be said that these maxims are old and obsolete? Old as they are, the Roman Catholics are still bound to them by that creed of Pope Pius IV., which is at this day the authentic exposition of the faith of the Roman Catholic church, and to which all their proselytes must publicly assent, without restriction or qualification. Let us also examine of what value their late declarations have proved, and how they reason at this time upon the words of an oath. When, in the year 1792, the Irish Roman Catholics petitioned for the restoration of the elective franchise, their committee drew up and published a declaration, concluding with these words:—'If we shall be admitted into any share of the constitution, by being restored to the right of elective franchise, we are ready in the most solemn manner to declare, ~~that~~ we will not exercise that privilege to disturb or weaken the establishment of the Protestant religion or Protestant government of this country.' Bear witness, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, how faithfully that solemn declaration has been kept!

By the act of 1793, when, in reliance upon this declaration, concessions such as no government which was not demented would have made were made to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, it was provided that the person accepting office should swear as follows:—'I do solemnly swear that I will not exercise any privilege, to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb and weaken the Protestant religion and Protestant government in this kingdom.' A man, in whom the sense of truth has not been destroyed by casuistry, would never discover—what the Roman Catholics have discovered—that the signification of that oath turns upon the word 'A. D.' Immediately after the form of this oath was published and circulated, a Roman Catholic commentary upon it was published, and the little conjunction, from which a meaning that should nullify the whole purport of the oath was to be extracted, was distinguished by being printed in large characters, that attention might be drawn to it at first sight. The comment is thus expressed:—

'All are here agreed that, to violate the above clause, it is necessary to disturb and weaken not only the Protestant religion, but likewise the Protestant government. They are evidently connected with the conjunctive *and*, without any comma after religion. Both must be disturbed ~~and~~ weakened, not in any manner, but precisely by the exercise of the privileges now granted. In other respects, we are in our former situations

situations as to preaching, teaching, writing, &c. Weaken after disturb appears rather an expletive than a word conveying a distinct meaning, for it is implied in disturb; as whoever intends to disturb, *à fortiori*, intends to weaken. Hence, the expression is generally understood, and so it has been explained by every one consulted on it, to weaken by disturbance. Indeed, if *or* was between the word disturb and the word weaken, as it was proposed to be, the signification would be changed and inadmissible.—*Protestant Principles*, p. 21.

‘Surely,’ said Lord Eldon, when in one of his admirable speeches he brought forward this remarkable example of Roman Catholic casuistry, ‘surely this sort of reasoning upon the terms of an oath should teach us to use great caution when we are prescribing in what terms we shall require oaths of security to be taken.’ ‘By this jesuitical interpretation,’ said the present Lord Chancellor, ‘it was meant to convey to the Roman Catholics that, except they *disturbed* as well as *weakened* the Protestant establishment, they did not break their oath; and that, although they might not weaken by means of disturbing, they may *weaken* it by any other means in their power.’ ‘The declarations and oaths of men, who thus ‘palter with us in a double sense,’ are not to be trusted. And what shall we say of those persons who, when they proposed a remodelled oath in the year 1825, omitted the word *waken*—and *omitted*, also, the clause by which every Roman Catholic, who holds a place under the statute of 1793, is required to bind himself that he will not do, or attempt to do, anything calculated to alter or interfere with the established and existing condition of property in Ireland?—Are they the dupes of the Irish Roman Catholic leaders, or their accomplices?’

‘“I do swear that I will defend, to the utmost of my power, the arrangements of property within this realm, as established by law.” This is the provision,’ said Lord Lyndhurst, ‘and the necessary provision, contained in the oath of 1793. Every body who knows anything of the history of Ireland; every body who knows anything of the proceedings upon this question, or of the evidence given before a committee of this House, as well as before the House of Lords, must feel most sensibly how important is the provision contained in this oath. Are we not aware that that oath was admitted, at that period, as an additional security to the Protestant Church? If that were a necessary clause and provision in the oath of 1793, why was it then omitted? Again,—I say, will not the House be astonished to learn that, in the bill of 1825, the whole of this provision was omitted? Was the omission made advisedly and deliberately? Was it merely the effect of accident, or of indifference; or was it the result of deep laid design?’—*Protestant Principles*, p. 143.

Some of the most ludicrous situations which are presented in comedy or farce, are produced by the manifestation of credulity

on one side, and adroit knavery on the other, when some good-natured dupe suffers himself to be at the same time tricked and laughed at by parties, upon whose truth he places as full a reliance as they do upon his gullibility. Very different is the feeling when a tragic catastrophe is prepared by deceit thus acting upon a generous spirit! There is a sort of stubborn and stupid consistency by which men seem sometimes to be possessed, as by an evil spirit; no proof can then evict them of the persuasion which they have once taken up; the more light is thrown upon it, the less (like the owl in the emblem) are they able to see and to discern. The sectaries who desire the overthrow of the church—and they who consider all religions with equal indifference, and are willing, therefore, to tolerate all, provided they pay for none;—and they who hate Christianity, and would eagerly, if it were possible, destroy it root and branch, because their hearts rebel against the restrictions which it imposes and the duties which it enjoins; such persons have an intelligible motive for their conduct in leaguings with the Roman Catholics, and aiding them in their endeavours to open a practicable breach in the constitution. But it is not so obviously intelligible wherefore sincere Protestants, who love the religion which they profess, hold it by choice as well as by inheritance, adhere to it in heart as well as with their lips, understand its inestimable worth, and—if a dreadful necessity were to arrive—would lay down their lives in its defence—it is not so intelligible why such Protestants (and such there are among the Emancipationists) should persist in this league, when the ulterior designs of the party, by whose professions they were first allured to engage in it, are no longer dissembled, and can no longer be concealed. A better explanation, however, may be found than in the stubbornness into which even well-meaning men sometimes suffer their consistency to degenerate. They continue to act with the Roman Catholics, not because they retain their first opinions, but because they have changed them. They believed at first that securities were necessary, and spake and acted upon that belief in full sincerity. Having learned, from the experience of twenty years, that no securities can be obtained, rather than acknowledge their error, as in honourable rectitude they ought to have done, (and must have done, if they had kept on in the straight-forward path of an upright understanding,) they have persuaded themselves that no securities are needed; and of this they would now persuade the nation.

If they represent the concessions which are called for as an act of grace, they argue against the ungraciousness of clogging it with conditions. Do they advise it as a capitulation, to which imperious circumstances must inevitably reduce the government? then they insist that to stand out for terms will serve only to pro-
long

long hostile feelings, which cannot too soon be allayed; but that the part of wisdom should be to gratify the victorious party, and excite in them a kindly disposition by placing a generous confidence in them, and making an unconditional surrender. And they pretend that this may be done safely, for the Roman Catholics, as a body, neither have nor can have any ulterior object, although individuals among them, irritated by long opposition to their first and just claims, may have used intemperate language, and had recourse to unjustifiable and even perilous means. But place them on an equal footing with their Protestant fellow-subjects, and they will then desire nothing more—because there will then be nothing more for them to desire. Take their clergy into the pay of the State, and the dogs of darkness, contented each with his sop, will neither bark nor bite. Throw open the houses of Parliament to the laity, and admit them to all offices, and the roots of the Roman Catholic strength will then be cut: the great families among them are attached to their faith, less by any clear principle of conscientious assent, than by resentment and pride; and were the cause of that resentment removed, and the provocation to that pride no longer administered, they might be expected soon to become English in their faith as well as in all their other feelings. Divested of declamation, and of such fallacies as have previously been noticed, these are the arguments of those emancipationists who argue in good faith. If they are reminded of the coronation oath, they reply, that it is a bugbear which has been disposed of (however, this it will require some hardihood to repeat, since the reply itself has been so ably disposed of in Mr. Lane's perspicuous Treatise, and in the powerful volume of the Dean of Chester)—or they advise that Parliament, in its authority and its wisdom, should annul that oath, and frame another in its stead! Are they entreated to call to mind the examples with which, for our instruction and warning, history abounds—that of other countries, and more especially that of our own?—History, they tell us, is an old Almanac—we are now to be guided by the New Style, and conform to the Gregorian kalendar in our policy, as well as in our feasts and fasts. With the course of events, they say, everything has changed; times, circumstances, opinions, principles, manners, and modes of faith: institutions must be accommodated to these changes. The Roman Catholic religion is no longer what it was; the Protestant constitution of these kingdoms must therefore be modified, so as no longer to exclude the members of that church. There can be no danger in investing them with power in the state, because they have repeatedly disclaimed whatever might be deemed dangerous in the tenets of their ancestors. But were it otherwise, any danger on that score might properly

properly be despised ; for it is no longer by questions arising out of religious differences that the tranquillity of nations, and more especially of an enlightened nation like this, can be disturbed.

‘ We were told,’ said Mr. Peel, ‘ a few years ago, that the influence of religion was fast dying away ; and we were asked, with pity for our credulity, if we thought any men would now occupy themselves with religion ? Religion, we were told, was, even on the Continent, only a volcano burnt out, that could never be rekindled. I remember, Sir, when Mr. Whitbread, in the course of an eloquent speech delivered in this House fifteen years ago, ridiculed the apprehensions that were then expressed as to religious feelings ever again exercising any influence over mankind. “ Look,” said he, “ at Paris : was there any fear that religion would be revived at Paris ? Was it to be expected that Buonaparte would revive religion ? Could he excite any apprehensions ? Could the Pope excite any apprehensions ? Why, he was Buonaparte’s prisoner, and must remain subservient to him. Was there any apprehension of the Jesuits being restored ? ” ’

Mr. Whitbread asked these questions in the year 1812, with the confidence of one who would have deemed it absurd to suppose that any man should answer him in the affirmative. It is possible to have a short nose, and yet be so short-sighted as not to see to the end of it. ‘ All things are in change,’ said a member of one of Elizabeth’s parliaments, ‘ *and nothing so suppressed, but by God’s grace the same may, in time, by policy be raised up.*’ He who said this was a Papist. The policy which he required for raising up that suppressed superstition in these kingdoms will not be wanting : once it was already so raised as to struggle for the ascendancy, and by God’s grace it was again suppressed ; but woe be to us if, in reliance upon that grace, we neglect our human securities, and suffer our defences to be betrayed !

It should seem a reasonable assumption, with regard to the ulterior views of the Irish Agitators, that those views may be supposed to extend as far as the agitators themselves have chosen, not merely to admit, but to proclaim. *Agitators* they are here called advisedly, because the term comprizes the two classes of United Irishmen : those who act in subservience to Dr. Doyle and Mr. O’Connell, and those who are enlisted under Captain Rock. Will Catholic Emancipation, in its widest meaning, content them ? Dr. Doyle may answer the question for one branch of this portentous union, and Captain Rock for the other.

‘ Catholic Emancipation,’ says Dr. Doyle,* ‘ will not remedy the evils of the wretched system : *it will not allay the fervour of religious zeal, the perpetual clashing of two churches, one elevated, the other fallen, both high-minded, perhaps intolerant : it will not check the rancorous*

* Digest, p. 2, 201.

animosities with which different sects assail each other. It will not remove all suspicion of partiality in the government were Antoninus himself the Viceroy: it will not create that sympathy between the different orders of the State, which is ever mainly dependent on religion. Withal, Catholic Emancipation is a great measure, and of itself would not only effect much, but OPEN A PASSAGE TO ULTERIOR MEASURES, which a provident legislature could without difficulty effect. THE UNION OF THE CHURCHES, however, would at once effect a total change in the dispositions of men.'

Here, however, in justice to the character of this titular prelate, it should be observed that, being questioned upon this subject before the Committee, a very different opinion was then expressed by him:—

Verbaque dicuntur dictis contraria verbis.

He then said, 'I think, if emancipation were carried, that the whole of the Catholic population would consider their grievances, as it were, at an end. I am also quite confident it would produce in them a feeling of satisfaction, of confidence, and affection towards government, greater than has ever been experienced almost in any country. We would feel a most intense interest in promoting the interests of our own country, without reference to religious distinctions: there would be a bond, arising out of our affections and natural inclinations, which would secure to the crown our allegiance better than any provision which can possibly be made. I am convinced in my soul—I never spoke without sincerity—I never spoke more from the fulness of my heart than I do at this present moment—that, if we were freed from the disabilities under which we labour, we would have no mind, and no thought, and no will, but that which would lead us to incorporate ourselves fully and essentially with this great kingdom.'

Now (for it was never supposed that JAMES, though he had a double face, had a double mind also) it is certain that the titular prelate must either have written, or spoken, as he did not think. And there appeared so many and such flagrant proofs of this self-contradiction in his evidence, that had he been before a court of justice, no counsel would have rested his case upon the testimony of a witness who had thus disqualified himself, nor would any jury have allowed the slightest weight to it. But it is also due to him to observe, that he may have felt not only self-justified in this conduct, but self-approved for it, upon the system of morals which he learned at Salamanca and which is inculcated at Maynooth. The jesuit-casuists have determined that it is sometimes allowable to conceal* the truth; and in their classification of falsehoods, that

* 'Num veritatem aliquando celare licet?

'Lacet equidem. Interrogatus testis, pro tempore potest uti æquivocatione, si revera illo tempore reus factus non sit, quando non debet juxta mentem judicis respondere.—
Interrogatus

that which is delivered in evidence is set down as a venial sin.* So that, if this person, and certain other witnesses of his communion, should have thought it necessary to be absolved from the *dicta contraria menti* which they delivered upon that occasion,† *causâ utilitatis*, whatever might be inflicted upon them in the way of penance would be light in itself; and immeasurably so, when compared with the comments of Dr. Phillpotts in his Supplemental Letters, and those of Dr. Phelan and Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan in their excellent Digest of that momentous evidence.

But of the opposite opinions which have been delivered by Dr. Doyle, that, we humbly apprehend, must be received for his real opinion which was pronounced when there was no obvious purpose to be served by duplicity—that which is consistent with the whole tenour of his conduct, with the views and maxims of his church, and the declarations of those who are engaged with him in the same cause, made under circumstances in which their sincerity may be presumed, sometimes in the warmth of exultation, sometimes with the advisedness of a settled judgment. Dr. Doyle knows that what he calls Catholic Emancipation can no more produce unanimity, or even tranquillity, in Ireland, than it can change the weather, or than Prince Hohenlohe, by praying in Germany, can set a broken leg in Dublin. But he knows, also, that it would open a passage to those ulterior measures which he desires, and enable the Roman Catholics to occupy a position from which they could command the citadel. He knows that on that position they might plant their batteries, and demand the surrender of the Protestant Church Establishment in Ireland. And we know that, in both Houses of the British Parliament, there are persons, some being truly Protestants, some calling themselves so, some of Mr. John Wilkes's religion, and some of Mr. Jeremy Bentham's,‡ who would

Interrogatus an habeas pecuniam, si petatur cum injuria negare potes, aut si adsit rationabilis causa id faciendi. Perniciosum igitur mendacium grave aut leve est juxta materiem; jocosum et officiosum veniale plerumque.

Escobar. *Moralis Theol.* Tract i., Ex. 10. c. 2, § 11. p. 160. Lugduni, 1644.

* 'Num mortale sit crimen leviter mentiri in judicio, aut in confessione?

Mimpe: quia levis judicii injuria; et levis confessionis irreverentia est.'

Ib. ib. sec. 9.

It is somewhat remarkable that the copy of the notorious book from which these passages are transcribed should formerly have belonged to the *Jesuits of the English Mission*.

† 'Mentira officiosa est dictum contrarium menti, causâ utilitatis.

Que pecado es la mentira formal?

la puré jocosa y puré officiosa son pecados veniales.'

Larraga. *Promptuario de la Theologia Moral.* Trat. 48, p. 343. Madrid, 1733.

‡ Which upon the authority of the 'Morning Chronicle,' we must suppose to be something very different from that upon which the British constitution is founded; for that journal speaks thus in its liberality—whether we take revealed religion for our guide,

would heartily co-operate with them for that object. Lord King and Mr. Huine are not the only members who have intimated as much. And ‘God knows,’ says Lord Clarendon, ‘few men have done more harm than those who have been thought able to do least; and there cannot be a greater error than to believe a man whom we see qualified with too mean parts to do good, to be therefore incapable of doing hurt. There is a supply of malice, of pride, of industry, and even of folly, in the weakest, when he sets his heart upon it, that makes a strange progress in mischief.’ The countryman in the fable asked nothing more of the trees than a piece of wood wherewith to make a handle for his axe; and the silly trees thought they gave him little in granting his request. As we value the tree of the church, which is our Tree of Life—as we tender the safety of the Royal Oak—let us beware how we give the handle! For the wedges are prepared, and hands which are coarse and callous enough for the work are ready to engage in it.

But the Whigs will tell us that ulterior views are entertained only by a few who are either bigots in religion or enthusiasts in politics; and that the great and respectable body of the British and Irish Roman Catholics desire no more than what they ask, and when that shall have been granted will be contented and thankful. ‘*Permimum videatur, quemquam credere qui etiam nunc credit iis quorum prædicta quotidie videat re et eventis refelli!*’ Cicero did not more justly say this of those who believed in the Chaldean astrologers, than it may be applied to those who give credit to this class of politicians. There are, undoubtedly, among our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, many who in their secret hearts lament that this dangerous question ever should have been moved; many who were contented with the toleration which they enjoyed, and would have been glad still to have lived in peace with all men, and in as much charity as is permitted by their creed. In these kingdoms time had done much toward abating the acrimony of religious differences. Our controversial warfare had ended; satisfied with victory, as well as thankful for the deliverance which by victory had been achieved—we had laid down our arms, willing, as far as possible, to let the points of difference pass out of mind, and look only to those in which we were agreed. This was the disposition of the Protestant church when the Romanists renewed the war;—when Milner planted his

or embrace the opinions of the transcendental moralists, and choose the Epicurean system as modified by Mr. Bentham—and presently it speaks of one of his works as *invaluable!* Poor Jeremy, thus to be noticed by such transcendental journalists!

————— ‘he that’s conceived
By such is not conceived; sense is nonsense,
If understood by them.’

batteries,

batteries, and Lingard opened his mines, and the corps of sappers commenced their operations under Mr. Butler, and the Baddeleys and Andrewses cast their stinkpots over our walls. And, now, even the most moderate among them feel those latent principles of their religion in action, which, if they had not been thus disturbed, might have remained latent and consequently harmless through life. Once more with the British Roman Catholics, their religion is become their faction, and they have found allies among the men whose faction is their religion. They would not and could not be satisfied with what it is proposed to grant, even if the utmost that has yet been proposed were to be granted. So surely,—and as reasonably also—as they now argue that because so much has already been conceded, therefore more must be granted—so surely the next concessions would supply them with grounds for a further demand. The more they gain, the more strongly will it be considered a point of honour for them to pursue their advantage. If legislators, why not judges? If in the parliament, why not in the cabinet? If qualified to enact laws for the people, wherefore not qualified for offering counsel to the king? One absurdity having been granted, the rest follow in proper consequence. There would remain but one step more, and that step would then have been rendered easy:—Why is the sovereign to be the only person in these kingdoms to whom liberty of conscience is refused? Why should the king, queen, heir or heiress, apparent or presumptive, of this empire, be the only persons in it who, after having examined into the reasons of their faith, may not vary its form, if they think good, and choose another for themselves, without incurring pains and penalties? Is it just—is it reasonable, that they should be under this restriction? Is it consistent with those imprescriptible rights of conscience, which above all other rights ought to be held sacred;—or with the liberality of this enlightened nation?

Suppose—(and, without referring to what Lord Plunket calls the old almanac,—who that looks upon the ephemerides of the current year, will deem it an impossible supposition?)—suppose there should be a sovereign in these kingdoms, or a successor to them, who should be verily persuaded that the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church, as it styles itself, is the true church, and the only one in which salvation is to be obtained. Against such a danger (for it is a possible danger) we have a security in our Protestant constitution; but if the legislature were no longer Protestant, who shall say that that security might not be annulled?—as some securities, which by our forefathers were deemed equally essential, have been; and as others must be before men whose bounden religious duty it is to subvert that constitution, can be admitted into

into parliament. What could be replied to their arguments for extending liberty of conscience to the royal family, but that the existing laws upon this point are expedient and necessary for the safety and welfare of these nations; and how can it be expected that we should stand upon that principle then, if we abandon it now? The throne, as well as the altar, will be shaken, if we suffer ourselves to be driven from that ground by clamour, or seduced by that spurious liberality which makes those who are deluded by it at once the tools and the jest of the true Papist. The Protestant succession was established, because it had been found, by experience, that it is inconsistent with the safety or welfare of this Protestant kingdom, to be governed by a popish prince, or by any king or queen marrying a Papist. But if the principle upon which that succession was established be retracted, the principle of legitimacy revives, and the Bill of Rights, which is the Magna Charta of our religious, and moral, and intellectual freedom, becomes as much an old almanac as history—as mere a bugbear as the Coronation Oath. The right of succession reverts to the house of Sardinia, that house, whose tender mercies the Vaudois experienced formerly,—and whose generosity the descendants of the Vaudois are experiencing at this day.

The more moderate part of the English Roman Catholics would live in hope of this succession, and content themselves with preparing the way for it by such means as would then be safe and constitutional; and while that hope was indefinitely delayed, there would be always in their prospect the possibility of a conversion in the reigning family. They can know little of the old almanac, and as little of human nature, who would dismiss such a possibility from their estimate of the consequences to be apprehended if we surrender our securities. For it has ever been the policy of the Romish church, and more especially of its subtlest agents, the Jesuits, to obtain an influence over influential persons, and gain the ear of queens and kings, into which (as has been perilously proved in this kingdom) they instil something more deadly than the ‘juice of cursed hebenon.’ It would not be difficult to show wherefore, when free opportunity is afforded, they find most docility in this exalted rank; nor is the fact more creditable to their astute policy than to the intentions of those who have thus been brought into subjection. But in every rank of life the Romish propagandist acts with an advantage which is not possessed by the ministers of any of the reformed churches: for he proceeds *per fas et nefas* to his purpose. Sooner or later, to all those who have lived without God in the world there comes a season when religion appears to them, as in truth it is, the most momentous of all earthly concerns. Sooner or later, the soul awakening
to

to a sense of its condition inquires, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?—and extremes meeting in this, as in other cases, those teachers are most likely to be heard in reply who offer it either upon the easiest terms, or upon the most rigorous. The church of Rome tenders it upon one or the other, according to the disposition of the seeker. It acts thus systematically, in its wisdom—for the wisdom of the serpent belongs to it; and the structure of that church is the greatest work of such wisdom which the world has ever yet seen. No other system has ever been devised so excellently adapted to practise upon the weakness of men, and to form a strict alliance, offensive and defensive, with their vices. It addresses itself seemingly to the better part of our nature, while it enters into a compromise with the worst. It enslaves the understanding and corrupts the conscience. It is not strange, then, that it should collect so many waifs and strays into its fold; nor that its likeliest converts should be found among those who are most exposed to the temptations of prosperity.

Let us not be deceived. Catholic emancipation may be argued upon the ground of expediency, the only ground upon which its advocates can make out the shadow of a case (and that ground is not tenable by them); but it comes to a question of religion at last,—and ‘that whale (as Horace Walpole says) must swallow up all gudgeon questions.’ It is a sagacious remark of Horace Walpole’s, that large bodies are only led by being in earnest themselves when the leaders are not so. The multitudes whom the Irish demagogues have put in action (and whom they represent as millions) are in earnest, because their views are national and religious; not to mention that Irishmen, of their class, are always in earnest when they are in hopes of a fray. Were it not that they suppose Catholic emancipation is to put an end to tithes, taxes, and rent, they would care as little for the men who have raised the storm, as those men care for them, or their religion, or their country.

- ‘When things of evil aspect are to do,
The first cause is not named; but, commonly,
Some slight, remote, co-operative cause,
• Whereto the people knit them soul and body.’

The quotation must not be pursued, for it represents them as

- ‘Unknowing that which stirs them up to act,
Which is the mover’s cause, and not the multitude’s.’*

But in this instance, the stirring cause,—the deep influential principle is in the multitude, and not the movers. They would care as little for Catholic emancipation, if they knew what is meant by the absurd term, as they would profit by it were it ob-

* Isaac Comnenus.

tained : but understanding it to mean Catholic ascendancy, they pursue it with a simplicity and sincerity which deserve to be better directed ; and with zeal worthy of a better cause. Broken heads they would risk merrily for Mr. O'Connell or Mr. Anybody, at an election,—man, in these latitudes, being an electioneering animal ; but their necks would not be hazarded with the same willingness in such a quarrel. For the political question they would not go farther than a riot (a riot moreover having a great attraction in itself,)—for the religious one they would take the field in rebellion. The old plenary indulgence for those who are engaged in a holy war would, as in a former rebellion, revive for them, when they were again engaged in the same cause ; (they are taught to believe* this, and it is believed by them ;) and if the plume of phoenix feathers which the Pope sent to Tirone, were by miracle to be discovered, they would doubt as little of the phoenix, as of the infallibility of him who sent it. In that faith they would be ready to inflict, or to endure any thing,—to deserve the heaviest punishment that outraged humanity might demand, and offended justice exact,—and to undergo it with a fortitude, which, arising from deluded conscience, excites compassion even more than it commands respect.

The priests are as much in earnest as the people, both those who believe all the fables in their breviary, and the more liberal and rational ones who make distinctions, contriving, as the old proverb says, to swallow a bull and stick at the tail ; and those who have taken to their profession as a craft ; and the intermediate class, who, while they take the full licence of infidelity, keep, nevertheless, a lurking principle of superstition, which makes them look on to a general acquittance in the customary form at last. The *esprit de corps* prevails nowhere with greater force than among the Romish clergy ; it influences them when conscience has no

* ' Doctor Doyle, in his pastoral letter to the Ribbonmen, intimates* that his clergy did oppose their designs, or rather did ensure them. He states, that, although the clergy (I quote from memory) knew of the conspiracy for three years before it came to a head, they refused the rites of the church to all who would not renounce their wicked designs. This was certainly very kind to the government : but if the clergy knew of the conspiracy, (which knowledge they did not communicate,) they knew also that the people did not much fear the withholding of those rites ; because an opinion generally prevailed among them, that all Catholics who opposed the British government in arms were entitled to the benefit of a plenary indulgence. The clergy must have known that such an indulgence was granted in the old time, and that there have been men among the Irish who have taught them to believe that it continues still in force. And, beside, the clergy may have known that refusing the rites of the church was refusing only what the people would not receive, as one of their oaths was, not to confess their sins for seven years, or until they had triumphed, except at the hour of death. The clergy then could have no opportunity of putting their threat in execution, except at an hour when they have uniformly (and I think very properly) consented to suspend it.'—*Rock Detected*, p. 260.

This little book may be received with perfect confidence. No person is better acquainted with the state of the Irish peasantry and people than its very able author.

hold. Sir George Mackenzie has an ugly saying in his works, that ‘the greatest part of mankind are either weak or dishonest, and that both these support bigotry with all their might.’ In its full extent we should be sorry to admit the maxim; but of the Romish clergy it is certain that the dishonest and the weak are equally bent upon upholding the interests of their church. Those among them who reject both natural and revealed religion (and such Dr. Doyle knows may be met with even in the halls of the Inquisition) retain nevertheless as inveterate a dislike to the Protestant faith, in all its forms, as is cherished by the most bigoted of their brethren. They adhere to their own church, while they hate it for the evils which it has brought upon the world and upon themselves. But there are probably very few of these in Ireland. In no other country are the ecclesiastical students so jealously and so effectually secluded from the humanizing influence of society, and nowhere does the Romish religion exist in a more unmitigated and malignant form, both among priests and people. It is not true that that religion has changed its character any where. When indeed those persons who call upon us to dismantle our defences, throw open our gates, and admit the Roman Catholics into the citadel of the constitution, are reminded of the intolerant and persecuting principles which have been decreed by their Councils, proclaimed by their Popes, and acted upon whenever and wherever they have had power to act; then indeed they argue, and the British and Irish Romanists are free in their liberality to confess, and eager to persuade us, that the infallible has been deceived, that the immutable has changed: but the Romanists make this admission with a saving clause, (for themselves, and not for us,) that it is the practices only which have varied, not the eternal principles, for that their church is and ever has been, and ever must be, incapable of error or mutation. And in one part of this assertion, they are borne out by the full and clear evidence of history. Certain it is that their church confesses to no error in any principle that it has at any time maintained, and that it expresses neither shame nor sorrow for any of its practices: it recedes from none of its claims, though it may wait the convenient season for re-advancing them; it retracts no maxim which it has once avowed, however monstrous. There is even a canon forbidding the retraction of any thing that has once been decreed against any heresy whatsoever.* *Non est retractandum quod semel Synodus statuit contra unamquamque heresim.* Their argument upon the oath of 1793, and the meaning which to the defeasance of that oath they extracted from the conjunction **AND**, may instruct us to look well to their declarations, and ex-

* P. 2., Caus. 24. Quest. 1.

amine always, as Fuller says, whether there 'is no vermin of equivocation hid under the nap of the words.'

We must not form our judgment of the Roman Catholic religion from the representations of those English Roman Catholics who have a purpose to serve by keeping its distinctive characteristics out of sight; and who have moreover from their childhood breathed the free air of a Protestant country. They among them who truly entertain tolerant opinions, and believe it possible for a Protestant to be saved in his own faith, are, in reality, half Protestant themselves, and would be treated as wholly such if they dared avow that opinion, were the sword of Paul, as well as the keys of Peter, once more in the hands of their clergy. But the tolerant are few; they who have affected most liberality have been proved to be most Jesuitical; the more honest have let it appear, that, in their opinion, the differences between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant are, what they call *bloodworthy*,* (an awful word to be found [thus used] in an English Catholic Gentleman's magazine!) They have defended the Inquisition as a useful establishment;† and a Spanish Roman Catholic, who had been in the service of the Inquisition himself, found himself called upon, when he was in this country, to argue the point with them, and endeavour to convince them that this accursed tribunal deserves the abhorrence and infamy which it has obtained! Grievously indeed are they deceived who are persuaded that the Romanists have anywhere abated one jot of their pretensions, or in any one point relaxed the rigour of their intolerance. We are sometimes referred to the Gallican church as an example that the Roman Catholic religion may be established without detriment to

* The expression is the more remarkable, because, being used incidentally, it betrays an opinion which the writer might possibly have been discreet enough not to declare openly. Speaking of the troubles which were raised by the Puritans, he observes that 'there was no bloodworthy distinction in their doctrines.'

† 'Il y a cependant des Anglois qui défendent le tribunal du Saint Office comme utile, et j'en ai entendu faire l'apologie par un prêtre catholique anglais. Je lui fis voir qu'il connaissait mal la nature de cet établissement; que je n'aimais pas moins que lui et qu'aucun inquisiteur, la religion catholique: mais que si l'on comparait l'esprit de paix et de charité, d'humilité et de désintéressement, que respire l'Evangile, et que présente la doctrine ainsi que la vie de Jésus Christ même, avec le système de rigueur, d'astuce, de ruse, de malice, qui a dicté les constitutions du Saint Office, et avec la férocité actuelle et permanente qu'ont les inquisiteurs d'abuser de leur autorité, au mépris des lois naturelles et divines, des constitutions des papes, des ordonnances royales, à la faveur du serment qui leur assure le secret, on ne pouvait s'empêcher de déclarer ce tribunal comme nuisible, et propre seulement à faire des hypocrites.'—Llorente. *Hist. Critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, t. ii., p. 288.

In his preface al-o(xxiii.) Llorente notices this favourable opinion of the inquisition, which he heard in London, the admirers of that tribunal thinking it had been useful in Spain, and that France would have found it advantageous to have had a similar establishment: *Ce qui trompe ces personnes*, he adds, *c'est de croire qu'il suffisait d'être bon Catholique pour n'avoir rien à craindre du Saint Office*. Those who were not good Catholics they would willingly have delivered over to its discipline!

the temporal sovereignty, and that it may exist, though dominant, in a qualified form, disarmed of every thing that might justly be deemed obnoxious. This is a favourite theme with those who endeavour to make a distinction between Papists and Roman Catholics,—between the religion of the Papal court and that of the church of Rome. Now, although it may be granted that the Gallican church is the most favourable example of a Romish establishment that can be produced, there are some circumstances which should in prudence withhold the emancipationists from appealing to it in behalf of their cause. In so far as that church possesses any Liberties, they are possessed against the approbation of the Papal court, every book, as Sir Robert Inglis tells us,* which has been written in defence of the Liberties of the Gallican church, being, at this day, prohibited by the Pope. Free also in this respect as it is, and liberal as it may be represented to be, it must not be forgotten, that in the worst acts of inhuman bigotry and wholesale persecution, by which the Roman Catholic religion has rendered itself odious, the Gallican church has been as much engaged as the Papal; the French Bishops have been as remorseless as the Spanish Inquisition, and the Most Christian kings as deeply dyed in the blood of their heretical subjects, as the Most Catholic: they were as cruel, because the same wickedly-perverted religion had ‘corrupted their compassions;’ they were as faithless in violating charters and solemn treaties, because they were taught by their confessors, and by their councils and their popes (in whom they were also taught to believe infallibility was vested!) that to break faith with infidels and heretics was, in itself, a meritorious act of faith. Before any one ventures to deny this, let him inquire into the history of the French Huguenots and of the Spanish Moriscoes.

But if the Roman Catholic Church were in any part of the world purifying itself, and by degrees approaching to the spirit of Christianity, and to that truth from which it has so long and so fearfully apostatized, it is not in Ireland that the faintest dawn of any such melioration can be perceived. A Jesuit† has made the observation, that ‘*les nations, non plus que les particuliers, ne se défont jamais de leur caractère, et sont presque toujours les victimes de leur défaut dominant.*’ The remark is true so long only as those moral causes which act upon national character remain unchanged; but too certain it is that those causes have not undergone any beneficial change in Ireland, from its earliest annals to the present day. Such has been the temper, or rather such the position, of the people, *ut nec malu, nec remedia ferre possent.*

* Substance of Two Speeches, p. 23.

† P. Charlevoix, Hist. de Nouvelle France, t. iii. 260.

Two centuries ago they were called, by Osborn, ‘a miserable nation, that wanted not only wisdom and virtue to purchase their own freedom, but a competency of patience quietly to submit to the English civility.’ In the course of those two centuries manufactures have been introduced, agriculture has been extended, commerce has thriven, cities have increased and flourished, wealth has been created, arts and learning have taken root. The country has rapidly improved in all the outward and visible signs of prosperity; but though the great body of the people have in some degree partaken physically of that improvement, (for though miserably poor, they suffer less from absolute want than their more miserable forefathers,) morally they remain unchanged. It is seen in every court of justice that their ancestors, when they wore the glib and the mantle, were not more regardless of the obligation of an oath; every newspaper brings accounts of arson and murder, the same crimes which were committed century after century by the old Irish, and in the same temper! The present generation are as completely priest-ridden as those who received their orders from Sir Phelim O’Neal—and their reward from Cromwell; and the spirit of Sanders and Rinuccini has descended upon the priests who ride them.

‘You destroyed,’ says Mr. O’Connell, ‘the regal diadem and noble coronets, but the mitres of the prelacy you could not crush; they were too powerful for the arm of oppression or the foeman’s sword; and the Catholic Church, the only and last remnant of Ireland’s former greatness, is now as strong in her hierarchy, as fixed and firm in her strength, as immoveable as the eternal rock on which she stands, as pure in doctrines as when she was founded, and as venerable and splendid as when her altars sparkled with gems and gold. She is still as unbending as in the days of her greatest glory: her tenets are as pure as her dogmas are immutable.’

So speaks Mr. O’Connell: let us now hear Dr. Phelan:—

‘For the last fifty years, the Roman Catholic bishops have been engaged, with little intermission, in treating with various members of the government, both in England and Ireland: in every instance they have over-reached or eluded them, and held on their sinuous course of aggrandizement without sustaining one decisive defeat. They have received with equal freedom, and treated with equal dexterity, the overtures which were made to them from time to time, by aspirants after place and declaimers upon patriotism. They have intrigued with all parties; they have cajoled and vilified, used and amused them, as suited their purposes, yet never given their confidence to any. It was a more difficult achievement to counterplot the upper classes of their own communion; they attempted it, and have succeeded. In 1793, availing themselves of the blind strength of the Irish legislature, they crushed the rising spirit of their gentry beneath a mass of nominally enfranchised paupers; on several occasions since, they have rebuked

that "overweening anxiety for emancipation," which would postpone the sacred claims of the hierarchy; and at some critical moments when a schism appeared inevitable, have restored subordination in the seditious ranks, and soothed or terrified the ringleaders into obedience. Men who can do all this should be respected as adversaries. Friends they never can be; they have a spirit which scoffs at conciliation; they have a separate interest, an interest in the disquiet and dishonour of England, which cannot be purchased up by any consideration within the reach of a minister.

'It is true, indeed, that various causes conspire to prevent the repetition of those desolating scenes which afflicted Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth. Among these, it is not our least assurance of quiet, that a prospect seems to open to ecclesiastical ambition, of attaining its objects by the peaceful arts of negotiation. Time has changed the form of things, and the prelates of the present day have shaped their measures accordingly. No longer menaced by proclamations, or looking for protection to some malcontent lords, who insulted the *men* while they used the *instruments*, Roman Catholic bishops are now recognised by the committees of both houses, and take their right reverend station round the person of the sovereign. Forfeitures and the reformation have cut down the ranks of their ancient rivals; and the few men of quality who remain in their communion, have just enough of consideration to give point to the sarcasm, and brilliancy to the cavalcade, of the jubilant ecclesiastics. By the fall of the nobility the bishops are now left without any competition; absolute masters of the ignorant, the fanatical, and the disaffected, they can afford to treat the timid restiveness of the more educated with a contemptuous and taunting composure. In the fullest sense of the term, they are a **HIEROCRACY**; swaying a compact mass of five millions of people, with a plenitude of dominion which might be envied at Constantinople, and breaking down all distinctions among their vassals into the same abject prostration before their insolent supremacy. This power within their domestic sphere naturally gives them an influence beyond it; the opposite extremes of despotism and of a liberty almost anarchical, combine to swell their authority; and while they rule at home with a rod of iron, they attack England with her own free institutions. They govern the strongest political interest in the empire: they manage everywhere the puppets of legislation, from the hovel of the resident freeholder to the chateau of the absentee; and the local minister confesses that the tranquillity of Ireland, and his own titular dignity, are suspended upon their irresponsible good pleasure. Industrious in occupying and securing those positions which, from a thousand motives, are successively relinquished to them, they establish every day a precedent for some new pretension. In the mean time, they make partial exhibitions of their spiritual strength: the "artillery of popular excitation" is occasionally brought out for sportive but imposing exercise; and the crozier of a skilful prelate, like the wand of Prospero, raises a whirlwind of contentious elements, "roarers that care not for the
name

name of king," yet contribute, it seems, to the honour and security of royalty.'—*History of the Church*, &c. pp. 110, 111.

It is this hierarchy, or hierocracy, who, we are told, are to become the efficient and ruling instruments for tranquillizing Ireland, and effecting the moral union of the two islands, if only Catholic Emancipation be conceded to their modest, and peaceful, and dutiful, and equitable desires! A hierarchy which has assumed the attitude of defiance, and been (*proh pudor!*) permitted and encouraged to assume it, and with which the Protestant Government of these kingdoms has more than once, by a suicidal mispolicy, consented to treat as with a high contracting power! A hierarchy which is now known, by its own avowal, always to have carried on a treasonable communication with the Pretender, so long as a Pretender existed; and which, at a time when this country was engaged in war with Buonaparte, and at the very time when that war was carried on under the most unfavourable and threatening aspects, volunteered its acceptance of the Concordat by which the Pope confirmed him in his possession of the throne of France, and confirmed also throughout all the countries which were under his rule, to the actual occupiers, the property which had been confiscated by the revolutionary governments: this the Irish hierarchy did, pronouncing, in a formal synod, that, in so doing, 'Pope Pius the Seventh had validly, and agreeably to the spirit of the sacred canons, exerted the power belonging to the Apostolical See, and that they accepted, approved, and concurred with the said acts of Pius the Seventh, as good, rightful, authentic, and necessary! inspired by charity, and done in the faith of his predecessor!' And from the hierarchy which has given this practical proof of their assent to the doctrine, that in the Pope authority is vested to give kingdoms and to take them away,—the hierarchy by which, in times of trouble and danger, as Dr. Phelan has truly observed, the diplomacy of rebellion was generally conducted,—the hierarchy, by one of whose actual and most active members we have been openly told, that, if a rebellion were now raging from Carrickfergus to Cape Clear, no sentence of excommunication would be fulminated by a Roman Catholic prelate,—from this hierarchy, and these prelates, the Protestant Government and the House of Brunswick are told that they may expect a perfect allegiance, an attached and principled obedience, a dutiful co-operation in the great work of bettering the condition of the Irish, and pacifying Ireland! Yes! we may look for this when men gather grapes from thorns and figs from thistles;—when the Ethiopian shall change his skin and the leopard her spots!

Contented that hierarchy never will be, and never can be, till it has either brought about the overthrow of the Protestant Church,

or renounced the principles which it now holds, and to which it is bound. Before their consecration, the Irish bishops take what is literally and veritably an oath of fealty and allegiance to the Pope. They swear that they will be faithful and *obedient* to St. Peter the Apostle, and to the Holy Roman Church, and to their Lord the Pope, and to his successors; and that they will not knowingly reveal, to any, to their prejudice, the counsels with which they may be entrusted by themselves, their messenger, or their letters. They swear that they will help to defend and keep the *Roman Papacy* and the ROYALTIES OF ST. PETER, against all men. They swear that they will endeavour to *preserve, defend, increase, and advance the rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the Holy Roman Church, of their Lord the Pope, and of his foresaid successors*: that they will not be in any counsel, action, or treaty in which shall be plotted, against their said Lord and the said Roman Church, anything to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honour, state, or power; and that if they know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whatsoever, they will hinder it to their power, and signify it as soon as they can to their said Lord. They swear that they will observe with all their might, and cause to be observed by others, the rules of the holy fathers, the apostolic decrees, ordinances, or disposals, reservations, provisions, and mandates. They engage to visit Rome in person every ten years, there to give an account of their pastoral office to their Lord the Pope, and humbly to receive his apostolic commands; or, if detained themselves by any lawful impediment, they engage to send a messenger fully instructed in their stead. The concluding clause is noticeable—*hæc omnia et singula, eo inviolabilius observabo*, &c.: ‘all and every of these things I will observe the more inviolably, as being certain that nothing is contained in them which can interfere with the fidelity I owe to the most Serene King of Great Britain and Ireland, and his successors to the throne.’

In this remarkable conclusion of the oath, there is, as the Archbishop of Dublin has observed, an ambiguous form of expression used, where a very obvious and unequivocal one would have presented itself, if the persons who framed it had been guided by upright intentions.

‘If,’ says his Grace, ‘I were the party concerned, and were desirous to afford such satisfaction, on the subject of the oath, as should clear away all suspicion as to its interference with the oath of allegiance to the sovereign, it would occur to me to add some such clause as this:—“I hereby declare most solemnly, that if, in any case whatsoever, the obligations I have placed myself under by this oath, in regard to the Pope, should clash with the oath of allegiance to my sovereign, as it

is clearly understood and explained by Protestants, I shall not hold myself bound by this oath, but solely by the said oath of allegiance to my sovereign." The present clause begins with the words, "I will observe this the more inviolably." Now this seems not a natural or obvious form of phrase; it involves, when strictly considered, a distinction in degree with respect to inviolability, which does not seem natural; an oath cannot well be kept more inviolably or less inviolably—the use of the comparative would seem to imply a proportion to the degree of assurance which the party using these words entertained, that the oath did not interfere with his allegiance to his king, which leads even, as I conceive, to an incorrect use of language. The whole form of phrase seems not natural; and if suspicions do exist respecting the intentions of those who take the oath, every form of expression that may be supposed to give an opening for the exercise of casuistry, should be scrupulously avoided, and the most direct, and obvious, and unqualified language alone made use of.

The words upon which this excellent Prelate has thus justly animadverted, are, it should be remembered, a late addition to the oath. The oath itself was drawn up by Pope Hildebrand, and few persons can be so little versed in history as not to know what he intended by these Royalties of St. Peter, and those rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the Roman Church, and of their Lord the Pope, which the Bishops are thereby sworn to preserve, defend, increase, and advance. It is an oath of fealty and allegiance not to be reconciled with the allegiance which is due to the Sovereign.

'I find myself,' says the Archbishop of Dublin, 'unable to reconcile that most solemn oath that is taken upon the appointment of a Roman Catholic bishop, with his allegiance to the sovereign. It appears to me, that there is an obligation as deep as that which can grow out of the feeling of Christianity at war with the civil obligation. I can find, in this oath, no reservation or circumscription whatsoever; and, therefore, looking to a case of mere temporal concern solely, and supposing the possibility of a war between this country and the states of the Pope, unless there be some dispensing power affecting the obligation of this oath, or something be specifically and openly announced to qualify the oath of allegiance to the sovereign, I do not see how both oaths can be safely taken by the same person. The individual who takes this oath appears to me to be bound to communicate to the Pope every secret of his sovereign that it may be necessary for the Pope's safety to know; and to be in like manner bound to conceal every design communicated to him on the part of the Pope, which it might be injurious to the Pope that his sovereign should know, and which, by his oath of allegiance, considered in itself, he would be bound to make known to his sovereign. It seems also to go to this: that if the sovereign of this country were engaged in a war with any state on which the papal rights or the privileges of the Roman Catholic see mainly

mainly depended, he would be bound to act in like manner, and to make and to withhold the same communications as in the case in which the Pope was the party immediately concerned. Thus, then, the bishop seems bound by an oath which interferes directly with his oath of allegiance to his sovereign, when the interests of the Pope and those of the sovereign come into collision, and when the giving the support of a loyal subject to his prince would be vitally injurious to the Pope. If this disturbing influence, exerted on the bishop, be carried down through the priest, either from the nature of his oath, or any other way, it must be unnecessary to say, from the close and influential contact into which every officiating priest is brought with the Roman Catholic population of the country, what the effect must be as to the general loyalty.'

But Roman Catholics also have viewed it in the same light as Archbishop Magee. Peter Walsh, (that good old friar, who, with whatever fables his belief was corrupted, was nevertheless a Christian in heart and soul)—Peter Walsh says, 'that, at their consecration, the Bishops are bound liege men to his Holiness, even by the very strictest oath that could be sworn, or penned; especially being the Pope himself is the only interpreter thereof.' Sir John Throckmorton says, 'in regard to the fealty or allegiance which, at his consecration, each Bishop promises to the Pope, if it mean any thing, it means too much; if nothing, it is absurd, and degrades a solemn ceremony. This episcopal oath, as it is called, found its way into the church in feudal times, when the Roman bishops, in imitation of other princes, viewed themselves as sovereign lords, and all churchmen as their vassals. The bishop did homage, therefore, in the hands of the consecrator, the supposed representative of his Holiness. But, as the days of feudal slavery have passed away, why has not this oath past with them? Its language evidently denotes its feudal origin. Let there be no more of this! The whole oath gives umbrage to every thinking man, and should therefore be expunged. Words void of meaning dishonour the lips that utter them. It should not, however, be concealed that the Court of Rome views them in another light, and will surrender no more of this feudal oath, unless urged to it by the irresistible demands of government.'

A part, then, of the episcopal oath had been surrendered. The reader who may not be previously acquainted with the when, and the how, and the why of the surrender, will find the circumstances worthy of especial consideration. In the year 1791, the Archbishops of the kingdom of Ireland, as the Pope styles them, explained to their most holy Lord the Pope, 'that through the ignorance or dishonesty of some persons, certain words found in the form of oath, which, according to the Roman ritual, is to be taken by Archbishops and Bishops, are perverted into a strange sense;

sense; and that, in addition to those difficulties which must occur every day in a kingdom where the Catholic religion has not the dominion, they were, on this account, thrown into new perplexities, from whence they humbly begged that, as far as might seem expedient to his Holiness, he would, in his apostolical wisdom, provide some means of delivering them.' The Pope accordingly, having maturely considered all things, graciously gave indulgence that the form of oath which the Archbishop of Mohilow, in Russia, had by his permission taken, might be used thenceforth by the Irish archbishops and bishops.

And what were the words which, by the ignorance or dishonesty of some persons, had been perverted to a strange sense? They were these: *Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebell-s eidem Domino nostro, pro posse persequar et impugnabo*—‘Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our said Lord (the pope) with all my power I will persecute and impugn.’ It appears, that a Russian Roman Catholic, when taking the oath at his consecration, as Archbishop of Mohilow, in the year 1785, stopped at this clause, and refused to proceed. Whether he was the first Romish prelate who ever felt a scruple of humanity or conscience at taking upon himself this unchristian and abominable obligation—or whether his conduct had been concerted with the Empress Catharine, that Empress supported him in a manner consistent with the strength of her character and the rights of her throne: the court of Rome found it expedient to yield, and the Russian archbishop was allowed to take the oath without the obnoxious clause. But though the scarlet-coloured beast drew in its horns when Catharine would else have aimed a blow at them,—the concession was so made as to show that no change had taken place in the disposition of the Roman Catholic church. The principle that heretics were to be impugned and persecuted was not renounced; though its avowal was suspended, by indulgence, in an heretical kingdom where the sovereign, most properly, would no longer suffer it to be made. Everywhere else the Roman Catholic prelates continued, at their consecration, to swear that they, to the utmost of their power, would impugn and persecute heretics, schismatics, and rebels to their Lord the Pope. Some six years afterwards, the Irish prelates considered that the clause might, perhaps, stand in the way of the hopes which they were then entertaining, for that a British king, a British minister, a British House of Lords, and a British House of Commons, consisting entirely of heretics, schismatics, and rebels to the pope, might think it no very rational or politic act to remove restrictions from persons who were bound by oath to impugn and persecute them, if ever they had the power. They represented this at Rome, and their Lord the Pope then

then conceded to them the same indulgence which he had granted in the case of Russia, but not without observing, in the preamble to the castrated oath, that *through the ignorance or dishonesty* of some persons, certain words (to wit, the clause complained of) had been *perverted* into a strange sense—perverted by ignorance or dishonesty! Was dishonesty ever more apparent than in this preamble, and can any ignorance be so great as not to perceive it?—as not to know in what sense these words were intended by Pope Hildebrand when he framed the oath,—in what sense the clause has always been understood,—and in what sense it has been acted upon, *pro posse*, everywhere? Do we not know how Bonner and Gardiner understood it? Can we be mistaken in what the persecution of heretics means in the oath of a Roman Catholic bishop? Bellarmine may tell us what he, as well as the heretics in his days, who were unreasonable enough to complain of it, understood by it:—‘*Dicunt quidem hæretici se magnam persecutionem ab antichristo pati, quia interdum comburuntur aliqui de eorum numero.*’ Perverted by ignorance or dishonesty to a strange sense! Why the words contain in them flint and steel, fire and faggot,—the weapons of St. Bartholomew’s day, the instruments of Alva, and Cardinal Granville’s executioners, the engines of the Inquisition.

At the time when the oath was thus accommodated to the circumstances of Russia and Ireland, the concluding and qualifying clause appears to have been added, a clause under the nap of which the Archbishop of Dublin discovered—what we might expect to find in any web from the same manufactory. In other respects the episcopal oath remains the same as that from which Thomas à Becket deduced his notions of allegiance to the pope, and duty to the king. The prelates still swear that they will defend the Royalties of St. Peter against all men. It would be as difficult to discover in the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, or the Epistles General of St. Peter, what is meant by these Royalties, as it would be to read the history of the middle ages, and remain ignorant of what Hildebrand and his successors intended by the words,—and in what sense they were understood by those who took the oath, as well as by those who framed it. But in Ireland, the expression is peculiarly significant. The first opposition which was raised in that ill-fated land against the reformation, was grounded upon these Royalties. ‘One peculiar prejudice there was,’ says Dr. Leland, ‘in favour of the see of Rome, which operated equally on the Irish, and even on the more enlightened of the English race. Ireland had been for ages considered, and industriously represented, as a fief of the pope, in right of the church of St. Peter. By virtue of this imaginary right the seigniorship of this kingdom,

kingdom, it was well known, had been conferred on Henry II. The Irish parliament had occasionally acknowledged this to be the only legitimate foundation of the authority of the crown of England. It was, therefore, accounted especially profane and damnable to deny the authority of the Pope, even in his own inheritance; and that a prince (Henry VIII.), entrusted with this inheritance for the protection of religion, should disclaim his father and his sovereign, and impiously violate the stipulations of his ancestors, by which alone he was entitled to any authority or pre-eminence in Ireland.' In all the subsequent rebellions, as soon as they assumed a religious character, this argument has been brought forward; and that character they have uniformly assumed, from the days of Shane O'Neal to those of the Irish Directory, in 1798, just as any accidental hurt brings on erysipelas when the disease is in the system. 'There is, indeed, no doubt,' said Adrian, in his ever-memorable bull, 'but that Ireland, and all the islands on which Christ, the sun of righteousness, hath shone, and which have received the doctrine of the Christian faith, do belong to the jurisdiction of St. Peter, and of the Holy Roman Church.' By virtue of that right Adrian conveyed the sovereignty to Henry and his successors, saving the right of the Church, and reserving to St. Peter the annual pension of one penny from each house. Failing that payment, the priests argued that the sovereignty escheated to the power of which and under which it was held. From time to time the Royalties have been claimed, and as often as the claim has been advanced, the titular prelates have kept the oath of allegiance to their Lord the Pope.

The history of Pope Adrian's bull, and of the subsequent fables which were invented in support of the Pope's sovereignty over Ireland, has been treated by Dr. Phelan with his wonted ability. The Irish bishops were the chief agents in delivering over Ireland to an English king. They promulgated the bull, and the confirmatory letters of Pope Alexander III. At a Synod held at Waterford, they proclaimed Henry Lord of Ireland, and they denounced the censures of the church against all who should impeach the donation, or resist his government. They had a direct and tangible advantage in this. 'Their demesnes; which were ample, but hitherto exposed to the ravages of an unscrupulous laity, found a protector: the claim of tithes, which for some time they had been endeavouring to maintain by spiritual censures and the dogma of divine right, was henceforward to be enforced by the secular arm; privileges, also, and immunities, such as in those jubilant days of the church were enjoyed by the ecclesiastics of the most orthodox regions, and a large share in the administration of public affairs, were the immediate result of these changes.' The virtues

virtues of St. Lawrence O'Tool, the archbishop of Dublin, who was the most active person in this transaction, are noticed in a brief selection by Peter Walsh,* and the good friar confesses that he knows not which to admire *least* in them—meaning, however, that he admires them all. 'The reader may there find it recorded how this 'most stupendous saint' was 'no sooner outwardly clad at his consecration with the glory of an archbishop's vesture and the pontifical habiliments, than he covered himself inwardly, next his skin, with the severity of a rough *cilicium*, a coarse haircloth, reaching down from his neck to his heels, everywhere sewed close to his limbs, and never put off, never washed, never changed, never opened while the pieces of it could hold together,—only one certain piece that was turned aside thrice a-day while he received, on his bare flesh, the smarting strokes of a knotty discipline; for so many times, at least, in twenty-four hours, he was constantly disciplined (as they call it) by the hands of a familiar friend whom he trusted, after he had first enjoined him to secrecy all his life.' The reader may see in the evidence of the titular archbishop of Dublin that this Lawrence of Dublin is 'justly venerated among our most distinguished saints.' He may read in Dr. Phelan's history what was the conduct of 'this manifold traitor to his church, his country, his native prince, and the sovereign of his own election;' and in the excellent comments, which accompany the Digest,† he may find materials which render it 'easy to judge of the saintly services of Lawrence, and of the principle to be extracted from his canonization. He was an eminent example to the ecclesiastics of his country, that the edicts of Rome and the interests of his order should be the supreme rule of action; that there is no distinction of legitimacy or illegitimacy; no sacredness either in hereditary right, or in voluntary election; that, when the church requires, the natural prince is to be deserted for a stranger; and, again, when the church requires, the new sovereign is to be abandoned, with the same readiness as the old.'

It was so much the interest of the clergy in those times to uphold the papal claim of supreme dominion, that various opinions were invented, and various fables in support of them, to explain how Ireland became the peculiar patrimony of the popes. Among these inventions, one was that, in the ages of its paganism, it had been prophetically called the Island of Saints, or the Holy Island; and, when the Reformation was to be opposed, an argument was drawn from this appellation to prove that it belonged, by the special appointment of Heaven, to the Roman See. Arguments which are addressed to national feeling, and to hope, and imagination, and credulity, never become obsolete; and if this argument

* Prospect of the State of Ireland, p. 293.

† Part ii., p. 164.

is not at this time directly employed, the opinion is cherished by those who have most interest in keeping it alive, and allusions to it are still dexterously made; in reference to which, the author of one of the pamphlets * before us has happily remembered Caliban's speech—

‘This island's mine by Sycorax my mother.’

Dr. Doyle, who knows as well how to mystify in one way as in another, uses the fable as if he believed it, and says that ‘when it pleased God to have an island of saints upon earth, He prepared Ireland from afar for this high destiny.’ Butter and honey flow from the lips of this titular bishop when butter and honey are looked for; and brimstone is breathed from them when a fire is to be kindled or enflamed! ‘The Irish Roman Catholics, he says, ‘have, for nearly three centuries, been passing through an ordeal of persecution more severe than any recorded in history. I have read,’ he proceeds to say, ‘of the persecutions by Nero, Domitian, Genserich, and Attila, with all the barbarities of the sixteenth century; I have compared them with those inflicted on my own country, and I protest to God, that the latter, in my opinion, have exceeded in duration, extent, and intensity, all that has ever been endured by mankind for justice’ sake!’ ‘The church of Ireland he speaks of as being under the protection of the Evil Principle. ‘This monstrous Church Establishment,’ he says, ‘wrenches thousands and hundreds of thousands from the hand of industry. At this day she appears indifferent to all things else, but to the concealment of her riches and the persecution of Popery.’ ‘The most heart-rending curse which Providence has permitted to fall on the land-occupiers in Ireland, is THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT; this, like the scorpion's tail, is armed at all points, and scourges the peasant through tithes and church-rates, till it draws his very blood. The Establishment not only strips him of food and raiment, but it also insults him by the monstrous injustice of obliging him to give his sweat and labour, and the bread of his children, to build or repair waste houses, whilst he himself is left to pray in the open air; to feed the parson and his rapacious family and followers, who go about, not doing good, but to vilify and calumniate the religion which this peasant reveres; compels him to purchase bread and wine, and stoves and music, for the church which he deems profane; to pay the glazier, and the mason, and the sexton, and the gravedigger, who divide his clothes between them, and cast lots, like the devils upon the Jews, upon his cloak.’

When Lord Bacon is treating of ‘the height of impudency’ to which the Romanists of his age had attained in publishing and

* Observations occasioned by the Letter of J. K. L. to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, p. 35.

avouching untruths, he says, ‘these men are grown to a singular spirit and faculty in lying and abusing the world; such, as it seemeth, although they are to purchase a particular dispensation for all other sins, yet they have a dispensation dormant to lie for the Catholic faith.’ No man is more thoroughly persuaded than Dr. Doyle that a church establishment is necessary in a Christian state: it is one of the points on which the Roman Catholic, the English Churchman, and the Presbyterian, entirely agree. No man knows better than this titular bishop that tithes legally belong to the established church. No man knows better to what the church rates, of which he complains so grievously, amount; but unluckily for him there are others who know as well. ‘After examining the returns of some hundred parishes, year by year, for twelve years,’ says Sir Robert Inglis,* ‘I can state deliberately, that in no instance have I found a rate more than eightpence an acre; it is the case of one parish for one year; perhaps there are three or four others in which they may be a shilling an acre; but the immense majority of cases are under that sum; some are the fractions of a penny, in three places of decimals—and the average of the first four parishes (I take them as they stand in the returns) in the diocese of Armagh, is about fourpence; in Clogher, three halfpence; in Meath, fourpence. Let it be recollected, 1st, that this *burthen* is on a country where the rent is often as many pounds sterling as there are pence in these averages; and even if the amount were greater, let it be recollected, 2dly, that church rates are not a poll-tax upon individuals according to the profession of their faith; that a Roman Catholic, as such, pays nothing; he pays according to his land, and not according to his creed; and, in church rates as in tithes, would have to pay more to his landlord if he paid less to the church. Yet, of this three-halfpenny burthen, Mr. O’Connell, in a speech said to be corrected by himself, affirms “the evil of the church rate is felt in Ireland as a practical one, exceeded by no other.” Dr. Doyle knows, also, that if this three-halfpenny burthen is laid equally upon the land of Protestant and Papist, the money raised weekly in every parish church for the relief of the poor, though raised exclusively from Protestants, is distributed indiscriminately among the poor of both persuasions; that in† the larger congregations, the sums thus raised are considerable; in the smaller, often above what might be expected; and

* Substance of Two Speeches, p. 50 (note).

† Bishop of Limerick’s Speech, p. 65. If this excellent prelate had published nothing more than this memorable speech, in which the falsehood with which the church of Ireland is assailed was completely exposed, he would, by that alone, have proved himself eminently worthy of his high station. It is a speech in which the statements are as authentic as the reasoning is conclusive, and the wisdom of a statesman is combined with the spirit of a Christian.

that,

that, in many instances, the amount is *almost*, and sometimes *altogether*, applied in aid of the poor Roman Catholic population.'

Dr. Doyle knows also, and cannot chuse but know, that it is the Irish landlord, and not the Irish clergyman, who grinds the poor. He represents the church as intent upon nothing but the persecution of Popery, when he knows there is no persecution in Ireland but what the Roman Catholics exercise among themselves, and upon those who would gladly turn to a scriptural faith, if they had courage to encounter the obloquy and destitution and personal danger, to which such a conversion would certainly expose them.

'I am myself acquainted,' says one for whose veracity we will vouch, 'with an individual of irreproachable character, who, from the most conscientious persuasion, conformed to the Established Church. Strange to say, he became Protestant curate of the very parish in which he had been a Roman Catholic curate. And such was the excellence of his character, that, still more strange to say, he retained the good will and esteem of many amongst his Roman Catholic parishioners. But this was not sufficient to secure him against the vengeance of the more furious bigots of that persuasion. There were three several attempts made upon his life. He has sworn that the first was made by the priest who succeeded him, who attacked him with a bludgeon on the open road as he was going to visit a sick man. The next was made while he was in bed, when a shot was fired, and a ball lodged very near his head. The third was made when he was returning home, after having dined with his bishop; a number of shots were on this occasion fired at him, and one of the balls passed through his hat and rased the skin of his head. He was duly thankful to God for the escapes he had had, but judged that to remain any longer in that part of the country would be like tempting Providence!'

No person unacquainted with Ireland and with the true character of Romish bigotry and intolerance, can form an adequate conception of the persecution to which a poor man who conforms to the Protestant religion is exposed in that country. The Protestants are withheld from giving him any ostensible encouragement lest they should seem to hold out an undue influence, and bring suspicion upon the sincerity of such converts; and by the Roman Catholics he is, as may be said, interdicted from fire and water. Many, very many, who, there is every reason to believe, were clearly convinced of the errors and impostures of the Romish church, and had sincerely professed the tenets of the established religion, have relapsed into the outward profession of Popery, because they found that there was no adequate protection, on the one side against the evils and dangers with which they were menaced on the other.

And this is the country in which Dr. Doyle asserts that Popery

is persecuted! This is the country in which the Irish at New York, *Dr. McNevin* in the chair, tell the Roman Catholics that they have suffered, like the Greeks, a *cruel, insolent, unrelenting persecution!* and the meeting express their rejoicing at Mr. O'Connell's triumph in his election, signify their approbation of his conduct, praise him especially for his prudence, exhort by public address the Catholic Association to proceed in their career, and notify their intention, as 'the sinews of war must be supplied by others,' of advancing something in aid of their exchequer! And this is the Dr. Doyle who declared before the committee that he had 'a high esteem, and the highest respect for the whole constitution of the established church, and even for many of its clergy!' This is the Dr. Doyle who proposes a union of the two churches as a thing not impossible, not impracticable, not to be despaired of; who represents himself as one of the most liberal and conciliatory of his class! and whom they, to whom he says this, and who have an appetite for butter and honey, think it so easy and so desirable to conciliate, as a grateful pensioner of the state; if the government would but adopt what are called conciliatory measures!—Alas! conciliation has been tried in Ireland, so far even as to compromise the authority of government, and the fundamental principle of the constitution. An attempt was made for inducing the Roman Catholic clergy to co-operate in the great work of national education; and the result of the attempt was, that the commissioners, after three years of diligent investigation and earnest endeavours, desisted from their undertaking in despair! They found that the Roman Catholic prelates (with whom they treated as with a recognized and legally constituted power!) required concessions, but would make none,—standing, as it became them to do, resolutely upon their principles, and looking to see how far we might be, in the spirit of conciliation, beflattered and befooled into a departure from ours.

But these prelates, it is argued, and the clergy under them, would be cordially reconciled to the state, if the state would formally recognize them, and take upon itself the charge of their payment, thus at the same time securing their faithful loyalty by the bond of interest, and relieving the Irish peasantry from a heavy charge. Undoubtedly they would accept this pay, however loudly some of them may disclaim such an intention, and affect to consider it as derogatory; they would accept it, and wisely too, as an earnest of those ulterior measures which would then appear so much the less remote. They would accept it as the Danes took tribute, without abating their hostility. This would be the effect of such an arrangement upon the priests as a measure of conciliation; and as a measure of relief to the peasantry, the relief would be such as the fox in the fable expected if the flies were driven

driven from his face, when a hungrier swarm was ready instantly to fix there. The argument of the metapoliticians, that emigration can afford no relief to a crowded country, because the room which might be made would presently be filled up, is as applicable here as it is fallacious where they have applied it. For the secular priests would be immediately succeeded by the regulars, and supplanted by them in their influence over the people. They have them in Ireland already, of all colours and varieties, 'black, white, and grey,' Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and what not; all bound, by their order and their oath, to obey their respective generals, those generals residing at Rome, and receiving there their orders from a personage who, in whatever relation he may stand to St. Peter, is indisputably the successor of Paul IV., of Adrian IV., and of Pope Hildebrand. The friars, who are the caterpillars of Popery, would swarm over the land as soon as opportunity invited them, and the caterpillars would eat what the cankerworms left: they would draw from the poor simple *Romans* as much as is now drawn from them by the priests;—that is to say, as much as can by possibility be drawn; and in return they would instil a spirit, the same in kind as that which the priests are now administering, and only not stronger in quality, because both are above proof, and the strength of that deleterious spirit can be carried no higher. The Jesuits also, when so fair an occasion was presented, (for they let no occasion slip) would raise new companies for active service. They have been permitted to set up their standard there, to open seminaries, and institute sodalities. What part of Europe is there in which the character of the Jesuits is not understood, and in what country could that pestilent order be so mischievous as in Ireland at this time? They are bound by a peculiar oath implicitly to obey the Pope; and they are required by their founder to say that white is black, and believe it to be black, if the Romish church should think proper to pronounce that it is so. Shall we be told that this is a false and calumnious assertion? the words may be seen below as they stand in the *Spiritual Exercises* * of St. Ignatius Loyala. Always indeed does the Roman Church exact such obedience from its subjects; too often has it morally and politically told them this, and they have believed and acted accordingly,—nowhere more often than in Ireland.

* *Denique, ut ipsi Ecclesie Catholice omnino unanimes conformesque simus, si quid, quod oculis nostris apparet album, nigrum illa esse definierit, debemus itidem, quod nigrum sit, pronuntiare. Indubitate namque credendum est, eundem esse Dpmini nostri Jesu Christi, et ecclesie orthodoxe, sponsae ejus, spiritum; per quem gubernamur ac dirigimur ad salutem; neque alium esse Deum, qui olim tradidit Decalogi precepta, et qui nunc temporis ecclesiam hierarchicam instruat atque regat.—Exercitia Spiritualia, p. 141. Antwerpiae, 1636.*

The whole passage is given, that there may be no pretext for saying the words are presented apart from the context. It is the thirteenth of the rules which are laid down *ad sentiendum cum Ecclesia*.

For the British Government to pay the Roman Catholic clergy would be to subsidize the Court of Rome against itself, and enable it to double the numbers which it now brings into the field. The new appropriation, therefore, of church property (an ominous phrase !) which has been more than hinted at—or any appropriation of public money to this unholy purpose, is to be resisted on this ground, even if it were possible to set aside the moral and religious objections to it,—insuperable as these objections must ever be—against thus giving a legislative and public sanction and support to a system which the Protestant knows to be corrupt and delusive, fraudulent, and superstitious, which the statesman knows to be injurious to the welfare of nations, which the philosopher knows to be irreconcilable with the highest interests of mankind, and which, more than any or all other causes, has retarded the progress of Ireland, and perpetuated thus long the ignorance of the Irish peasantry, keeping them in a moral and intellectual slavery as abject as the condition to which their rapacious landlords have ground them down. To sanction such a system would be in violation of our duty both to God and man. Most worthily and rightly has the Archbishop of Dublin* said,

‘I cannot reconcile it to myself to view this question merely as a politician. I am afraid to let a notion of expediency rise in my mind against what I feel to be a question of duty. I never can reconcile it to myself to do a positive, and, as I conceive, a permanent evil, on the chance of a speculative and contingent good.’

‘If ye do in any wise go back,’ and encourage this priesthood, ‘they shall be snares and traps unto you, and scourges in your sides, and thorns in your eyes.’

Has any one persuaded himself that the character of this corrupt church is changed,—that it has corrected its practices, abated of its bigotry, or lowered its pretensions? Let him look at the proofs adduced in Sir Robert Inglis’s admirable speech of its *present* intolerance, of its *existing* prohibitions, of the unrelaxing tyranny which it *at this day* exercises over the human mind. Let him see what are its feelings and practices at this time abroad and at home, far and near,—in the New World and in the Old,—in France, among the most enlightened of the Roman Catholic people, and in Ireland, among the most ignorant. The earthquakes in South America are attributed by the priests and friars to the heretics, the *Inglezes*, who pollute their soil; it is their presence which has drawn rain from heaven upon the dry country of Peru, and washed away the mud dwellings in which the true believers had formerly dwelt secure; the same unholy presence has caused the mines to fail! Such are the feelings which prevail in emancipated South America, among the liberalized states, and in the very capital

of Bolívar the Liberator ! From Germany and from Switzerland, as well as from Dublin, there come authenticated reports,—and authenticated after the same manner,—of Prince Hohenlohe's miraculous performances. In France, a relic of the Virgin Mary's dress is sent for to secure a happy delivery for the Duchess of Berry ; the papers tell us of a crucifix at Migné which emitted a miraculous light ; and how at Hartmansweiler, on the Upper Rhine, on the evening of the octave of the *Fête Dieu*, the host, during the last prayers, became transparent and luminous, and presented to the eyes of the astonished spectators a miniature portrait of their Saviour : the details of this miracle were published for the edification of the pious ! In France, too, the Revelations of Sister Nativité were got up,—let it not be forgotten,—with the concurrence of English Roman Catholic authorities ; and in France, the life of Sister Providence has just been published as part of the *Bibliothèque Chrétienne pour l'Edification de la Jeunesse*. In Italy, the measure of the Virgin Mary's foot is sold at Rome, as taken from her shoe ; and on the paper, which is of the exact size and shape of the aforesaid shoe, three hundred years of indulgence are promised to any who shall kiss the measure three times, and recite three Ave Marias. John XXII. granted the indulgence, Clement VIII. confirmed, and Leo XI. allows of the sale, and the imposture, and the superstition !

' These indulgences not having any restriction as to number, may be obtained as often as they please, by the devotees of the most Holy Virgin Mary, and may be applied to the souls in purgatory. Moreover it is permitted a *maggior gloria della Regina del Cielo*, to take from this measure other similar measures, to all of which the same indulgence shall belong.'

This is in the Eternal City, the Pope's own seat. In his patrimonial kingdom, Ireland, the island of saints, there are holy wells at which multitudes annually assemble, coming from far and wide, bareheaded and barefooted, that they may crawl on their knees round these wells, which are generally near some old oak, or upright unhewn stones (for, in fact, the practice is a remnant of Druidical times) : the crawling is performed westward, after the course of the sun ; some do it three, some six, some nine times, or more, but always in uneven numbers, till the penance is fulfilled. There, too, is the Cursing Altar, built of loose round stones, where the Roman believer turns one of the stones, and utters an imprecation upon his enemy, in the fervent and pious belief that it will draw upon him some dreadful and inevitable evil. There we have (and in Maynooth College) the sodality of the sacred heart of Jesus, and devotional books, in which the devotee is instructed to address his prayers to the heart of Jesus, through the heart of Mary !

There we have the penny-a-week Purgatory Society; and there we find purgatory itself, St. Patrick's purgatory, flourishing still! But it is not the original purgatory island, not that which was formerly visited; the clerk of the present purgatory confesses this. 'The old island, Sir,' said he, 'was too near the shore, and, in summer time, the people could come from the main land to it by a little wading; and often, Sir, ungodly people used to bring over to the pilgrims liquor, and other things, that used to spoil their devotions and interrupt their fasts: but now, he must be a good swimmer who could get to our present holy* places!' Herein the cause of changing the place is explained; for not fewer than thirteen thousand pilgrims are said annually to visit this den of superstition at this time: the ferry is rented for two hundred and sixty pounds a year; the fare is fivepence, and the priest's fee from twenty-pence to two and sixpence: for which, however, he is bound by his assistants to keep the pilgrims awake during four and twenty hours, an office for which the use of a switch is required. When Mr. Gamble† visited this remarkable place, the island, which is little more than an acre in circumference, 'was literally strewn with the more zealous pilgrims, who on their bare knees performed their devotions, and moved about in ceaseless activity, and crossed each other in mazes intricate and interwolved, but doubtless regular. The hum of their voices, as they repeated their prayers, and counted their rosaries, resembled the buzz of bees, or the sound of flies on a summer's day.' At this place the pilgrims lighten their hearts, their consciences, and their pockets. A young fellow told Mr. Gamble, that between the prior, the boatmen, and a little offering to St. Patrick, he had not as much money left as would jingle on a tombstone, or get him a drop of the native at Killala. A more frightful superstition is that which induces the ignorant Romans (as they style themselves) of that poor be-darkened land, to swallow earth from the grave of a holy priest, as a preservative against disease and sin!‡ Did we seek to show that the moral feeling of this deluded people is as low as their intellectual condition, and that that state of feeling is, in a great degree, produced by the fierce and degrading superstition to which they are enslaved, every session would afford lamentable proof: a more disgraceful one could not be adduced than the trial of Father Macguire.

* Sketches in Ireland, descriptive of hitherto unnoticed Districts in the North and South, p. 180—a very able and delightful book, which most certainly, if Ireland were in a tranquil state, would draw thither annual shoals of picturesque tourists.

† Views of Society in the North of Ireland, p. 260.

‡ A most extraordinary case, arising from this hideous practice, may be seen in the transactions of the College of Physicians of Dublin, vol. iv. p. 189. A woman, who had swallowed great quantities of this medicine, discharged at intervals, by vomiting, &c., a great quantity of church-yard beetles (*Blaps Mortuaria*), in all stages of their existence. The details are too shocking to be dwelt on.

Has the Romish Church lowered its pretensions? Look at the evidence of the titular bishops before the committees! *Leading questions* were put to them, 'such,' says the present Bishop of Durham, 'as almost suggested the answers which were sought for, and which those to whom the questions were put might be supposed most willing to give. In this way, nothing was easier than to frame a plausible representation of several articles of the Romish Faith, and to give them such a colouring as would readily satisfy those who were possessed of no other information on the subject. But, taking this evidence in the most favourable point of view, what is the result? Is any point of the Pope's spiritual supremacy abandoned? Does not Papal infallibility (so far as concerns an absolute submission to the Papal See in matters of faith) remain the same? Is its principle of intolerance renounced? Is it less intent than heretofore upon proselytism? Is its dominion over the consciences of men less absolute than in former times?' 'The church of Rome,' says Sir Robert Inglis, 'has still the same grasping, dominant, exclusive, and intolerant character: it is weaker, indeed, than it was, but it carries with it every where the same mind. You have, indeed, shorn and bound the strong man, but the secret of his strength is still upon him; and if, from whatever motive, you admit him into the sanctuary of your temple, beware lest the place and the opportunity should call that strength into action, and, with all the original energies of his might restored for the occasion, he should pull down the temple of the constitution upon you, and bury you, and your idols, and himself, in one common ruin!' 'The British Roman Catholics, who call in their Litany upon Thomas à Becket to pray for England, and who venerate him 'with special honour, as the patron of the English Roman Catholic clergy,' have adopted the language of the Jews in their prayers, intending it against the Protestant Establishment. 'Oh! God,' they say, 'the Gentiles are come into thy inheritance! Pour out thy wrath upon the nations, because they have devoured Jacob! Vouchsafe to humble the enemies of thy holy church! Thy holy temples are profaned by the hands of Infidels! O God, the enemies of thy church have entered into thy inheritance: leave it not in the hand of thy enemies, but deliver it by thy strong power!' Such are their daily prayers for the overthrow of an establishment, which, nevertheless, their advocates tell us they are willing to pledge themselves that they will support, and which, it is pretended, cannot be in the slightest degree endangered by them, though we should entrust them with legislative power, and enable them thus to initiate, as well as to co-operate in, measures designed for its immediate injury, and eventual overthrow.

But if what is called emancipation would not, in its widest extent, satisfy the Roman Catholics, without ulterior measures (of which undefined expectations we know what are the end and aim), can it be expected that it should satisfy that class of Irish who are represented by Dr. Mac Nevin in America, and act under Captain Rock in Ireland? What says O'Connor* to this? 'Degenerate sons,' he says, 'who have so entirely lost all relish for liberty, as to profane the sacred name by identifying it with admission into the fetid temple of corruption, and call their treason *Emancipation*!' What says the incendiary who writes in Captain Rock's† name? 'Catholic Emancipation is of no avail, and only calculated to open wider the door to claims of greater importance.' And again, ‡ 'Now, at the end of all these many days of many years, the account of all the spoliations, massacres, degradations, and insults heaped on the Irish people, is proposed to be balanced by the one pitiful item, *Catholic Emancipation*. This measure, instead of spreading contentment throughout the land, would heighten the fever of the Irish mind to a pitch of phrenzy, occasioned by disappointment: for assuredly the Catholic body will derive no advantages from the concession of their claims, though founded on truth, reason, and justice. Ye oligarchy of England! emancipate the Irish slaves, and some few traitors will, no doubt, enlist in your ranks; howbeit you will derive no greater portion of power from their desertion of their fellows than what the mere individuals bring: their ephemeral influence, potent for raising a whirlwind, will vanish on the instant.' This is a bold rebel, who speaks as he thinks, and in this instance tells the whole truth. No concessions can satisfy the Republican party, (a growing party, dissemble it who will, both here and in Ireland,) nor those who are bent upon separating the two countries, in whatever that separation might end. As little, alas, would Emancipation remove or tend to remove any one of the many evils which have rooted themselves in that long misgoverned kingdom—a kingdom in which it has too long been manifested to how great an extent

'Power might without goodness be,
And base subjection without loyalty.'

Does then the consistent Protestant look forward to no time at which the state may safely disregard religious differences, and admit the Roman Catholics to an equal share of political power with their fellow-subjects? Not while the Roman Catholics remain what they are, while their creed binds them to their canons, and their canons bind them to a persecuting spirit, and instruct them that faith is not to be kept with heretics. Not while the

* *Chronicles of Eri*, Introduction, p. cxxxviii.

† *Rock's Letter to the King*, p. 363. "

‡ *Ibid*, p. 339.

clergy swear allegiance to the see of Rome. Not while the Church of Rome claims to itself the attribute of infallibility, and proclaims that salvation is exclusively confined to those who are of its fold: for upon those tenets intolerance and persecution are consequent, and become strict duties,—the only duties which that church has never failed to perform. The single security that might afford a pretext for admitting them into the legislature, would be that which might be offered by a general council, which should revoke certain doctrines as formally and authentically as they were decreed at Trent, at Constance, and in the Lateran. Opinions of Catholic universities are worth as little now as they were when they were obtained for the use of the Irish in rebellion two centuries ago. An authentic disclaimer of whatever is unchristian or pernicious is necessary,—decreed by a council, and confirmed by the pope.

Meantime, we know that what has been so fiercely demanded can be withheld, and need never be conceded till there be such a change in the claimants as may render it no longer necessary to distrust them. The Irish demagogues have carried their system of intimidation too far; they have awakened and roused the spirit which it was their purpose to trample down and to destroy. That wholesome exercise of authority, which has too long been delayed, may yet be used with excellent effect. But with whatever remedies a dangerous madman is to be treated, the beginning must be to secure him in a strait-waistcoat. Let no more treasonable harangues be suffered to pass with impunity—no further treasonable preparations! And let the forty-shilling freeholders be disfranchised,—a measure, the necessity of which has been admitted by so many of the Emancipationists themselves. Not only can we stand where we are, (whatever the enemy, in the insolence of past success and of present hope, may tell us,) but we can retake the ground which we have unwisely abandoned. In this respect we may compare ourselves, as Sir Dudley Carleton did the nation, in former times, to a ship that has been steered a wrong course:—

‘I may very fitly compare the heaviness of this house (said he*) unto some of my misfortunes by sea in my travels. For as we were bound unto Marseilles, by oversight of the mariners, we mistook our course, and by ill fortune met with a sand. That was no sooner overpast, but we fell on another; and having escaped this likewise, we met a third, and in that we stuck fast. All of the passengers being much dismayed by this disaster, (as now we are here in this house,) at last, an old experienced mariner, upon consultation, affirmed that the speediest way to come out from the sands, was to know how we came there. So, well looking and beholding the compass, he found by going in upon such a point we were brought into that strait: wherefore we must take a new point to rectify and bring us out of danger.’

* Parl. History, vol. ii. p. 120.

The Emperor Acbar bore upon his signet this saying—‘I never saw any one lost upon a straight road.’ This is a straight road;—to restrain treason, to punish sedition, to disregard clamour, and, by every possible means, to better the condition of the Irish peasantry, who are not more miserably ignorant than they are miserably oppressed. Give them employment in public works—bring the bogs into cultivation—facilitate, for those who desire it, the means of emigration. Extend the poor laws to Ireland;—experience may teach us how to guard against their abuse—they are benevolent, they are necessary, they are just. Lay that impost in such a proportion upon the absentees as may, in some degree, compensate for their non-residence. Do they deserve to be spared? During the last great dearth that afflicted Ireland, in 1822, the absentees from a certain western county were solicited to assist the subscription raised by the resident gentry, landholders, and clergy. They drew annually from that county eighty-three thousand pounds, and the whole sum received from them, in answer to the application, was eighty-three pounds, —not a farthing in the pound! Introduce the poor laws, and the landholders, whether resident or absentee, will heartily co-operate in bettering the condition of the poor, and in removing any surplus population. Better their condition thus; educate the people; execute justice, and maintain peace;—and Catholic Emancipation will then become as vain and feeble a cry in Ireland, as Parliamentary Reform has become in England. Let everything be done that can relieve the poor—everything that can improve their condition, physically, morally, intellectually, and religiously; and let us ‘stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.’

NOTE ON BLUNT'S ‘*Feracity of the Gospels.*’

At the time when pages 316 and 317 of this Number were passing through the press, we had not happened to see a little volume recently published, under the title of ‘*The Feracity of the Gospels and Acts, argued from the undesigned coincidences to be found in them, when compared first with one another, secondly with Josephus; by the Rev. J. J. Blunt, Fellow of St. John’s, Cambridge.*’ This is a new application of the principle on which Paley formed his *Horæ Paulinæ*; and the execution is in a high degree meritorious. The ingenuity of many of Mr. B.’s sections might stand a comparison with any in his predecessor’s masterpiece; and the clearness and liveliness of his language are such, that we cannot too earnestly recommend the work to those parents who feel the want of books calculated to interest, as well as to instruct, young readers. We have only one apology to offer for noticing so valuable a volume in this irregular shape; namely, that what has been said, in this Number, of the general character of the *Horæ Paulinæ*, is exactly what we should have to say over again, were we to review formally ‘*The Veracity of the Gospels and Acts.*’

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